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HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

FROM A. D. 1792 TO A. D. 1842.

BY THE

REV. F. A. COX, D. D., LL. D.

Two Volumes in one.

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VOLUME I.

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THE MISSIONARY AGE.

The history of the past is made up of distinct and diverse periods, each characterized by some master passion, which swayed, directed, and absorbed the minds of men. There was a period of physical achievement, when the imperishable monuments of Egypt, and other Oriental lands, were reared. There have been epochs of conquest, and the founding of colossal empires. There was a time of Vandal destruction, and a day of thick darkness. There was an age of letters; a day of poetry and romance; and a period of wild religious enthusiasm, of crusades, with trivial ends proposed, and less achieved. There was an age of discovery and colonial enterprise; and a time for dissolution and breaking up of olden things. And what will the pen of history record, as the ruling spirit of our own times? By what title will posterity designate the age in which we live? Partial views or individual prejudices may dictate different answers. But the warm-hearted and faithful Christian can discern signs—in his glowing mind, sure evidences—that this is to be a missionary age. The prayers of the church, her alms, and her movements, betoken a revival of the aggressive spirit of primitive Christianity. The vigilant watchman on the walls of Zion hails with delight the return of the first age of the church, and rejoices in the belief that he lives in THE SECOND GREAT MISSIONARY EPOCH.

Whether the last chapter in the history of the church is soon to be completed, whether the foes of Christ's kingdom are now mustering their forces for the final and decisive conflict with the saints, or whether the day of millennial glory is already dawning on the world, we do not undertake to say. If the inspired prophets of ancient days have not revealed it, we leave it for the divination of the prophets of the present time. What influence the political revolutions in the East will exert upon the church, or how we are to interpret the signs of prospective decay and dissolution manifested by ancient nations, and hoary institutions in other lands, it is impossible now to determine. But when we contemplate the changes occurring in the moral world, the growing interest felt in Christian and in semi-Christian lands, the far-reaching plans and mighty preparations for the future, and such a straining of every eye forward, the impression is almost irresistible, that events of great religious import are about to occur; that it will be a greater thing,—perhaps more fearful, perhaps more joyous,—to live in the next generation than in the last.

To discharge her solemn trust, and answer the high and holy purpose for which she was organized, the church must profit by the examples and the experience of other times. The Christian who would strive to make this a missionary age, must first travel back. He must go back beyond the Pilgrim Fathers, missionaries as they were; beyond the Knoxes, the Tyndales, and the Luthers, though they, sitting in darkness, saw great light; beyond the Jesuits, the Xaviers, and the Austins, back quite to Mount Olivet itself, and receive anew the great commission given there; there learn from the first missionaries of the cross how they discharged their trust; how, as Luke records, they first carried the gospel to the Gentiles. Let him study their character and their conduct. Let him meditate upon their love, their devotedness, and zeal. Let him admire their sacrifice, and wonder at their success, until he feels himself a cold, and sluggish, and unprofitable being, and almost wishes that he had lived eighteen hundred years ago,—the era of noble hearts and noble deeds. We must catch their spirit, and imitate their works. The acts of the first missionaries must be re-enacted. The zeal and sacrifice they manifested, and the

works they performed, so many ages ago, must be repeated. We find ourselves now where Isaac was, when he digged again the wells of water which his father Abraham had digged before him; pleasurable to think they are the same, but mournful to remember that the Philistines have stopped them up.

The church has need to repent, and do again her first works. For centuries she has been neglecting her duty. It has been her error, her vice, almost her ruin, that she has so long been narrow in her views, and selfish in her policy. What is a Christian church? Not a body of believers united merely to promote their own piety, and maintain the ordinances among themselves. No; but in itself a missionary body, designed to be aggressive in its character, and to act on the world. The whole world is given as a field for the employment of every energy. Here are the noblest ends proposed, for the exertion of the highest powers, in the most glorious way. Too long have the monks and anchorites of the Middle Ages been our Christian models. They were dead men; literally dead to the world, because they did not live for its improvement. Concentrating their thoughts and efforts all upon themselves, they cultivated only a morose piety, of artificial, unnatural growth, raised for show, and not for use. They disciplined themselves here for another world, apart from the rest of mankind, as if religion promised its votaries hereafter each a separate abode, like the solitary cells in a penitentiary. How could the world ever be converted under the influence of such principles and sentiments as these? True religion is social, diffusive, utilitarian. Man here, as in heaven, should mingle with his fellow-men; should embrace the whole human race in the plans and purposes of his love, and strive to elevate and to save the whole.

While evangelical churches at the present time embrace few avowed, and practical individual monks, some *anchorite churches* still remain, that plan, labor, and pray only for their own prosperity; to whom they themselves are all the world, containing "every creature," to whom the gospel should be preached. But a better day has dawned, though we grope only in its twilight yet. Churches have united, and co-operated with churches, to act together on the world; and thus have learned to increase their strength, by noble efforts for noble ends. Engaging in missionary efforts, already is their piety of a better, statelier growth. This holy enterprise is calling out the great and noble energies of the church, which have been slumbering in inactivity for ages, and is making its members what the first missionary Christians were. Councils are now held, not to punish heretics, but to devise plans for their conversion. Christians are beginning to desist from wrangling for ecclesiastical supremacy, that they may make a common onset on the kingdom of their common foe, and earn laurels there to cast at Jesus's feet. If such had been the employment of the church for centuries past, there had been now less heresy, less spiritual stagnation, less nominal, dying, dead Christianity. To bring the church back to the primitive model, to make it of the genuine apostolic type, it is necessary not only to believe the same doctrines which the early church believed, but also to feel as they felt, and to labor as they labored, for the conversion of the world.

The church has need to be thoroughly aroused to this work. Any religious community that is not awake and alive to the subject, is missionary ground itself. Christians ought to feel; ought to believe and to feel. If we exclude either faith or feeling, all hopes of evangelizing the world will be delusive, and all efforts to accomplish it will be ill-timed, inefficient, or abortive. Faith alone will insure the divine blessing, while deep feeling is indispensable to a proper devotedness to the work. Too many of our missionary discourses and appeals have been deficient in earnestness and fervor. Others besides Antinomians are strangely fearful of enthusiasm. They have so often seen it associated with fanaticism, that they scarcely believe in its separate existence. But a missionary age will be one of enthusiasm, rather than of stagnation. There is as much need of a treatise on spiritual inertia—of a Natural History of Stagnation—as of a 'Natural History of Enthusiasm!' It would be but a transcript of the history of the church during a greater part of her existence. There is a place where enthusiasm is safe; where it is necessary. Unite it with piety, give it the right direction, and a great object on which to be exerted, as great as the world's conversion, and too much enthusiasm is hardly possible. The majority of active men will have enthusiasm, and will develop it in some way. They will have some ruling passion, which will predominate and swallow

up every thing else. The Creator designed that we should have one controlling principle, one ruling passion, and that, love. Not a love of gain, nor of martial glory; not a love of intellectual greatness, nor of kingly rule and dominion over man, but a better, a burning, and a holy love. Not that alone which burns for God, and terminates on him as its object; but that, also, which, springing from him, prompts to action, and terminates on our fellow-man.

The first missionaries had enthusiasm. They went out from an enthusiastic church, and raised up a host of allies and successors of their own stamp and character. Paul, and Peter, and John, and all the leading missionaries in the first diffusion of Christianity, were so zealously affected in a good work, that their enemies thought them mad, and branded them as fanatics. This would have been a strange, an unaccountable libel, if they had not been enthusiastic.

Those who best knew the pioneers of modern missions, assure us that they had enthusiasm, and in full measure, too; else they had never been what they were, nor achieved those things which have endeared their names to us for ever. Without this, the Shoemaker of Leicester had never been able to give the Bible to a score of nations in their own language, and, though uninspired, to speak to the tribes, so that every man should hear in his own tongue. Without this, he had never broken the silence of Pagan darkness and dominion in the jungle, nor made the gods of a hundred cities to quake with fear at the sound of Jehovah's name. Without this, he had never kindled that fire in the East, whose light already shines to the ends of the earth. No; he was as much under the influence of enthusiasm as was ever Alexander or Napoleon. Like them, he exerted all his energies, moral, intellectual, and physical, for the promotion of one great, though better object. The most sublime spectacle, that the sphere of human existence or human action affords, is a noble soul, thus roused to its highest pitch of excitement, every faculty strained to its farthest tension, and all bent on accomplishing a single purpose, the salvation of the heathen. Every thing within, and every thing without, he made subservient to this. His purpose fixed, his bias received, every pulsation of his heart drove him on, one step nearer to the consummation of his object, and one step nearer to heaven.

The same zeal which fired the hearts of the best missionaries, and the same spirit which has controlled and sustained them in their work, should fill and animate the whole body of the church. There is indeed a zeal kindling, and a better spirit pervading the Christian community. But personal and individual responsibility must be more universally felt. It is absurd, unequal, and unjust, for the mass to lay the heavy burdens of the whole heathen world upon the shoulders of a few missionaries, and executive officers of missionary societies, while they themselves will not touch them with one of their fingers. It is wrong, it is unscriptural, to represent missionaries as a different class and order of men from ordinary Christians. It is a most pernicious doctrine, calculated to persuade the mass that they were born into Christ's kingdom to be drones, while a few only are to collect the honey and fill the hive. The Christian at home and the Christian abroad are not only brethren, but fellow-laborers also; engaged in the same great and holy enterprise of the same Master, and under the same high obligations to live and labor for his cause. When one goes out as a foreign missionary, his name should not be heralded through the length and breadth of the land, as a voluntary martyr of benevolence, who has made great sacrifices, done works of supererogation, and almost deserved to be canonized. He has done well, no doubt; but no more than his duty. The Lord reward him for his work. Let Christians love him for it, esteem him very highly for his work's sake, and nobly sustain him in it. But let others feel, that if they are Christ's, they also are his missionaries, or his agents, to be employed in some way for the conversion of the world.

To hasten the tardy progress of better sentiments, a higher stand must be taken by the friends of missions. A reformation must be effected at home. A generation must be raised up, whose minds, and hearts, and hands, are all trained and disciplined for the cause. Young converts must be taught, that to all the command is given, by the Saviour, Go; and to every Christian is addressed the Macedonian cry, Come. A risen, ascending Saviour above him, and the perishing millions around him, are commanding and entreating him to do something for the conversion of the world.

God spares the Christian's life after conversion, not merely to fit him for heaven, but to use him in carrying on his designs here

below. He can be happy only in doing the Christian's work. If all were more busily employed in their Master's vineyard, there would be less of sorrow, and gloom, and discontent. The Saviour's plans for evangelizing the world open greater sources of joy, and supply more abundant means of happiness, than the modern church has yet fully experienced, or even explored. A missionary age must be a happy age. Earth would have new charms for the Christian, if this were more fully realized. Next to being in heaven with Christ, would be the pleasure of laboring to extend his kingdom here on the earth. What a wonderful provision of the gospel economy is this—to make frail men agents in bringing the nations unto Christ—the messengers of light and life, of spiritual freedom and eternal joy, to the slaves of superstition—the captives of sin and Satan. Surely it is a pleasant thing to live. It is a goodly thing to live. It is a noble, glorious thing to live, if life be not wasted, but spent in carrying out such designs of Heaven, and scattering such blessings among men. That Christian, who is unmoved in a time of missionary awakening, has reason for anxiety and alarm. The world will sooner or later be converted; and can he endure the thought of dying without having himself done any thing towards effecting its conversion?

It ought to be proclaimed from the pulpit, and taught in the Sabbath school, it ought to be written on our phylacteries, and engraven on our door-posts, that every Christian is designed to be, in some sense, a missionary. He should first inquire whether he is called personally to enter the field. If this is not expedient or feasible, let him go by his representative, whom he helps to support. Let him go in prayer, in spirit, and in sympathy, with those who can go to labor and die in heathen lands.

Young converts, when glowing in the first warmth of Christian love, are in a proper frame to receive right impressions of duty, if the influences without correspond to the obedient desires within. If the church stand on as high ground as their religious obligations demand, if missionary intelligence is circulated, correct principles of duty taught and enforced, and a missionary atmosphere created, the new convert will always be converted into the spirit of the older Christians, and at once rise to the high standard which they maintain. While the spiritual conflict between the divine influence and the rebellious and stubborn will is carried on in his struggling and agitated bosom, he will feel, that if he be converted at all, it must be into a missionary church. In the first gush of his holy love, let it be whispered in his ear, that he is a missionary now, to live, not only to perfect his own faith, but also to strive that others may be saved. Such a sentiment will find a ready response. The pliant desires of his ardent soul will clasp around such a truth, with a firm and sweet embrace. Correct impressions, made on his first entrance into the new world in which he finds himself, will be permanent. The right bias received at such a time, can scarcely fail to be retained through life. His first inquiry will be, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" And in that way in which he can do most to promote the world's conversion, and the extension of Christ's kingdom, he will joyfully labor, whether in this sphere or that, whether at home or abroad.

Is this a visionary idea? Is such a state of things in the Christian community impossible, or improbable? No; it has been already, at least, partially realized. It was realized in the first,—the missionary age of the church. Its record is incorporated into the volume of sacred writ, and stands there for our instruction. By the present generation it should be renewed, and more fully carried out. There must be a revival of the same consecration of self and substance, and the same appreciation of the paramount importance of Christ's kingdom in comparison with all the petty affairs of life, before we shall witness that general spread and triumph of the church over the whole earth, to which prophecy points us, and for which the faithful earnestly pray, and anxiously wait. The first attempt of the church to evangelize the world did indeed but partially succeed. But the causes of their failure of entire success are now manifest. We have the light of their example to guide us on our way. We have all the experience derived from the attempts made since that time. It is no experiment we make. It is not an unknown and unexplored path in which we are required to tread. We behold not only the success, but also the wrecks, of those who have gone before. We see the rocks on which they have split, and, if we are wise, may avoid them. We have the same principles and doctrines on which to build our hopes, the same written

command, and the same promise of divine agency and success which they had, and also the experience of those who have gone before, to assist us in making a more successful trial. There has never been a time, when, to human view, the work could be prosecuted with such reasonable expectations of a full and glorious consummation, as at the present day. The fields seem white for the harvest, and nothing waits but our recreant selves.

There is a vague impression resting on the minds of many, that the great enterprise of the world's evangelization will be accomplished in some unknown, unexpected, and perhaps miraculous manner. What are the secret purposes of Jehovah, what miracles he may perform, or what unforeseen revolutions he may bring to pass, we do not, and we cannot know. But whatever wonders he may work, he has promised no miraculous agency to effect those things which he has commanded the church to perform. And until we receive a new revelation, or a new commission, we should labor in the same manner as did the inspired disciples to whom the charge was immediately given. Now, as then, the application of divine truth will effect the work. The preaching of the cross will still conquer and subdue the world, and transform every vanquished soul into a friend and an ally. The impetration of the Spirit will give efficacy to means, and insure success. Christ is himself the great leader of the enterprise, and it cannot fail. All power is given unto him, and he must, he will conquer. And the revelation of his final triumph has been made to us, because we have a part to act in accomplishing the work. Human means and agencies are to be employed, and the whole moral power and resources of the church are to be husbanded, and directed in reference to this grand result. Far-reaching plans are to be laid; an immense amount of labor is to be expended; and great revolutions are to be effected, greater than the world has ever yet witnessed.

There must be a revolution of sentiment, a mighty change of opinion. And this must be wrought by voluntary and special effort, made for this specific purpose. The Christian community must be made to believe that the missionary cause is not only more vast, but nobler far, than any other in which men are, or can be engaged; that all other enterprises and purposes of life, all hopes raised, and ends realized, sink into insignificance when compared with this. This opinion may already prevail to some extent; but it must be made universal in the church. It must be interwoven with all her sentiments, opinions, and doctrines. Christians must learn to prize worldly wealth, only because it may be used for carrying out God's plans of mercy here on the earth. They should covet learning, and discipline, and eloquence, and the power of moving and governing men, only because they are fit offerings to be laid on the missionary altar. Every thing should be rated by its tendency to promote the great enterprise of a world's salvation. Then would they count themselves valuable in the Christian economy, chiefly as means to greater ends. Then would the salvation of every soul be twice joyous; once, because a soul is saved; again, because another laborer is added to the gospel band, and the moral power of the church increased.

True, other enterprises beside the missionary cause are important. Other objects, public and private, demand attention. The multiform interests of life, which concern and occupy mankind, are not to be neglected. But the salvation of the human family should be the chief object of human effort, as it was the great purpose of the Saviour's life and death. All other purposes and objects are minor, subsidiary, relative to this.

There must, also, be a revolution in the church as to conduct, habits, and objects of pursuit. Christians must be brought to generally identify themselves with the great work of the world's conversion. From principle and from habit, they should make every thing else subservient to this. No strength should be lost; no energies wasted; no power expended, unless it will in some way promote the great design. The moral and physical resources of the church must be called out, and employed. The reflex influence upon the church itself would be immense. Not only would it purify and elevate the Christian standard, but would develop energies tenfold greater than we have ever known. Neither kings nor empires, philosophers nor schools, have exerted that influence which the church might exert, if the whole Christian community were so interested and directed, so trained and disciplined, that all should harmonize and co-operate for the promotion of this work. It is the unmeasured might of the mass, exerted in the power of the omnipotent Spirit. But

the mass must be enlisted, harmonized, and employed. As in the Roman army, every soldier carried his bundle of sticks, to cast against the wall or into the trench about the besieged city, and thus opened a way of access to themselves for conflict and for victory, so every Christian should be provided with his bundle, for the war which we wage against the kingdom of our foe. There is no trench about the heathen world, none around China, or Persia, or Ethiopia, too deep to be filled, if every man will cast in his bundle. There are no walls so high, but a way may be made over them, if all will do their duty. No defences of time-honored usages, no ramparts of hoary superstitions are impregnable to the spiritual hosts of the Redeemer.

In the first age of the church, what wonders were wrought by a little band of Christian soldiers, with only the naked cross, the Holy Spirit, and the spirit of sacrifice. With the same spirit of sacrifice now, and with her present resources, what, under God, could she not accomplish? How long before the idols of the East would be broken and scattered to the four winds of heaven? Budhism and Brahminism, fetish-worship, caste, suttee, and all heathen rites and abominations, would be swept from the face of the earth. Before the light of the gospel they would vanish, like darkness at morning's break. They would flee away, and there would be no place found for them any more.

A great revolution must also be effected in the literature and reading of the religious community. In modern times, it is the book, the tract, and the periodical sheet, speaking to the eye and the ear, filling the imagination, and occupying the busy mind, which possess the heart and sway the conduct.

The reading of the present, and of past generations, is not of the right stamp for a missionary age. Other objects have been made paramount. Other divinities beside the Author and Leader of missions have been worshipped. History has chronicled deeds of war for the imitation of the young. Poetry has embalmed the exploits of martial heroes in deathless verse, to kindle the imagination of the emulous and the aspiring. But men must be weaned from their old idols of the mind. They must be diverted from the things which have occupied them hitherto; persuaded to cast away the old tales of chivalrous knights, and listen to the story of those whose arms are faith and love, and who wield the sword of the Spirit. They, whose garments are rolled in blood, must not be made the heroes for youthful imitation; but they whose robes are of a whiter, more costly woof, Christ's righteousness.

Histories must be multiplied to recount the triumphs of the soldiers of the cross; to tell of the holy wars of Christians, who, shoulder to shoulder, have fought against idolatry and superstition, against principalities and powers. The events most worthy of record for posterity will be those connected with the missionary church. The lives of Henry Martyn and Ann Judson are the portraits of true greatness. Before their increasing brightness, those of Buonaparte and Semiramis shall fade away into dimness—or gather blackness, and reveal their deeper lines of blood. Their noble examples will teach the young, that to be truly great, one need not be a king nor a queen; need not spring from noble stock, nor be born to wealth and worldly honor. But each may be great in his own sphere, if he fulfil the end of his being by noble and exalted effort in works of beneficence and love. Be his sphere what it may, striving to be greatly good, he will be goodly great. If he will tread the path of self-denial which those missionaries trod, and live the lives of generous sacrifice which they lived, he will find that the distance is less from the heights of Tocat, or the plains of Amherst, to heaven, than from the home of the inactive Christian, or from the field of martial strife.

If efforts are wisely and perseveringly made, there is no doubt but the public mind can be changed, and more deeply interested in the missionary enterprise. Some of the most striking revolutions in public opinion and public conduct which the world has ever known, have been effected through the agency of the press. At this very moment, it is working a greater revolution in the English Church than has been witnessed there during the past two hundred years. It has often been made the vehicle of moral poison; it has helped to disseminate the spirit of modern infidelity all through the civilized world. Why may not the spirit of missionary sacrifice, the true life-blood of the church, be made to circulate in the same way, and thus re-animate the mystical body of our Lord, renew her energies, and perpetuate her vigor? Surely the missionary press might be made a kind of beating heart, throwing out the life-blood, with a strong and constant stroke,

through every arterial channel, to the farthest extremities of the church.

The multiplication of missionary works at the present time is a happy feature of the age. It is the sure pledge of better things to come. Some of the noblest intellects in either hemisphere have given their best energies to promote this cause. Essays and biographies have been produced, that, independently of the theme with which they are associated, rank in the highest grade of modern literature. But the subject is by no means exhausted. It never will be, until the whole race is converted. Let us have more essays like those of Harris, Macfarlane, and Baptist Noel. We want stirring appeals. We shall need to speak loudly, and to call more than once, to wake a sleeping church.

Let us have faithful biographies of those who have labored successfully in this work. Let the acts of men speak; acts, which are more persuasive than words or theories; acts, which are true logic and faultlesss rhetoric, which are text and commentary, argument and persuasion. Through the influence of the press, the works of missionaries, now dead, will speak, louder than the voice or the pen of the living. Such men as Carey and Thomas have multiplied missionaries and missionary efforts. They could not fail to do it, for they were themselves just what they would have others to be. They have kindled the missionary flame, though not with words, nor flashes of rhetoric. Knowing that mankind are combustible, if once ignited, they have touched the souls of others with live coals from off their own hearts' altar. Let now the spark be communicated from heart to heart, each adding fresh fuel to the flame, until the fire extends through Christendom, dissolves the ice, and consumes the dross and lumber of the church.

Let the biographies of such men be circulated among the churches, let the results they have accomplished be rehearsed until every Christian is familiar with them; and it will elicit that heartfelt, sympathizing interest which the subject demands. Let the missionary theme be made the centre around which a great portion of our literature shall cluster, so that minds of every cast may be addressed. If the writings of Harris, Hamilton, and Wayland are too elevated for the popular mind, let those of a simpler class be provided for such as can bear nothing stronger. The field is a wide one, and ought to be so occupied, that the wants of every mind of every grade should be filled and satisfied. There should be such a full and varied supply of food for the craving mind, as to supersede, to banish from the community, at least from the church, every form and variety of that poisonous romance, that worthless fiction, which has spread itself almost every where; has, even, with shameless impudence, obtruded itself into the selected library of the Sabbath school.

The theme is so vast, that there is no danger of magnifying it beyond its deserts. Too much cannot be said,or written,or done. It has a thousand phases, ever new, interesting, and important. There is nothing in this world or in the next, nothing in time or in eternity, with which it is not associated. It is the hope of the race; the cause of God; the desire of Christ; the work of the Holy Ghost. Shall it not be incorporated into our literature? Shall it not embalm and sanctify the learning of the age? Shall it not be interwoven with every institution of a Christian community, and entwined about every social, every personal interest? Let it be the theme of the nursery tale; the object of solicitude and sympathy through life; the subject of the death-bed prayer. Let the dying charge to children be, to cherish the missionary cause; to live for this, and to die clad in its harness, and praying for its success. The only thing for which ascended spirits in heaven could wish to revisit earth must surely be, that they might lend their aid in consummating this greatest and noblest work.

The longer we fix our attention upon the subject, the more it expands; the more lovely, the more sublime it appears. We see the stone that was cut out of the mountain without hands, extending farther and farther, and rising higher and higher, until it fills the whole earth. The subject so addresses the understanding, so answers the reason, so appeals to the feelings of a renewed heart, that it challenges, and must receive universal sympathy and cordial support. If it can be brought fully before the eye and the ear of the religious community, not only will their money be generously contributed, but we shall have their hearts. Missionaries and missionary societies will rejoice in the contribution of warm and willing hearts, freely and gladly given by thousands and tens of thousands.

The glorious success of the feeble efforts made during the past half century, the thou-

sands of converted heathen witnessing to the work of God, the deeper interest felt, the increase of missionary books to meet the increasing demand, and the more fervent prayers of the church, all assure us that a great work has begun. He that sat on the white horse is riding forth, and conquering as he rides. That which was spoken by the prophet Joel is again fulfilled, and the Spirit poured out more abundantly in our day. And we shall see greater things than these. Obstacles may obstruct the progress of the enterprise, but it will not be stayed. No Antinomian chain shall again bind the church, until the nations have all heard the glad news. Wars and political revolutions may sometimes impede the work. The demons of superstition may struggle fearfully in the throes of despair because their hour is come. The wily Jesuit may plot and contrive to circumvent the saints, and sometimes, for a little season, succeed. The ghostly father may send forth his fulminating bulls from the dark portals of the Vatican, to denounce, to terrify, and to doom. He may scatter his servile and chameleon emissaries all through the East, all over the West, tracking the messengers of a better faith to the farthest isles of the sea, casting poison into the fountains of salvation, and sowing tares among the wheat. His spiritual allies of Oxford may exhume the mouldering dust of some half-paganized Father, and from his cinders, sublimate and distil a more refined and ethereal papacy than that of Rome, and be themselves drunk with its fumes, and make half a nation dizzy for a time. The magicians of Egypt, risen again to be the precursors of plagues, may withstand the saints awhile, doing with their enchantments as do the sons of God, and deceive many, if possible, the very elect. But all these things cannot stay the progress of the missionary cause. The church has conceived the idea of a last and better crusade, an idea which shall not stop with its conception, but shall urge us on from theory to practice, from plan to effort. The pious and the good have leagued, not only to rescue the Holy Land from infidel sway, but to make all lands holy, and the whole earth a Jerusalem for joy and rejoicing. The little rills of benevolence, which now flow sparkling from their fountains, shall become rivers, broad and deep, overflowing and fertilizing every land.

If this is, indeed, the morning of a better day, a day of onward march and victory to the church, then is it more to live now than ever before. More pleasant—more fearful, too. The earth will never be converted without vigilance and toil, and long and bitter conflict. The enemies of truth will put forth every energy in the struggle to retain their supremacy. Great exertions will be necessary to maintain the ground already gained. The wiles of errorists are multiform, and deeply laid. The enemy must be met at every point, engaged, and conquered. We shall need, then, wiser, greater, better men than formerly. There are mountains that must be removed; vices and errors, the growth of centuries, to be destroyed; mighty structures of false religion, and all the institutions based upon them, to be overthrown and demolished. What necessity, then, for minds and hearts well trained, to shape their course where time has planted thickets of thorns, and to break down the strong bars with which ages have hedged up the straitened path of duty. All talents and learning, all wisdom and grace are needful here. But the emergency will call them forth. The Lord will raise them up.

As the work goes on, the means will increase. When one laborer falls, another and another shall rise up to fill his place. For the fathers, we shall have the children. Our hope is in a generation that shall be trained and disciplined for this work. Multitudes of the young are now pressing into the kingdom. Surely they will not disappoint us. The pious youth will look forward to the work with ardent desire. As he reads of the labors and the love of those who have died in the missionary field, he will long to follow in their footsteps. At the mention of their devotedness and sacrifice, and lamentation for their loss, a consciousness of indifference and sloth on his own part will not send the quick crimson to his cheek; but emulous of them and their deeds, he will cry, "Here am I; send me." Thus Carey, and Morrison, and Williams shall live again and again. Fisks, Parsonses, and Newells shall be multiplied on every side. Winslow and Judson shall not die, but in newer, fresher frames, shall live, love, and labor another and another age.

S.

THE MISSIONARIES.

A POEM,

BY BERNARD BARTON.

COMMUNICATED EXPRESSLY FOR DR. COX'S HISTORY OF MISSIONS.

THESE went not forth, as man too oft hath done,
Braving the ocean billows' wild uproar,
In hopes to gather, ere life's sands were run,
Yet added heaps of mammon's sordid ore:—
They went not forth earth's treasures to explore,
Where sleeps in sunless depths the diamond's ray;
Nor were they urged by love of classic lore,
Their homage of idolatry to pay
Where heroes fought and fell, or poets poured their lay.

They left not home to cross the briny sea,
With the proud conqueror's ambitious aim,
To wrong the guileless, to enslave the free,
And win a blood-stained wreath of doubtful fame,
By deeds unworthy of the Christian name:
Nor to inspect, with taste's inquiring eye,
Temple and palace of gigantic frame,
Or pyramid up-soaring to the sky,
Trophies of art's rich power in ages long gone by.

Nor did their fancy nurse the gentle dream
Of Nature's fond enthusiast, who, intense
In admiration of her charms, would seem
To worship HER, forgetful of th' offence
Given to her great and glorious MAKER thence!
In them the woodland scenery's sylvan thrall,
The sunny vale, or cloud-capt eminence,
The brooklet's murmur, or the cataract's fall,
But wakened thoughts of Him whose word had formed them all.

For they went forth as followers of the Lamb,
To spread his gospel-message far and wide,
In the dread power of Him, the great I AM,—
In the meek spirit of the Crucified,—
With unction from the Holy Ghost supplied,
To war with error, ignorance, and sin,
To exalt humility, to humble pride,
To still the passions' stormy strife within,
Through wisdom from above immortal souls to win;—

To publish unto those who sat in night
And death's dark shadow, tidings of glad things;—
How unto them the gospel's cheering light
Was risen, with life and healing on its wings;—
How He, the Lord of glory, King of kings,
Their souls to save from sin's enthralling yoke,
Had left those realms where harps of golden strings,
By seraphs touched, in heavenly music spoke,
And by his mighty power their chains of bondage broke:

How He for them upon the cross had died,
And poured his blood to cleanse their guilt away,—
That, plunged beneath its sin-effacing tide,
Their spirits, made no more the spoiler's prey,
Might stand before Him, clothed in white array,
The Saviour's ransomed and redeemed among,
Who worship in his presence night and day,
And join in that "innumerable throng"
Who raise thanksgiving's psalm, salvation's joyful song.

Such was their errand! What though they might fare
Too oft as wanderers on a foreign strand,
Or "lonely pilgrims, as their fathers were?"
They trusted still their Master's guiding hand,
And felt, anon, their humble faith expand;
For He who sent them forth at times would prove
"A rock's vast shadow in that weary land,"
Or give them, in the riches of his love,
To drink the way-side brook, and lift their hopes above.

Nobly, as followers of the Nazarene,
Did CAREY, MARSHMAN, WARD, perform their part:
And by degrees the blessed fruits were seen
In many a contrite and converted heart;
Fruits which might cause unbidden tears to start
From eyes unused to weep; because they told
Faith was their pole-star, and God's word their chart;
Even that faith, more precious far than gold,
That word of promise sure, whose truths are manifold.

Amply were these fulfilled! the chains of caste
Were broken; languages and tongues made one;
That mighty power, THE PRESS, its influence vast
Lent to the cause, that "they who read, might run;"
And, more, to spread the kingdom of his Son,
God raised up native preachers, men untaught
By worldly wisdom, yet surpassed by none
In simple zeal for him whose praise they sought,
Because his sinless blood their sinful souls had bought.

Thus, many a solitary place made glad,
The wilderness forgot its earlier doom;
The joyful desert, with new beauty clad,
Rivalled the rose in its luxuriant bloom;
Thy glory, Lebanon! was given for gloom,
To those who sat in darkness and in night;
And they who in the shadow of the tomb
Before had slept, beheld the radiance bright
Of that arising Sun, whose beams are life and light.

Such was their recompense, whose arduous toil
Had spread through heathen lands Jehovah's name;
Tarriers at home divided, too, the spoil,—
Their aim, their object, and their hopes the same;
Nor less to be revered their humble fame,
Though less conspicuously such may have striven,
Who fanned at home the missionary flame,
Whose frequent prayers were like the hidden leaven,
As by their household hearths they built their hopes in heaven.

Hence SUTCLIFF'S, FULLER'S names are justly dear,
RYLAND and PEARCE in many a heart enshrined;
With equal zeal and love they labored here,
Each filling up the part to each assigned.
All in one work of love to all combined!
Though Paul may plant, Apollos water, still,—
Where both their proper station seem to find,
And zealously its duties to fulfil,—
The blessing is the Lord's—the increase, of his will.

To Him, then, be the glory! All renown
Which man can give to man, must soon decay.
Father, before thy throne we cast each crown;
Thine be the honor, thine the praise alway!
Be thou the guard, the guide, the hope, the stay,
Of all who prize the gospel of thy Son,
Whether at home they hear, or preach, or pray,
Or on thine errands to far regions run;
That so thy kingdom come, thy will on earth be done!

Raise up, and send forth, yet, to heathen lands
Those who shall spread thy name through every clime
And O, may prayerful hearts and holy hands,
At home uplifted, aid, from time to time,
To banish error, ignorance, and crime;
Till every tongue confess, and bend each knee;
And, in the words of prophecy sublime,
Even as the waters cover the wide sea,
Earth may itself be filled with knowledge, Lord, of thee!

HISTORY

OF THE

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Volume 1.

PART I.

THE MISSION FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE YEAR 1815.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE MISSION.

The year *one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two* is memorable as the era of extraordinary events. Portentous clouds had been for a long period gathering in the political horizon, till the thunders of the French revolution exploded, and were heard throughout Europe. Having decreed the abolition of royalty, the Convention summoned the monarch to their tribunal, and consigned him to public execution. The whole country was in a ferment; massacres were perpetrated, and proscriptions issued every day; Christianity was denounced, and in the predictions of their most celebrated men, was speedily to become extinct. The infection of these sentiments spread; and, while intestine commotion and foreign war combined to unloose the cords which bound all social existence together, infidelity usurped the dominion of men's passions, and poured the venom of its malignity into all the channels of literature. The immediate results were alarming. A spirit of selfishness, distrust, and hatred was generated; people were everywhere induced to regard exclusively their personal interests; and the demons of strife stalked abroad over desolated nations.

These effects were far from being restricted to continental Europe; our own country largely participated in the revolutionary feelings of the time; infidelity eclipsed the glory of truth, and spread its pestilential atmosphere amidst the moral darkness and confusion. The nation became warm in politics, and cold in religion. The hallowed excitement of a previous season of revival by the ministrations of Whitefield and the Wesleys, was rapidly subsiding; and, even within the precincts of an orthodox Christianity, the spirit of this world, encouraged by the absorbing interest taken in public affairs, was fast destroying individual piety. Forms and ceremonies, indeed, there were,—maintained, too, with sufficient vehemence and pertinacity; but the power of religion was denied. Nothing, morally great, was achieved; nothing was attempted. Discord reigned in Europe, perplexity in Britain, and gross darkness covered the face of the world.

Into this mass of confusion and crime, God put the purifying leaven; and though at first insignificant, unobserved, slow in operation, encompassed with difficulties, and checked by opposition, —yet the influence was of a nature to manifest its celestial character, and to ensure its permanency. A missionary feeling being produced in a few, gradually expanded till it affected the heart of the Christian church; so that from the humble beginnings about to be recorded,

sprung a general zeal for missions, which, we have reason to conclude, will eventually, under God, accomplish the evangelization of the world.

On the second of October, in the year already mentioned, an anniversary meeting of Baptist ministers in Northamptonshire, was held at Kettering. After public worship, the ministers met privately, for the purpose of considering the moral state of the world, and determining their personal obligations with reference to it; when they came to a solemn and unanimous resolution "to act together in society for the purpose of propagating the gospel among the heathen." They further resolved that, "as in the present divided state of Christendom, it seems that each denomination, by exerting itself separately, is most likely to accomplish the great ends of a mission, it is agreed that this Society be called, "The Particular* Baptist Society, for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen." The Rev. John Ryland, Reynold Hogg, William Carey, John Sutcliff, and Andrew Fuller, were constituted a committee; Reynold Hogg, being appointed Treasurer, and Andrew Fuller, Secretary. The names of several other persons are recorded, who, though not then appointed as forming part of the executive body, zealously concurred in the proceedings: these are, Abraham Greenwood, Edward Sharman, Joshua Burton, Samuel Pearce, Thomas Blundell, William Heighton, John Eayres, Joseph Timms.

As illustrative of the spirit of this truly Christian confederation, part of an address, subsequently circulated by the Association, may here be introduced. "Though this Society honestly acknowledged that its founders were of the Particular Baptist persuasion, we are sure it was not the interest of a party they wished to promote, but the glory of our divine Lord, and the salvation of immortal souls. Hence it was proposed, at first, if no opening was found for a Baptist mission, to have requested the Presbyterian and Moravian brethren, who had already been employed in laboring among the heathen, to accept some assistance from our subscriptions; for, by the leave of the God of heaven, we were determined to do something towards propagating his gospel in heathen lands."

The decision of this remarkable day was not a mere extemporaneous ebullition of feeling. There were previous and preparatory movements of mind, having all the character of sacred impulses, making it evident, that in the administrations of providence and grace, as well as in nature, the most admirable consequences ensue from small and unpromising commencements. A thought arises in the mind of an individual. There it works secretly, for a time, till it irresistibly demands expression. Then it calls into exercise the sympathies of other minds, till, attaching itself to kindred elements around, it moulds into form, and stimulates into activity a series of efforts. These issue in the salvation of innumerable souls, and by the various combinations of Christian benevolence, send down an ever augmenting influence to distant ages. Some of the greatest events, both of secular and ecclesiastical history, have been connected with circumstances apparently the most insignificant, or with men the most obscure and unpretending, that "the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of men."

The first publication of the Society commences with the following words:— "The origin of the Society will be found in the workings of our brother Carey's mind, which, for the last nine or ten years, has been directed to this object with very little intermission. His heart appears to have been set upon the conversion of the heathen, before he came to reside at Moulton, in 1786"* This was penned by Mr. Fuller, with whom congeniality of doctrinal sentiment, and, ultimately, agreement of opinion respecting the necessity and practicability of an attempt to propagate the gospel in foreign countries, had associated him in early and enduring friendship. As corroborative of this statement, the author is able to give the testimony of the late Mrs. Short, sister of Mrs. Carey, from whom he has frequently heard that, long before any measures were adopted for the establishment of a foreign mission, she was witness to the extreme anxiety of Mr. Carey on the subject. Again and again has she observed him in the attitude of intense thought, the subject

* This term is simply a doctrinal distinction, describing those who believe in the election of individuals to eternal life. General redemption is the theory of those who are denominated *General Baptists*.

* Periodical Accounts, No. 1, p. 1.

of which, as it afterwards appeared, was the state of the heathen world. She has often seen him standing motionless for an hour or more, in the middle of a path in his garden, abstracted from outward objects by the "workings" of a mind that had begun to devote itself to a vast and newly contemplated project.

"As to the immediate origin of a Baptist mission," says Dr. Ryland, "I believe God himself infused into the mind of Carey that solicitude for the salvation of the heathen, which cannot fairly be traced to any other source. When he went to Birmingham, to collect for the meeting-house he had built at Moulton, he had mentioned the proposal there. A friend urged him to write and print upon it, and offered to give him £10, towards paying the printer. On his return, he met brother Fuller and brother Sutcliff in my study at Northampton, and then pressed one of us to publish on the subject. We approved much of what he urged, yet made some objections, on the ground of so much needing to be done at home, &c. However, when he could not prevail on either of us to undertake the work, he said he must tell the whole truth,—that in the warmth of conversation at Birmingham, he had said that he was resolved to do all in his power to set on foot a Baptist mission. 'Well,' said his friend, 'print upon the subject; I will help bear the expense.' 'That,' he replied, 'he could not do.' 'If you cannot do it as you wish, yet do it as well as you can,' said his friend; 'you have just now bound yourself to do all you can for this purpose, and I must keep you to your word.' Being thus caught through his own zeal, he could get off no other way than by promising that he would write, if he could not prevail on any one more competent to undertake it. We then all united in saying, 'Do, by all means, write your thoughts down as soon as you can; but be not in a hurry to print them. Let us look over them, and see if anything need be omitted, altered, or added.' Thus encouraged, he soon applied himself to the work, and showed us the substance of the pamphlet afterwards printed, which, we found, needed very little correction."*

*Ryland's Life of Fuller, pp. 238, 239. The conversation with Mr. Potts will show that he *had written* it, but was too modest to confess it to Dr. Ryland and Mr. Fuller.

The account given by Dr. Ryland of the conversation at Birmingham, includes only a part of it. The author has obtained the following particulars from Mr. Medley of Chatham, son of the late Rev. Samuel Medley of Liverpool, who was present, and the only person present on the occasion, besides the interlocutors. Those who knew the late Mr. Potts, the friend in question, will recognize the quaint manner of that excellent man.

Mr. Potts. Pray, friend Carey, what is it you have got into your head about missions? I understand you introduce the subject on all occasions.

Mr. Carey. Why, I think, sir, it is highly important that something should be done for the heathen.

Mr. Potts. But how can it be done, and who will do it?

Mr. Carey. Why, if you ask who, I have made up my mind, if a few friends can be found who will send me out, and support me for twelve months after my arrival, I will engage to go wherever Providence shall open a door.

Mr. Potts. But where would you go? have you thought of that, friend Carey?

Mr. Carey. Yes, I certainly have. Were I to follow my inclination, and had the means at command, the islands of the South Seas would be the scene of my labors, and I would commence at Otaheite. If any society will send me out, and land me there, and allow me the means of subsistence for one year, I am ready and willing to go.

Mr. Potts. Why, friend Carey, the thought is new, and the religious public are not prepared for such undertakings.

Mr. Carey. No; I am aware of that; but I have written a piece on the state of the heathen world, which, if it were published, might probably awaken an interest on this subject.

Mr. Potts. Why don't you publish it?

Mr. Carey. For the best of all reasons, I have not the means.

Mr. Potts. We will have it published by all means. I had rather bear the expense of printing it myself, than the public should be deprived of the opportunity of considering so important a subject.

Mr. Potts afterwards paid the ten pounds. This conversation is recorded with so much care for two reasons,—first, to gratify the feeling of interest

that is so common in every circumstance, even the minutest, that belongs to any person or thing which grows from insignificance to ultimate greatness; and secondly, to call attention to the remarkable fact, that Mr. Carey contemplated the commencement of his foreign labors among the islands of the South Seas. Had this purpose been fulfilled, whatever might have been the result, it is easy to perceive that it would have been not only a far different sphere from that which he did occupy, but of far less importance and appropriateness to his peculiar talents. The providence of God had otherwise designed; wisely frustrating those views which must have greatly restricted his usefulness, and directing him, by an invisible but mighty control, to seek the shores of a country where he was designed, in a wonderful degree, to enlarge the bounds of literature, and extend the influence of religion. He *intended* to go to Otaheite; God *sent* him to India.

William Carey was, at this period, the pastor of a small village church at Moulton. He was born in obscurity, at Paulerspury, in the county of Northampton, August 17, 1761; made a public profession of religion, by baptism, in 1783; and was ordained to the pastoral office in 1787.

Under the pressure of poverty, and while obliged to support himself and his family, at first as a journeyman shoemaker, and afterwards as a village schoolmaster, Mr. Carey had acquired several languages. "I, one day," says Dr. Ryland, "had occasion thus to address him,—'Well, Mr. Carey, you remember I laughed at you when I heard of your learning Dutch, for I thought you would never have any use for that language; but now I have the first opportunity of profiting by it. I have received a parcel from Dr. Erskine of Edinburgh, who has long been used to send me any interesting publications which he receives from America, or which have been printed in Scotland, and this parcel contains several of those sorts; but he says, I shall wonder that he has enclosed a Dutch book. This, he informs me, is a volume of sermons written by a divine now living in Holland, at the end of which is a dissertation on the call of the gospel, which, if any friend of mine or Mr. Fuller's understands the language sufficiently to translate it for us, we shall be glad to see. Now,' said I to Mr. Carey, 'if you will translate this dissertation for me, I will give you the whole book.' He soon afterwards brought me a good dissertation on the subject, and afterwards an extraordinary sermon on Hosea 3, which, I doubt not, were translated from this book."*

With the earliest dawn of missionary purpose in Carey's mind, was associated the study of history and geography. Whether the moral sympathy led to the geographical investigation, or the investigation prompted the sympathy, it may not be easy, and is not important, to determine. They existed together, and were wrought into the habitudes of his mind. He addicted himself to the construction of maps of the world. In sketching the outlines of various countries, and noting the chief places and their population, he reflected much on their spiritual destitution. One thought generated another, thought associated with feeling, and feeling with purpose and plan. Such were the first "workings" of a mind, whose singular capabilities were training, under Divine influence, for a mighty undertaking.

We must go farther still, however, to reach the spring-head—the primary cause of the missionary excitement in Carey's mind, and its diffusion among the Northamptonshire ministers. At the meeting of the association in 1784, at Nottingham, it was resolved to set apart an hour on the first Monday evening of every month, "for extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion, and for the extending of Christ's kingdom in the world." This suggestion proceeded from the venerable Sutcliff. Its simplicity and appropriateness have since recommended it to universal adoption; and copious showers of blessing from on high have been poured forth upon the churches.

At the different ministers' meetings held between the years 1787 and 1790, Mr. Carey was incessantly introducing and descanting upon the subject of the importance and practicability of a mission to the heathen, and of his own willingness to engage in it. Few, if any, however, yet sympathized with his views; some imputed to him an absolute

* Ryland's Life of Fuller.

infatuation, denouncing his project as wild and hopeless; and even the most excellent and eminent men hesitated amidst doubts and fears. Was the time come? Would the denomination concur? What could be done; or how was any thing to be attempted? Was not their own country to be first evangelized? Were the interests of home to be sacrificed (so they regarded it) to foreign and far distant lands? Such were the questions asked, which seemed more perplexing than the profoundest mathematical problems; and the negative reply almost as certain as its demonstrations. They saw not that this new Columbus beheld a yet undiscovered world of heathenism; and, inwardly prompted of heaven, felt a holy impatience to cross the ocean, and penetrate its recesses.

A remarkable illustration of this want of sympathy in his object, occurred, on one occasion, at a meeting at Northampton. Mr. Ryland (father of the late Dr. Ryland) requested one of the younger ministers to propose a topic for discussion. After prolonged silence, Mr. Carey suggested, "the duty of Christians to attempt the spread of the gospel among heathen nations." Mr. Ryland expressed great surprise, and with his characteristic vehemence, called him an enthusiast for entertaining such a notion."*

While laboring as a schoolmaster, and preaching as a minister at Moulton, he wrote the essay, which was afterwards published under the title of "An Inquiry into the obligation of Christians to use means for the conversion of the heathen."

This tract is divided into five sections. The *first* consists of an inquiry "whether the commission given by our Lord to his disciples be not binding on us." It furnishes a striking evidence of the state of the public mind at that period, to find such a man as Carey, standing in the solitude of his own great missionary conceptions, constrained to plead thus:—"What openings in providence do we wait for? We can neither expect to be transported into the heathen world without ordinary means, or to be endowed with the gift of tongues, when we arrive there. These would not be providential interpositions, but miraculous ones. Where a command exists, nothing can be necessary to render it binding, but a removal of those obstacles which render obedience impossible; and these are removed already. Natural impossibility can never be pleaded, so long as facts exist to prove the contrary. Have not the Popish missionaries surmounted all those difficulties which we have generally thought to be insuperable? Have not the missionaries of the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravian Brethren, encountered the scorching heat of Abyssinia, and the frozen climes of Greenland and Labrador, their difficult languages, and savage manners? Or, have not English traders, for the sake of gain, surmounted all those things which have generally been counted insurmountable obstacles in the way of preaching the gospel? Witness the trade to Persia, the East Indies, China, and Greenland; yea, even the accursed slave-trade on the coasts of Africa." Again, "It has been said that some learned divines have proved from Scripture, that the time is not yet come that the heathen should be converted; and that first the witnesses must be slain, and many other prophecies fulfilled. But admitting this to be the case (which I much doubt), yet if any objection is made from this against preaching to them immediately, it must be founded on one of these things; either that the secret purpose of God is the rule of our duty, and then it must be as improper to pray for them, as to preach to them; or else that none shall be converted in the heathen world, till the universal outpouring of the Spirit in the last days. But this objection comes too late, for the success of the gospel has been very considerable in many places already."

The *second* section contains "a short review of former undertakings for the conversion of the heathen," in which is given a condensed and very excellent summary of the Acts of the Apostles, and of many of the subsequent facts of ecclesiastical history, to the eighteenth century.

The *third* section furnishes a "survey of the present state of the world;" that is, of the state of it at that period; it has, of course, been greatly altered since, by those moral and political changes which are continually occurring. It contains, however, many geo-

* Morris's Memoirs of Fuller.

graphical and statistical representations worth regarding, the collection of which is demonstrative of the zeal and industry of the writer.

The *fourth* section consists of "considerations on the practicability of something being done, more than what is done, for the conversion of the heathen." The impediments to the carrying of the gospel among the heathen, the author considers to be either "their distance from us, their barbarous and savage manner of living, the danger of being killed by them, the difficulty of procuring the necessaries of life, or the unintelligibleness of their languages," all of which objections he satisfactorily refutes.

The *fifth* section embraces "an inquiry into the duty of Christians in general, and what means ought to be used, in order to promote this work." These are, fervent and united prayer, and exerting ourselves in the use of means. Here he suggests the formation of a society such as was afterwards organized. "When a trading company," says Mr. Carey, "have obtained their charter, they usually go to its utmost limits; and their stocks, their ships, their officers, and men, are so chosen and regulated, as to be likely to answer their purpose; but they do not stop here, for, encouraged by the prospect of success, they use every effort, cast their bread upon the waters, cultivate friendship with every one from whose information they expect the least advantage. They cross the widest and most tempestuous seas, and encounter the most unfavorable climates; they introduce themselves into the most barbarous nations, and sometimes undergo the most affecting hardships; their minds continue in a state of anxiety and suspense, and a longer delay than usual in the arrival of their vessels, agitates them with a thousand painful thoughts and foreboding apprehensions, which continue till the rich returns are safe arrived in port. But why these fears? Whence all these disquietudes, and this labor? Is it not because their souls enter into the spirit of the project, and their happiness, in a manner, depends on its success? Christians are a body, whose truest interest lies in the exaltation of the Messiah's kingdom. Their charter is very extensive, their encouragements exceeding great, and the returns promised infinitely superior to all the gains of the most lucrative fellowship. Let, then, every one in his station, consider himself as bound to act with all his might, and in every possible way, for God."

He concludes in these emphatic words. "We are exhorted to 'lay up treasure in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal.' It is also declared, that 'whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.' These scriptures teach us, that the enjoyments of the life to come bear a near relation to that which now is; a relation similar to that of the harvest and the seed. It is true, all the reward is of mere grace; but it is nevertheless encouraging. What a treasure, what a harvest must await such characters as Paul, and Eliot, and Brainerd, and others, who have given themselves wholly to the work of the Lord! What a heaven will it be to see the many myriads of poor heathens, of Britons amongst the rest, who by their labors have been brought to the knowledge of God! Surely a crown of rejoicing like this is worth aspiring to. Surely it is worth while to lay ourselves out with all our might, in promoting the cause and the kingdom of Christ."

This brief analysis of the "Inquiry" has been introduced, not only on account of the rarity of the publication, but more especially because of the important influence it exerted in promoting the missionary enterprise. Its appeals were heard, and its suggestions speedily adopted.

In 1788, Mr. Carey removed to Leicester, and became pastor of the church in Harvey Lane. While there, his anxiety for the spread of the gospel abroad increased every day, till it became an habitual and irrepressible passion of the soul. In 1791, after the ministers' meeting at Clipston, he urged forward the discussion, "whether it were not practicable and our bounden duty, to attempt somewhat towards spreading the gospel in the heathen world." The profound impression that was produced by the two sermons preached on the occasion,—the one, by Mr. Sutcliff, on "jealousy for the Lord of hosts" (1 Kings 19: 10), the other, by Mr. Fuller, on "the pernicious influence of delay in matters of religion" (Haggai 1: 2),

—tended greatly to promote Mr. Carey's purpose in the further prosecution of this subject; and he seized with eagerness the favorable opportunity. It was then agreed to publish his thoughts (which was afterwards done in the "Inquiry"), in order, as Mr. Fuller has stated, "partly to satisfy brother Carey, and partly to gain time;" for the ministers had hitherto been compelled by his importunities to consider the subject, but as it was "an unbeaten path," their minds "revolted," and "it seemed to them too great, too much like grasping at an object utterly beyond their reach." What is new and important has generally something in it appalling even to the sturdiest minds; and, perhaps, considering the general state of the world at the time, it need not excite surprise that even a man like Fuller, on whose brow was written, "Shall such a man as I flee?" should at first hesitate.

At the next anniversary of the Association at Nottingham, in May, 1792, Mr. Carey preached a sermon from the second and third verses of the fifty-fourth chapter of Isaiah, which excited the deepest interest, and induced the ministers to resolve, that at the autumnal meeting at Kettering, a plan for forming a society to spread the gospel among the heathen, should be prepared and submitted for consideration. This discourse was arranged under two hortatory divisions, which, like the brief, condensed expressions of illustrious men, on the eve of noble enterprises, have ever since become the watchwords of the church,—1, "*Expect* great things *from* God; 2, *Attempt* great things *for* God." "If," says Dr. Ryland, "all the people had lifted up their voice and wept, as the children of Israel did at Bochim (Judges 2), I should not have wondered at the effect, it would only have seemed proportionate to the cause; so clearly did he prove the criminality of our supineness in the cause of God."* A resolution was passed, "that against the next minister's meeting at Kettering, a plan should be prepared for the purpose of forming a society for propagating the gospel among the heathen."

At the Kettering meeting, *on the second of October*, the society was formally incorporated; and the first subscription, made on the spot, amounted to £13. 2*s*. 6*d*. This sum, though really small, was comparatively large; for it was the contribution of a few poor but enlightened servants of Jesus Christ. It was such as to free it from all charge of ostentation in the motive, and yet such as to evince the faith and the self-sacrifice of those who laid it on the altar of God. The warring world was at the time expending millions in sanguinary conflict, which exhausted nations, and terminated in death and desolation; these men were contributing to enhance the happiness of the earth, and promote the glory of its Redeemer. "What," said the objectors at the time, "is thirteen pounds the mighty sum with which it is proposed to undertake so vast a scheme?" "And were these the men and the means," have said opponents since, in fifty years of reiterated scorn, "with which the conversion of the world was to be attempted?" Precisely so, we reply; for means are accepted of God, when they are proportionate to possession, and blessed with success, when they are employed in faith.

After separating in much prayerful solicitude, the ministers reassembled on the thirty-first of the same month, when the Society held its second meeting at Northampton. On this occasion, Mr. Pearce of Birmingham brought a contribution of seventy pounds from his friends, saying that they had formed an auxiliary society. He was then elected a member of the committee.

At their third meeting, held at Northampton, Nov. 13, a letter was received from Mr. Carey, stating that a Mr. Thomas, a surgeon from Bengal, was raising a fund in London for a mission to that country, and was also endeavoring to obtain a companion in his work. He expressed an apprehension lest this should interfere with their more enlarged plan, and a wish to amalgamate the funds. Mr. Fuller was commissioned to make inquiries respecting Mr. Thomas,—his character and proceedings. A curious circumstance was related by the late Mr. Campbell of Kingsland, as having occurred to himself in relation to Mr. Thomas. He had heard of him by letters from Malda, sent to one of the Scotch bishops who had "an enthusiastic friend, that was always *pestering* him about the success of the gospel in Bengal, and with questions about

* Life of Fuller.

religion at home." "The Bishop," says Mr. Campbell, "knew little of the religion which the Bible contains. I answered his friend's questions as well as I could. I then heard nothing more of the affair until 1792, when in London." While there, he called on Mr. Abraham Booth, and found a gentleman with him in the garb of a minister. It appears that Mr. Booth had felt some doubt about the claims of this gentleman, and did not know what weight to attach to his testimonials. Mr. Campbell reckoned it providential that he went in "just at the nick of time" to authenticate them; for, upon the conversation turning upon Malda, he asked, "Did you ever hear of a Mr. Thomas, a surgeon, who began to preach in India?" After allowing him to proceed with some remarks, he said, "I am the man." He was much struck with this coincidence. It was at the time when inquiries were making, and the Society forming its first arrangements. Mr. Campbell was accustomed quaintly to say, "Thus I had a finger in that pie, too."*

At the meeting in January, 1793, the report given by the Secretary, respecting Mr. Thomas, was highly satisfactory; and "the committee, being fully of opinion that a door was now open in the East Indies, for preaching the gospel to the heathen, agreed to invite Mr. Thomas to go out under the patronage of the Society; engaging to furnish him with a companion, if a suitable one can be obtained." Brother Carey was then asked, whether, in case Mr. Thomas should accede to our proposal, he was inclined to accompany him. To this, he readily answered in the affirmative. The same evening, Mr. Thomas himself arrived at Kettering, and fully acceded to all our proposals."† "It was late in the evening," says Mr. Morris, who was an eye-witness, "while they were in full deliberation, his arrival was announced. Impatient to behold his colleague, he entered the room in haste, and Mr. Carey rising from his seat, they fell on each other's necks, and wept. . . 'From Mr. Thomas's account, we saw,' said Mr. Fuller, 'there was a gold mine in India, but it seemed almost as deep as the centre of the earth. Who will venture to explore it? "I will go down," said Mr. Carey to his brethren, "but remember that you must hold the ropes." We solemnly engaged to do so; nor while we live, shall we desert him.' "*

Mr. Thomas had been educated for the medical profession, and practised for some years in London; but ill success compelled him, in 1783, to go to Bengal, as surgeon in one of the East India Company's ships. In 1785, he returned to London; joined Dr. Stennett's church, and became a preacher. In 1786, he again proceeded to Bengal; and was, for some time, supported by a few pious Episcopalians, while he acquired the language, and aimed to instruct the natives. In two or three years, having dissolved this connection, he returned to England, to seek that encouragement which might enable him to devote the rest of his life to a mission to Bengal. At this crisis, the events of the preceding narrative occurred.

On avowing his determination, Mr. Carey found himself encompassed with difficulties. His church at Leicester, indeed, with a noble and disinterested zeal, at once relinquished their claim; but his wife was utterly averse to the thought of accompanying him. Still, he considered his duty to God as paramount, and amidst the severest struggles of mind, resolved to go, intending to return for her, as soon as he had secured a footing for the mission. He presumed that she might be persuaded to unite in his undertaking when no longer required to pursue an untrodden and adventurous path. She consented, however, to their eldest son Felix being his companion.

In the meantime, an effort was made in London, by calling a meeting at Devonshire Square, to consider the propriety of forming an auxiliary society. Thirty-one persons were present, of whom eight were ministers. In a letter to Mr. Fuller, the chairman states that some who were invited felt indisposed to attend; and that two of the principal people in a leading church spoke decidedly against the formation of such a society. The objection was sustained by a very long appeal from one of the most distinguished of the ministers. "I asked," says he, "what must be said, in case any

* This statement is derived, *substantially*, from Philip's Life and Times of Campbell.
† Period. Acc. No. 1, p. 35.

* Morris's Mem. of Fuller.

one wants to know the opinion of the meeting." It was universal, so far as I observed, that they were willing to assist it (the design) as individuals; but if they were formally to take up the Society, they should *commit the whole denomination.* This was the expression used again and again." It was also inquired of the particular friends of a well-known individual, whether he would receive subscriptions; and it was intimated that the probability was he would not, for he had considered it as an "Utopian scheme."

This is an instructive, though a melancholy page in our early missionary history. It indicates too plainly the low state of religious feeling, and the general deficiency of that expansive benevolence which ought to distinguish the disciples of Jesus. A comparative estimate of the denomination then and at the present time, will show what an element of moral power the missionary spirit is; how it elevates, purifies and blesses,—filling the soul with charity, the life with action, and the church with joy; and how eminently is fulfilled, through its instrumentality, the declaration of Solomon, "There is that scattereth and yet increaseth;" and the still nobler sentiment of him who was greater than Solomon, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

While, however, some who were presumed to possess a leading influence in the metropolis, were afraid of "committing the denomination" by their public acts, many in the rural districts evinced a proper sympathy with the Northamptonshire movement. Mr. Thomas, Mr. Pearce, and others, visited several parts of the kingdom, in which there was a response to their appeal; and even where some hesitation was manifested at first, both ministers and people speedily concurred. Some curious details are given in private letters, of which the following is a specimen. At Worcester, Mr. Thomas writes, that on his arrival, he had poor encouragement; but there was speedily a change. After a collection, "one poor woman, who had put five shillings into the plate in the evening, came next morning, with tears in her eyes, and blessings in her mouth, and willingly gave 16*s.* 6*d.* more. I asked her name, but she would not have it used; 'but *set me down as worthless dust and ashes;*' which I did." Mr. Thomas displayed considerable tact, as well as zeal, in his missionary excursions. After getting wet through in a journey from Horsley to Bath, where he arrived at a very late hour, he preached the next morning; but as they had made it a rule not to have more than one or two cases in a year, and no collections, "I thought," observes he, "that I should have nothing there; but some woman, after hearing the case, sent in a penny. I thanked them, and said I should set down—*Bath, one penny!* On farther thinking of it, the emergency of the case, &c., they agreed to a collection, and, at my brother's table, there was a plate handed round, and £7. 7*s.* collected, which, together with what was collected at the doors, amounted in all to £22. 6*s.* 8*d.*"

Previously to the departure of the missionaries, a farewell service, of great solemnity, was held at Leicester, March 20th, 1793. They soon afterwards proceeded to Ryde, in the Isle of Wight, and embarked on board a ship for India. But their joy was almost instantly turned into sorrow, by the reception of an anonymous letter, addressed to the captain, warning him at his peril to proceed with persons who were unlicensed by the Company. Upon this, they returned to shore, and Mr. Carey hastened to London, in the deepest distress. Even Fuller quailed at the news, and wrote, "We are all undone!" The result, however, proved that it was a providential interference, and intended for good. Mr. Thomas was the most cheerful of the party, though he had reason to suspect that one of his former creditors occasioned this severe disappointment. The interval before the sailing of another vessel, in which they secured a passage, was employed in a visit to Mrs. Carey, with a view to try once more and persuade her, with the rest of the family, to accompany them. She, however, resolutely persisted in a refusal; and they departed for Northampton. Mr. Thomas, still anxious for his friend, determined even yet to return and make a final effort. In utter despondency, Mr. Carey endeavored to dissuade him; but he was resolved; and after renewing his appeals with reiterated urgency, enjoyed the high satisfaction of prevailing. On *June 13th*, 1793, all embarked together in the *Kron Princessa Maria,*

a Danish East Indiaman. In the early morning of their departure, one of them addressed a London minister in the following emphatic words: "The ship is come; the signal made; the guns are fired; and we are going with a fine, fair wind. Farewell, my dear brethren and sisters, farewell! May the God of Jacob be ours and yours, by sea and land, for time and eternity!"

It is unnecessary to record the incidents of the voyage. With the exception of a storm off Cape des Aquilas, the most southern part of Africa, in which they were for a short time in extreme danger, the course to their "desired habitation" was agreeable. Mr. Thomas employed himself on a translation of the book of Genesis into Bengalee. "Brother Carey," says he, "helped me out in passages which I could have made nothing of without him. So let the goldsmith help the carpenter, and the carpenter the goldsmith, that the work of God be done." They arrived in Balasore roads on the *7th of November*, and on the 10th went on shore, when Mr. Thomas preached at a bazaar, or market. He was heard with great attention for three hours, and a repetition of the visit earnestly solicited. On the 11th, they proceeded to Calcutta. A Hindoo, named Ram Boshoo, whom Mr. Thomas believed to have been converted by his instrumentality, on a previous visit to India, waited for them on their arrival; but, to their grief, they found he had been bowing again to idols. Mr. Carey soon saw reason, however, to entertain a good opinion of him; and, some time afterwards, engaged him as a *moonshi*, or interpreter. Another convert, also, called Parbotee, who had adhered firmly to his profession, demands more than a passing notice; the following account of him is condensed from Mr. Thomas's narrative of his own labors in India:

Parbotee was a man of title, a brahmin, a thorough devotee to the Hindoo laws and superstitions. When he heard of the new *Shaster*, or Bible, he was much displeased; and required another brahmin, Mohun Chund, who had been conversing with Mr. Thomas, to wash his clothes, on account of the defilement. When this individual gave his *hookah*, or pipe, to Parbotee, the latter emptied the water out of it, which is a kind of formal disgrace, and a forerunner to losing caste. This being done before witnesses, was a dishonor to Mohun Chund. About two in the morning, however, Parbotee, in the greatest distress of mind, called him up, and desired to hear the gospel, and to be prayed for. They then repaired to the house of Boshoo, where they spent their time till daylight, in reading, praying, and singing. He did not then go to his usual ceremonies; and, on repeated inquiry, it was found that he had had a remarkable dream, which seemed to be of the nature of a divine admonition. The issue was, he confessed and forsook sin, and professed to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Mr. Thomas records a prayer which he offered on one occasion on a journey, just as Parbotee, Mohun Chund, and Boshoo were about to proceed with him along the river, by which they were traversing the country; and it is worthy of admiration for its simplicity and fervor:

"I performed the rites of the Ganges; I called this *good*. I worshipped wood and stone; I called *this* good. I heard the Shasters of men, that are all false and vain; I called *this* good. Lord, I am a most wretched creature to this day; I know nothing—nothing! I have spent all my days in wickedness, and have not obtained the least knowledge of God. O put far from me these evil things! O make them depart far from me! I have hearkened now to thy word; I will hear *them* no more. I will not the least regard the idols of wood and stone any more;—vanity, lies! Lord, I will hear no more at all these Shasters of the Hindoos; they are false and vain. Wretched sinner! Save me! O save, save, save me! Give—give—O give—give, Oh! Lord! Give me to know—hell—what? heaven—what? Without the blood of Christ, I shall never be saved! Without the flesh of Christ, I shall never live! Lord, what is the meaning of this? I know not what it is. How can I get the blood of Christ? O, teach me! I will do any thing thou sayest. Caste! what? Home! what? Friends! what? Life! what? What is any thing? All is nothing; but thee. I want no money; I want nothing but thee. O what a wretched sinner I am! O tell me thy way! O tell me by moonshi; tell me by the sahaib!* We are going to Calcutta.

* *Sir.* He meant Mr. Thomas.

Many, many wicked things are there. O keep us all while we stay there!

"O that I had but love! O that I had but faith! O that I had forgiveness! O that I had but those things which thy people have! Like them—O give me like them! O Lord, how many evil things are in my mind every day! I am a wicked, blasphemous wretch! I have shame in me—wicked shame before the people, and wicked fear of men. Far, O far away from me, put far away my sins! Forgive me; and teach me what I shall do! I will do any thing. O that I did but know what to do! O give —give—give, Lord! What shall, what can I do!"

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST MISSIONARIES IN INDIA, TO THEIR SETTLEMENT AT SERAMPORE.

After the arrival of the missionaries in Bengal, they were in great perplexity respecting a place of residence. Three weeks were occupied in the arrangement of their secular affairs at Calcutta, when they proceeded to Bandell, a Portuguese settlement, about thirty miles distant. The inhabitants of that village consisted of Catholics and Mahometans, but multitudes of Hindoos lived in the populous vicinity. These listened with much attention to the addresses of Mr. Thomas, and were full of inquiry about the way to heaven. Apparently there was no opening for usefulness in Calcutta; but at the earnest solicitation of several brahmins and pundits, and with a view to his own profession as a surgeon, he rather determined upon remaining there; while Mr. Carey agreed, for the present, to accept the gratuitous accommodation in the garden-house of a banian at Maniktulla. The reason he assigns for leaving Bandell, is, that it was impracticable to live there as he thought missionaries ought, in association with the people among whom they labor. Having been informed that he might obtain jungle-land, rent free, for three years, at or near Deharta, thirty-two miles eastward of the city, whither he had sent a trusty old native to make inquiries, he applied to Mr. Thomas, to whom was intrusted the little money they possessed, for assistance; but found that through his inconsideration and improvidence, all was expended. He determined, therefore, to borrow five hundred rupees, and retire into the wilderness alone. His temporal necessities now began to press heavily on his spirits. Repeated applications to his friend were in vain, and he felt himself indeed a stranger in a strange land. In these circumstances, however, he pursued his purpose of translating the Scriptures with unmitigated ardor; and finding himself capable of conversing intelligibly with his moonshi, or interpreter, he writes, on the 21st of January, "we are determined to begin correcting the translation of Genesis tomorrow."

The offer of a bungalow at Deharta, belonging to the East India Company, till he could provide a residence, induced him, at the beginning of February, 1794, to make preparations for his departure. Behold, then, this devoted servant of Christ launching forth in a little boat, scarcely knowing, like Abraham, whither he went, all but totally destitute of the means of subsistence, uncheered by the sweet associations of friendship, uncountenanced by the ruling authorities, carrying with him a reluctant family who thought it hard to be forced from Calcutta, guided only by a native (Ram Boshoo), through the salt rivers and lakes, and partly along a river of the Sunderbunds, the habitation of fierce animals, prowling for their prey;—behold him, intent, not on the acquisition of wealth or fame, but solely in a voluntary expatriation to the distance of fifteen thousand miles from his native land, to rescue the wretched children of men from idolatry and vice; and more than willing to labor, to suffer, or to die, for their salvation! What is the glory of ambition, to this sublimity of benevolence?

As the family party proceeded up the Jubona, they found themselves not only

desolate, but in utter destitution. Their strength was exhausted, and their provisions failed. At this critical juncture, a gentleman was seen walking along the banks of the river, with a gun in his hand for amusement. The guide, Ram Boshoo, said that a house which they saw, was built after the English fashion, and inhabited by an English gentleman. This led Mr. Carey to think of calling there. At this moment, the gentleman in question, who was the very English resident described by their guide, perceiving the boat, which he saw was occupied by Europeans, approached, and invited the whole party to his mansion. He was frankly informed of their missionary object; but, though he had no sympathy with it, having no regard for religion, he hesitated not to offer them accommodation; and this he gratuitously continued, and on the most liberal scale, for some months, till they could make arrangements for themselves. All were deeply affected with this providential interposition; and the name of Charles Short, Esq. was ever afterwards, and justly, held in grateful remembrance.*

Mr. Carey had been expecting to find land at Hashnabad, but obtained it very near, at Collahtullah, a pleasant situation, with a fine soil. In this locality, he began to erect a house of an humble description; and was soon much encouraged by being informed that the favorable representations of his moonshi had induced four or five hundred families to think of taking up their abode in his vicinity. The situation was close to the Sunderbunds, the dread of whose fierce inhabitants, the tigers and other wild animals, had before driven the population to a distance; but the anticipated residence of an European, induced them to think of returning to that deserted neighborhood. As soon, therefore, as the language was acquired, an opportunity for useful exertion seemed likely to present itself, both among Hindoos and Mussulmen.

Some time afterwards, another situation invited a settlement, which seemed far preferable to a precarious subsistence in a desolate wilderness. The reasons for a removal were satisfactory to the mind of Mr. Carey, not to say that the call was imperative. A friend of Mr. Thomas, George Udney, Esq., had removed from Calcutta to Malda. A domestic affliction having befallen him, Mr. Thomas hastened, with characteristic ardor, to pay him a visit of sympathy, though at the distance of some hundreds of miles. This led to the renewal of an intercourse that had been suspended by partial estrangement. Mr. Udney had just begun the erection of two indigo factories; and not having been able to find any persons to superintend them, a proposal was made that Mr. Thomas should take one under his direction, and Mr. Carey the other. By this arrangement, ample provision would be made for the supply of their temporal necessities, and an extensive field afforded for their evangelical labors; each, moreover, would be placed in a situation of direct influence over more than a thousand persons. Accordingly, on the 23d of May, Mr. Carey proceeded to this distance of 300 miles, which required three weeks to accomplish; and, in June, took up his abode at Mudnabatty; while Mr. Thomas went to reside within seventy miles, at Moypauldiggy, the other factory. This neighborhood was little more than a hundred miles from Thibet. It was supposed that their respective factories would furnish shelter for any person who might lose caste by the reception of the gospel; and that they might be able to aid the mission by devoting their incomes to its support. These views were sustained by the committee at home, who, however, united caution with their consent, in the following resolution,—that, "though, upon the whole, we cannot disapprove of the conduct of our brethren, in their late engagement, yet, considering the frailty of human nature in the best of men, a letter of serious and affectionate caution be addressed to them."

At this period, the life of Mr. Carey was embittered in consequence of a malady which had long afflicted his wife, and which was now increasing to a state of absolute mental derangement. His eldest son was ill during several

*This occurrence is related, with slight circumstantial differences, by Mr. Fuller, in a small fragment of an intended history of the mission; but the writer must adhere to the narrative he has given as correct, having had repeated opportunities of verifying it. Mr. Carey's sister was afterwards married to Mr. Short. At a subsequent period, they visited this country, when the author became intimate with them, and Mrs. Short afterwards joined the church at Clipstone, of which he was then the pastor.

months; and his third son died. He suffered, also, himself, from two attacks of intermittent fever.

In a letter, dated Jan. 6th, 1795, Mr. Carey communicated to the Society the assurance of his being able to afford pecuniary aid to the missionary undertaking; and the additional intelligence that he could preach the gospel to the natives in their vernacular idiom. Already had he visited five villages, where *all* the inhabitants, though, indeed, they were not numerous, had attended his ministry; and the sphere of exertion was continually enlarging. He refers, also, to twenty Europeans, who were friendly, and disposed to unite in their worship. An attempt was made to establish a school; but many difficulties were encountered, in consequence of the natives removing their children on the slightest occasion.

The journals of Mr. Carey, during the year 1795, show that both he and Mr. Thomas persevered in the diligent discharge of their duties, though uncheered by much success. He mentions, however, addressing large assemblies, and expresses peculiar pleasure that many attended who were not their own workmen, and who might, therefore, be presumed to be under other influence than mere motives of self-interest. They had now constituted a Christian church. It had only four members, indeed,—themselves and two Europeans; but they were full of faith that, even in these dreary wastes of idolatry, the little one might become a thousand. The most that could yet be said of the natives was, that a youth of eighteen, named Cassinut Mookhurgee, a brahmin, evinced deep concern about salvation; and this had continued uninterruptedly for three months. The labors of Carey, however, were not so local as might be imagined. He occupied a district of about twenty miles square, within which, besides occasional excursions, he proceeded in perpetual rotation, through two hundred villages, to proclaim the gospel. "My manner of travelling," he says, "is with two small boats; one serves me to live in, and the other for cooking my food. I carry all my furniture and food with me from place to place; namely, a chair, a table, a bed, and a lamp. I walk from village to village, but repair to my boat for lodging and eating."

The Hindoos, to whose spiritual welfare this eminent man had now devoted his life, are regarded as the aborigines of the country. From the period, however, of the conquest of India by Tamarlane, A. D. 1398, a great part of Hindostan had been under the Mahometan power; but the Hindoo subjects of the Mogul empire are incomparably more numerous than their conquerors. Their character has been recently described by an eloquent pen, in the following words: "The physical organization of the Bengalee is feeble even to effeminacy. He lives in a constant vapor bath. His pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. During many ages, he has been trampled upon by men of bolder and more hardy breeds. Courage, independence, veracity, are qualities to which his constitution and his situation are equally unfavorable. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak, even to helplessness, for purposes of manly resistance; but its suppleness and its tact move the children of sterner climates to admiration, not unmingled with contempt. All those arts which are the natural defence of the weak, are more familiar to this subtle race than they were to the Ionian of the time of Juvenal, or to the Jew of the dark ages. What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty, according to the old Greek song, is to woman,—deceit is to the Bengalee. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery, are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges. All those millions do not furnish one sepoy to the armies of the Company. But as usurers, as money-changers, as sharp legal practitioners, no class of human beings can bear a comparison with them. With all his softness, the Bengalee is by no means placable in his enmities, or prone to pity. The pertinacity with which he adheres to his purposes, yields only to the immediate pressure of fear. Nor does he lack a certain kind of courage, which is often wanting in his masters. To inevitable evils, he is sometimes found to oppose a passive fortitude, such as the Stoics attributed to their ideal sage. An European warrior, who rushes on a battery

of cannon with a loud hurrah, will shriek under the surgeon's knife, and fall into an agony of despair at the sentence of death. But the Bengalee, who would see his country overrun, his house laid in ashes, his children murdered or dishonored, without having the spirit to strike one blow, has yet been known to endure torture with the firmness of Mucius, and to mount the scaffold with the steady step and even pulse of Algernon Sydney."*

It will now be necessary to advert to certain transactions at home, which belong to this period of the mission. In a committee meeting, held at Arnsby, on the 17th of April, 1795, it was resolved that Africa appeared to present a favorable opening for the extension of the kingdom of Christ. This was inferred from the Sierra Leone Reports, which had been recently published. Mr. Jacob Grigg, a student at Bristol, having offered himself as a missionary, and being conditionally accepted, the committee determined to inquire after a suitable companion in labor, upon the avowed principle of regard to the practice of our Lord, in sending out his disciples *two and two*. At the same meeting, the Treasurership changed hands from Mr. Hogg, to Mr. Thomas King, of Birmingham. In June following, Mr. Rodway, recently a student at Bristol, but then residing at Burton-upon-Trent, was chosen at his own request, to accompany Mr. Grigg to Africa. These young men were publicly designated to their work, on the 16th of September, 1795, at Birmingham; and a recommendatory letter was given them to the church at Sierra Leone, under the pastorate of David George. They left Spithead on the 2d of November, reached shore at Sierra Leone on the 1st of December, and found a house provided for their reception. Governor Dawes was extremely courteous to them, and took great interest in the mission. They accompanied him to the island of Benunas, distant thirty miles from Free Town, where he recommended one of them to settle, and to Port Logo, about forty miles up the river Sierra Leone, which he deemed eligible for another station. To the latter place, accordingly, Mr. Grigg repaired, and took with him a black settler as a factor; but this led to unpleasant consequences, being undersold by a slave factor, and induced to return to Free Town at the approach of the rainy season. From this place, the nation of the Simmanies extends about a hundred miles inward towards the East.

The health of Mr. Rodway was found to be so affected by the climate, that he was quite incapacitated from pursuing his missionary intentions, and by the advice of the surgeon of the colony, returned to England, in September, 1796. A still more grievous circumstance was, that Mr. Grigg embroiled himself in disputes with a principal person at Sierra Leone; so that, at length, the Governor deemed it necessary to insist upon his departure from the colony. The Society was, ultimately, obliged to discard him; and he withdrew to America.

The abortive character of this attempt, especially when the Africans evinced a readiness to listen to the European message of mercy, was deeply affecting to the deliberative body at home; and they left upon record two remarks upon the subject.—First: That it is a very mysterious instance of Divine Providence, that two young men, who had both engaged—and we verily trusted, after close examination, from the purest motives—in preaching the gospel to the heathen, should both, for the present, be obstructed in their work; that he who seemed likely to succeed, from the prudence and amiableness of his spirit, should be incapacitated by affliction; and he who was well able to endure the climate, and whose sprightly powers were equal to the energy of his constitution, should incapacitate himself by the impropriety of his conduct. We are not without apprehension, that our own spiritual defects may have contributed to this affliction. When we sent out our first mission, it was a work altogether new,—a path that we had not been used to walk in. We, therefore, trod every step of it with fear and trembling. Our supplications to Heaven were fervent and continued. But, perhaps, having succeeded in the first instance, we were less fearful, and less importunate with God, in undertaking a second.

"Secondly: It may be the design of God, by covering this undertaking with a cloud for the present, to try us. In undertakings of this kind, we ought

* Edinburgh Review, for October, 1841, pp. 172, 173.

to lay our accounts with a portion of disappointment. . . . Examples may be permitted, as a warning to other missionaries, that they meddle not in things foreign to their mission. It has fallen to our lot to give the first warning of this kind; we hope, also, it may be the last; but whether it be or not, we are sure it does not become us to be disheartened. Israel was repeatedly put to flight before Benjamin; and yet they did not desist, and, at last, became victorious. If they could persevere amidst discouragement, in the execution of justice, we trust we shall not be less disposed to perseverance in the exercise of benevolence and mercy." *

Among the earliest objections to the institution of a missionary society for distant regions, one was derived from the state of our own country. It was presumed that, while seeking the good of the heathen, sufficient regard was not had to the spiritual destitution at home. Although this was very justly deemed invalid as an objection to foreign enterprise, it roused attention to domestic claims; and, as the best practical answer, it was determined to devote a portion of the funds to an experimental effort. Accordingly, in the summer of 1796, Messrs. Saffery of Salisbury, and Steadman, then of Broughton, undertook a preaching excursion through the county of Cornwall, under the auspices of the Society. In the following summer, a similar tour was performed by Messrs. Stedman and Franklin of Coventry. These journeys did not appear to produce any very immediate or extensive effects; though, perhaps, it may be said that they had a preparatory influence with regard to future exertions.

To return to the general narrative. It having been thought desirable to provide an additional number of missionaries in Hindostan, Mr. John Fountain, a member of the church in Eagle street, London, was appointed to the work. He set sail in the month of April, 1796, and on the 24th of September, reached Mudnabatty. "Brother Carey," says he, "most kindly received me. When I entered, his pundit stood by him, teaching him Sungskrit. He labors in the translation of the Scriptures, and has nearly finished the New Testament, being somewhere about the middle of Revelation." Thomas's ardent desire, expressed in the following impassioned language, seemed thus approaching to its accomplishment. "I would give a million pounds sterling, if I had it, to see a Bengalee Bible. O most merciful God, what an inestimable blessing will it be to these millions! The angels of heaven will look down upon it to fill their mouths with new praises and adorations. Methinks all heaven and hell will be moved at a Bible's entering such a country as this. O Lord, send forth thy light and thy truth!"

During this year, the publication of the gospel was attended with some little success. A few of the hearers evinced deep concern of soul; but the night was so dark, and the mists of superstition so thick, that the country seemed all but impenetrable to the evangelical light. But were the missionaries dispirited, or disposed to desist in their efforts? Far from it; discouragement did not quench the fire of their zeal, or diminish the energy of their perseverance. In such circumstances of difficulty and depression, we see the grandeur of the missionary principle. Then, indeed, it attains the glory of a moral martyrdom, when success, however encouraging, is not essential to sustain the Christian laborer in his toil, and defeat is not able to drive him from the field, or overcome his faith in God. He is thus prepared for self-denial and suffering, and learns, for Christ's sake, even to "glory in tribulation." The following extract from a letter of Mr. Carey, addressed to Mr. Pearce, affords a fine illustration of this sentiment. "Although I have not written in the most encouraging manner, respecting my own labors, yet do not suppose that I am weary of my work. No: I would not, for all the finest stations in England put together, abandon the mission to the heathen. I have much within and much without, to lament; but I am in my element; nay, I am but, as it were, beginning to enjoy the pleasure of communicating my heart to these people of so very strange speech. I begin to feel a sacred and increasing pleasure in the contemplation of the certain downfall of the kingdom of darkness in this long, long benighted region. The work to which God has set his hand, will infallibly prosper. Christ has begun to bombard this strong

* Period. Acc., Vol. I, pp, 259, 260.

and ancient fortress, and will assuredly carry it. It is not the usual way of God, to desert what he has begun in the public work of grace, any more than in his secret work in the souls of individual believers; and especially in such a time as this, when every thing portends the downfall, the speedy downfall of all that opposes the dear Redeemer's reign."

Great hopes were entertained respecting three natives of high caste, namely, Ram Ram Boshoo, Mohun Chund, and Parbotee. The first of these, however, at an early period, dishonored his profession. There were, also, four Mussulmans, laboring men, who seemed much impressed with the truth and power of Christianity. One of them, named Yarda, was possessed of very good abilities.

In the early part of the year 1797, Messrs. Carey and Thomas made an excursion to Bootan, an extensive country, subject to the Dib Rajah. They were courteously and even honorably received among a people quite a contrast to the Hindoos in their athletic frame and fearless character. The Lama Goroo, as they call him, is considered only as a representative of God. They have his image in their houses, about the size of a large man's thumb. In the report of the journey, it is stated that they "preached Christ in many places where his name was never heard before, and were attended to with great ardor. The name of our Redeemer has been declared in that unknown country; and we have the greatest encouragement to hope that a mission may be begun to great advantage in these parts."

The proceedings of this year were chiefly distinguished by persevering assiduity, in the preparatory labor of translation, in the preaching of the gospel, and in frequent conversations with the natives. Upon the whole, the missionaries considered their prospect more pleasing than at any preceding period. There were more hearers of the word, greater attention paid to it, and a door was opened for its entrance into the metropolis of the district. Their school succeeded tolerably, but they were distressed by the extreme ignorance of the people. Mr. Fountain, whose piety and zeal were eminently encouraging, writes to Mr. Fuller, that a Mr. Fernandez, of Dinagepore, had generously erected a brick place of worship in that city, for the purpose of introducing the gospel to its inhabitants. He was a native of Macao in China, of Portuguese or Italian extraction, and was educated for a Roman Catholic priest; but being shocked at the worship of images, after earnest inquiries, ultimately relinquished the church of Rome. He had been twenty-two years in the country. The place of worship he had erected, was opened by Carey, Thomas, and Fountain, on the first Sabbath in November; and they agreed to supply it in monthly services.

Mr. Carey describes himself as in good health during the year, but mentions a dangerous fever encountered by Mr. Fountain, from which he recovered; but a similar attack proved fatal to their schoolmaster. Such a season was scarcely ever remembered. The city of Moorshedabad had been nearly depopulated. The earliest letters of 1798 report that the prospect brightened, and "hopeful appearances" were visible in several of the natives. The school consisted of nineteen boys, some of whom made considerable progress, especially in writing. A Hindoo, named Hurry Charon, and one or two others, were pleasingly inquisitive about salvation. Still the scene was desolate. "To look at present circumstances only," says Mr. Fountain, "would fill the mind with despair; but standing by faith on the immutable promises of Jehovah, and looking through the telescope of prophecy, a scene presents itself, sufficient to inspire the highest hopes, and to enrapture all the contemplative powers of the soul. In the everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure, I see mankind as 'new creatures;' strongholds are demolished; vain imaginations, and every self-exalted thing, are cast down; whilst every thought is sweetly captivated in obedience to Christ. I see Hindoo pagodas and Mahometan mosques all destroyed. Where they stood, Christian temples are erected, in which Jehovah is worshipped in the beauty of holiness. The horrid music is heard no more. The frantic dance has ceased. Instead thereof, the sanctified heart bounds with sacred pleasure, and the tongue is

filled with the high praises of God. The dreadful exploits of devils deified, are no longer the burden of the song; but the unparalleled exploits of grace divine." This extract will tend to show the excellent character and spirit of the writer. It is the language of a genuine missionary, and evinces that implicit confidence in God, which, by giving to futurity a visible form and a palpable existence, inspires consolation, and quickens to activity, under present discouragements.

In another letter, Mr. Fountain furnishes some scriptural illustrations, which afford a pleasing evidence of his intelligent and observing mind: "Lately, reading the sixth chapter of Judges, I met with several circumstances which appear to be illustrated by the customs of this country. The angel's coming and sitting under a tree, answer exactly to the place and position in which travellers rest themselves in India. One may always see somebody sitting in the shade of a great tree. Gideon appears to have been threshing out of doors; and the same is the practice of this country. They do not make use of a flail as in England; but, holding the sheaf in both hands, strike it against a board. The present that Gideon prepared for his guest, was just in the manner of this country. In England it is a day or two's work to fetch a sheep, to kill it, and get it ready for the table; but here a man will take a sheep or a goat, kill it, and cook it, all with his own hands, in the short space of two hours. They cut the meat into little bits to boil, just like pie-meat in England. Thus, it is probable, did Gideon; and, when it was done, took the pieces of meat, and put them into a basket, and the soup in a pot. Brother Carey and I have often eaten such a dinner as this, under a tree. It is nothing with us now to eat and sleep under a tree, when on a journey. In this country, we are obliged to take with us provisions for ourselves and our beasts; there being no public inns nor roads for the accommodation of travellers."

The Bengalee translation was now proceeding with rapidity.*

In April, the Committee resolved to send paper from England for the purpose of printing the New Testament. In October, Mr. Carey states that he had finished the translation of the Pen-

* A long and interesting letter from Mr. Fountain to Dr. Ryland, on this subject, has been preserved. It is dated Mudnabatty, May 22, 1793. A few extracts from it will not only gratify a reasonable curiosity respecting the primary proceedings of the missionaries, in their translations, but perpetuate the memory of the writer, who was held in the highest estimation during his short and useful career. The words at the foot of each extract, included in brackets, are written by Dr. Ryland.

"While brother Carey has been translating, I have frequently sat by him and noted down the changes we have either been forced, or judged proper to introduce in certain passages, and the observations that we have made at the time. I think he has submitted some of them to your judgment; a few others I will now send, wishing for your thoughts and remarks thereon.

"Gen. 1: 21.—'And God created great *whales*.' The word here rendered *whale* is, in Exod. 7: 9, 10, 12, rendered *serpent;* and in Deut. 32: 33, it is rendered *dragon;* as also, in Psal. 148: 7, where it signifies a *sea-monster*. In this place of Moses, Parkhurst says, it signifies or seems to include both the *crocodile* and whale species.—See Heb. Lex., p. 890. [*Sea-monster.*]

"Gen. 2: 3.—'Which God created *and* made.' The Hebrew is, *which God created to make*, or that he might make. Query, Does not *creation* seem to imply, the bringing of *being* out of nonentity, and *making*, the after-*formation*, or *bringing it into order?*

"Ver. 5, 6.—'For the Lord God had caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground: but there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.' This reading proves nothing; but the Hebrew serves to refute the foolish idea of every thing being produced by what is called *nature;* for nature itself (which is nothing but the regular law of Jehovah imposed upon the creatures) existed not now. What are now called shrubs and vegetables, were *made*, before there was rain to fructify, or man to cultivate. The Hebrew says, 'The Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, nor was there a man to till the ground, nor a mist ascending from the earth, to water the whole face of the ground.' Thus have we rendered it in the Bengalee.

"Chap. 10: 21.—'The brother of Japheth the *elder*. The Hebrew, which we have followed, reads, *The brother of Japheth the greater*. Thus, a younger one, when speaking of an elder, says, 'My great brother.'

"Chap. 11: 3.—'And they had brick for stone, and *slime had they for cement*.' We have followed the Hebrew, which reads, 'They had clay for cement.' [*Perhaps bitumen.*]

"Num. 10: 21.—'And the Kohathites set forward, bearing *the sanctuary*.' The English idea of a sanctuary is, *a holy place;* but place cannot be removed. We have rendered it, *the materials of the sanctuary*. [*Holy tent.*]

"Deut. 6: 8.—'And they shall be as frontlets *between thine eyes*.' This circumstance, amongst others, seems to strengthen the opinion, that *the Hindoos are the descendants of the dispersed Jews*. The memorial between the eyes is (according to the learned), what is rendered *phylactery*, Mat. 23: 5; and they agree that the *Greek word*, as well as the *Hebrew sign*, signifies a *distinction*. The brahmins (and I believe some others) retain to this day a distinguishing mark between the eyes. Those who are worshippers of Beeshnu, call their mark *Teetook*. It is a straight stroke from the middle of the crown to the end of the nose. Other brahmins put a straight stroke *across* their foreheads, called *Ireemundul*. This is done at their evening worship. Others put a *curved line*, called, *Ohdho Chandes*, that is, half moon, across their foreheads, for the same purpose.

"Indeed, all the Hindoos who know any thing, are addicted to an hyperbolical way of speaking, upon every occasion. They have been accustomed to poetry from the earliest ages, and, perhaps, of that *superlative kind* to which no other part of the world can make any pretensions. They appear, however, never to have known *blank verse*. Their shasters, their poorans, and even their grammars are in rhyme. The lowest people remember any thing spoken in rhyme, beyond every other manner of speaking. We are daily hearing them, when at work, singing the hymns which we sing in time of worship. Brother Carey has translated into Bengalee, 'Ashamed of Jesus,' &c., 'O'er the gloomy hills of darkness,' and 'Salvation, O the joyful sound!' He has also *composed* two (very good ones, I think), in Bengalee. I have translated them into English."

tateuch, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, part of Ezekiel, and the New Testament. In November, he says, "The translation of the Bible may now be looked upon as finished; as it will be so, before the means of printing it can be conveyed to us. Brother Fountain has begun to translate from Joshua onwards; and though his translation will necessarily require a scrutinous revisal and re-revisal, and the liberal use of the pruning-knife, yet it will much forward the work; and he, being indefatigable in it, will improve." In the mean time, a printing press was purchased at Calcutta for four hundred Sicca rupees, and preparative measures were adopted for procuring types. We afterwards find the following curious record: "*Sept. 18th*, 1793.—This day we set up the printing press at Mudnabatty. Some of the natives, who came in to look at it, went away and said it was a *balatle dhourga;* viz., an English idol!"

At this crisis, Mr. William Ward presented himself as a candidate for the service of the mission. He was by profession a printer; but, being called to the ministry by the church in George Street, Hull, of which he was a member, he went to Ewood Hall, near Halifax, for improvement under the tuition of Mr. Fawcett. Having expressed a willingness to proceed to India, he was accepted as a missionary, at the minister's meeting at Kettering, on the 16th of October. About the same time, Mr. Daniel Brunsdon, from near Pershore in Worcestershire, but then a resident in Bristol, offered himself to the Society. He had been some time a member of the church at Broadmead, and, being recommended by Dr. Ryland, was placed at Olney, under the instructions of Mr. Sutcliff. A third candidate was found in Mr. William Grant, a member of the same church. His history was remarkable. At the age of sixteen, he had associated himself with a young deist, with whom he read Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary, and united in ridiculing Christians as fanatics. Two years afterwards, he was partially reclaimed by Priestley's History of the Corruptions of Christianity; but soon relapsed into his former principles, and plunged into profanity and vice. He was conscious, however, of the inconsistency of atheistical opinions, became convinced, at length, of their falsehood, and, by an attention to natural philosophy and anatomy, perceived such demonstrations of the intelligent First Cause, that he believed in the being of a God. Soon afterwards, he met with Mr. Marshman, a member also of Broadmead, in a bookseller's shop. Observing him looking at a Latin dictionary, he inquired of Mr. Marshman if he understood that language; and finding that he did, requested some instruction. His new friend and teacher soon heard him sneer at the absurdities of Calvinism, particularly at the atonement. This, with its associate doctrines, became the subjects of frequent conversation; till, with other means of grace, he was brought to a saving knowledge of Christ, and made a public profession of his name. Hearing of the mission to India, and reading the periodical accounts, excited a desire of personally engaging in the work; and he devoted himself to it, with the full approbation of his pastor. Simultaneously with Mr. Grant's wish, was a similar feeling in the heart of his friend Mr. Marshman. He had come from Westbury Leigh, where he had received his first impressions of religion; was chosen master of the Broadmead charity school, and joined the church in June, 1794. While instructing others, he was eager to improve himself, and attended the academy (now the Bristol College), every day for an hour, where he obtained a tolerable acquaintance with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. The author was his class-mate, and read with him, appropriately enough, Cicero's Treatise "*De Naturâ Deorum.*"* His first inclination to undertake the missionary enterprise, appears to have originated in Mr. Grant's mentioning his own intentions; but, having once determined upon it, he gave himself to the service, at the age of thirty-two, with cheerful disinterestedness and fervent zeal.

In April, 1799, a passage was secured

* When, many years afterwards, he was on his visit to England, this early intercourse was adverted to with mutual satisfaction. The auther further mentioned to him, that he had adopted, of his own accord, while a student at Bristol, the practice of committing a few words, particularly Greek roots, to memory during his daily walks. Mr. (then Dr.) Marshman replied, "This is a curious coincidence; I did the same thing at the same time, self-prompted; and have studied *every language I have since attained* in the same manner, and have found it the most effectual method."

for the missionaries, Ward, Brunsdon, Grant, and Marshman, with their wives, in the *Criterion*, Capt. Wickes, who was an elder of the Presbyterian church at Philadelphia. On the 3d of May, the two latter were solemnly designated to the work at Bristol; and the two former on the 7th at Olney. The absence of Mr. Pearce was universally deplored, especially as it arose from that melancholy illness which, in the end, deprived the Christian church of one of its brightest ornaments. He, however, addressed a letter to Mr. Fuller, in which he offered some salutary counsel, and then proceeded with these impressive words: —"O that the Lord, who is unconfined by place or condition, may copiously pour out upon you all, the richest effusions of his Holy Spirit on the approaching day! My most hearty love to each missionary and each companion, or intended companion, of a missionary, who may then encircle the throne of grace. Happy men! happy women! you are going to be fellow-laborers with Christ himself! I congratulate—I almost envy you; yet I love you, and can scarcely now forbear dropping a tear of love, as each of your names passes over my mind. O what promises are yours, and what a reward! Surely heaven is filled with double joy, and resounds with unusual acclamations at the arrival of each missionary there. O be faithful, my dear brethren, my dear sisters, be faithful unto death, and all this joy is yours! Long as I live, my imagination will be hovering over you in Bengal; and should I die, if separate spirits are allowed a visit to the world they have left, methinks mine would be soon at Mudnabatty, watching your labors, your conflicts, and your pleasures, whilst you are always abounding in the work of the Lord."

The exertions of Mr. Pearce for the mission were unremitted; and although his desire to be actually engaged as a missionary, had been frustrated, he may be said to have died, partly at least, in consequence of those exertions. A cold which he had caught in returning from the ministers' meeting at Kettering, was probably aggravated by a journey for the mission to Sheapshead, Nottingham, and Leicester. Consumption ensued; and his valuable life terminated October 10, 1799.

Samuel Pearce was "a burning and a shining light." There was an *intensity* in his whole mind and character, visible alike in his mental pursuits, his moral sympathies, and his ministerial career. When general knowledge was his object, his eagerness for acquisition was irrepressible; when the welfare of others engaged his attention, his philanthropy seemed to stretch to the poles, and circumnavigate the earth, while it acted like light converged into a focus upon every separate point of human necessity; when the salvation of souls was his aim —and it was his great, his daily, his absorbing aim—then did the majesty and power of religion appear. In private, he was all sweetness, condescension and love. His devotion was like a vestal flame—pure, consecrated, inextinguishable. His pulpit exercises were full of heart, and free in language. They were, indeed, declamatory more than argumentative; but singularly pathetic and persuasive. At times, he would rise into raptures, and glow like a seraph; and notwithstanding the disadvantage of a voice which failed him in his most animated moments, his oratory was irresistible. The peculiar character of the man and the minister shines forth in one of his own impassioned exclamations—"O to be a Mercury, for ever rolling round and *near* the sun!"

The author has a distinct and delightful recollection of an incident which, as remarkably illustrative of his character, ought to be recorded. The meeting-house at Guilsborough, in Northamptonshire, having been rebuilt, after it had been consumed by fire, Mr. Pearce, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Sutcliff preached on the occasion. At the rural repast in the afternoon, the persons assembled were privately expressing to each other their pleasure in listening to Mr. Pearce's discourse, till, at length, a gentleman rose at the table, and made a public request to him to preach again the next morning, at an early hour. With equal simplicity and zeal, he replied, "If you will find a congregation, I will find a sermon." The hour fixed was five o'clock, in order to accommodate the country people. At the breakfast table, Mr. Fuller addressed him thus, "Brother Pearce, I was gratified with your discourse this morning, and hope it will do much good; but I know you will ex-

cuse my freedom, if I say, that I thought you did not seem to close when you had really finished. I wondered that, contrary to what is usual with you, you seemed to begin again at the end; how was it?" He replied, "It was so; but I had my reason." "Well, then, come, let us have it." This was all said in a kind of jocular manner, which Mr. Fuller would sometimes assume. Mr. Pearce paused, and a little hesitated; but, on being once more entreated, said, "Well, my brother, you shall have the secret, if it must be so. Just at the moment I was about to resume my seat, thinking I had finished, the door opened, and I saw a poor man enter, of the working class; and from the sweat on his brow, and the symptoms of his fatigue, I conjectured that he had walked some miles to this early service, but that he had been unable to reach the place till the close. A momentary thought glanced through my mind—here may be a man who never heard the gospel; or it may be, he is one that regards it as a feast of fat things; in either case, the effort on his part demands one on mine. So with the hope of doing him good, I resolved at once to forget all else, and, in despite of criticism, and the apprehension of being thought tedious, to give him a quarter of an hour." The impression produced by this simple explanation, which unveiled so much of love to souls, in connection with the self-sacrificing spirit of the true minister of Christ, may be better imagined than expressed.

It cannot be supposed that such a man could be lukewarm, while others were feeling for the distant heathen, and planning a missionary enterprise. No; he was just the individual to kindle at once. His reason, his heart, his conscience, his every power and passion, became consecrated to the cause. The materials for the sacred fire were all ready in his mind; it was only to apply the torch, and he blazed forth, till his zeal consumed him. He joined in consultation with the committee—returned eagerly to Birmingham—preached, prayed, collected, and poured at once seventy pounds into the treasury. Lovely in spirit, like John; eloquent in appeal, as Apollos; self-sacrificing and active, as Paul; he seemed exactly the agent the newly-projected mission wanted. His ardor and his reputation gave him a kind of ubiquity. As a man and a preacher, he was known, he was *felt* every where. He was truly "one of whom the world was not worthy;" one, of whom the church and the world, alas! were but too soon deprived.

The missionaries, Ward, Brundson, Grant, and Marshman, were solemnly commended to their work at a public meeting on the 10th of May, held at Prescot Street, when Abraham Booth addressed them, on *the interesting, honorable, and arduous nature of their undertaking*. On the 25th, the ship dropped down to Gravesend, where Sutcliff, Fuller and Button bade them a final adieu.

The missionaries appear to have been assiduous in their aim to promote the spiritual welfare of the seamen during their voyage; and, in fact, may be said to have commenced their missionary labor on board ship. In addition to regular preaching and prayer-meetings, they held repeated conversations with the men, and, as they believed, with beneficial effect. They mention, in particular, the hopeful impressions produced on the minds of three of the sailors, Lewis, Spencer, and especially Worcester, who were enabled to endure sneers and ridicule. Several of the crew, also, were induced to read their Testament; some listened to the gospel; and a few began to pray. One or two of the blacks often manifested serious emotions. Having set up a school on board, they had most of the crew, with the boatswain and cook, under tuition. Among them were six negro sailors, who all learned reading, writing, and arithmetic.

They arrived in India on the 12th of October, and on the 13th, proceeded to Serampore, a village on the banks of the river Hoogly, fifteen miles from Calcutta, described by Mr. Grant as "a beautiful little town, and esteemed the most healthy spot in all India." It was a Danish settlement, and very much the resort of decayed tradesmen, and gentlemen who had been unsuccessful in business at Calcutta. It contained about fifty English houses, and was inhabited by Danes, English, Scots, Germans, Greeks, Armenians, Irish, Bengalees, and Portuguese. There they remained at an inn a few days, awaiting the arrival of Mr. Carey. But a dark cloud overshadowed them. On the 27th,

Mr. Grant was prevented from attending the public worship which they conducted, by a cold accompanied with stupor. No serious apprehensions were entertained respecting him, till the morning of the 31st, when he departed in peace. He was interred in the Danish burying-ground, and a funeral discourse was delivered by Mr. Ward; on which occasion, the Governor, with two other gentlemen, mingled with the little band of mourners. "The Lord's dealings," observes Mr. Marshman, "strike me with amazement; that he who was so earnest in the missionary cause, should thus be taken off, before he had the least opportunity of doing any thing for that cause, appears mysterious. That the Lord should make use of him to stir me up, and loosen me from those many connections in which I seemed so firmly fixed; and that I should, after seeking to God with many tears, be determined to go immediately, not waiting, as I had at first resolved, till he had gone to India first, and sent me an account how matters stood, in which case, my coming at all might have been prevented; —I say, that he should be raised up for this purpose, and then be taken to glory, is to me quite astonishing." It seemed as though God were training them by disappointments and trials of almost every kind, for an extraordinary career; and as though he were giving a practical lesson to the whole church, on the importance of pursuing missionary undertakings not only with entire devotedness, but in the spirit of humble dependence on him alone.

About the middle of November, Messrs. Ward and Fountain went to Mudnabatty, to consult with Mr. Carey respecting the removal of the whole mission family to Serampore. He had found it impracticable to remain at Kidderpore, whither he had removed, as the factory at Mudnabatty had declined; and, with all the interest he could employ, he was unsuccessful in obtaining permission of the government for the missionaries to settle in the British territory. Besides this necessity, other considerations urged them, with force, to unite in one place. The chief purposes of the mission would thus be best carried on; the printing of the Scriptures most advantageously effected, as Mr. Ward would then have the inspection of the press; other missionaries might be allowed to join them at Serampore; and the population was far more numerous in that district, than in that part of the country which they determined to vacate. In his journey to that place, Mr. Carey thus communicates his feelings to his friend, Mr. Yates, of Leicester, under date, *Gobra, Jan. 6th*, 1800.—"You will inquire, what has become of those nations concerning whom some hopes have been entertained? What has become of the rising interest at Dinagepore? and is all preaching given up at Malda? Is the school dissolved, and all the fruits of five years' labor relinquished at once? I answer,—none but myself can tell the conflict and the exercises of my mind, on this trying event. But necessity has no law; our resources are too small to permit us to live separately, and the work of printing the Bible requires my inspection. I hope well of Sookmun and Hurry Charron. The very last conversation I had with them, gave me much encouragement. Our labors at Dinagepore have not been in vain. The Christians, also, in the neighborhood of Malda, please me much. We hope to visit those places once or twice in the year, besides corresponding with our friends by letter. The school at Mudnabatty is necessarily relinquished; though not till we have the pleasure of knowing that about fifty lads have been taught to read and write, who could otherwise have known nothing. The name and doctrines of Christ are known by many; so that a foundation is laid for our future efforts to become effectual."

Mr. Carey arrived at Serampore *on the 10th of January*, 1800, and the next day, on being presented to the Governor, was very kindly received. "We have," says Mr. Ward, "purchased of the Governor's nephew a large house in the middle of the town, for 6000 rupees; or about £800; the rent, in four years, would have amounted to the purchase. It consists of a spacious verandah and hall, with two rooms on each side. Rather more to the front, are two other rooms separate; and on one side is a store-house, separate also, which will make a printing-office. It stands by the river-side, upon a pretty large piece of ground, walled round, with a garden at the bottom, and in the middle, a fine tank or pool of water. The price alarmed

us, but we had no alternative; and we hope this will form a comfortable missionary settlement. Being near to Calcutta, it is of the utmost importance to our school, our press, and our connection with England."

In a few days, they prepared a set of rules for the government of the family. They were to preach and pray in turn; one was to superintend the affairs of the family for a month, and then another; Carey was Treasurer, and had the regulation of the medicine chest; Fountain was appointed Librarian. One of their resolutions was, that "no one should engage in private trade; but that all be done for the benefit of the mission."

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MISSIONARIES AT SERAMPORE, TO THE TENTH YEAR AFTER THEIR ARRIVAL IN INDIA.

The perplexities attendant upon the early years of the mission, proved an important discipline to prepare its agents for subsequent usefulness; and the kind of providential compulsion which led to the transfer of the centre of operation to Serampore, was illustrative of one of those characteristics of the Divine government, by which the best results arise from what is in diametrical opposition to the inclination of those by whom they are to be accomplished; so that both the wrath of sinners, and the reluctance of saints, are made to praise God. The removal from Mudnabatty was entirely opposed, at first, to the views and plans of Mr. Carey. "It was," says he, "so afflicting to my mind, that I scarcely ever remember to have felt more on any occasion whatever;"* and yet it became afterwards evident that the most important interests of the mission were dependent upon it.

In the new residence at Serampore, they were encouraged by the friendship of the Danish governor, whose patronage only ceased at his death. They would have been unable to unite in one establishment, so as to render Kidderpore, as had been contemplated, the seat of the mission, through the jealousy of the British East India Company; but here they lived in privileged association together. At that place, the erection of a press for printing would have been, if not impracticable, inefficient, for want of competent aid and convenience of situation; but at Serampore, all difficulties appeared to be removed, especially after the arrival of Mr. Ward. They had now a far more populous neighborhood, an unwatched and unobstructed security, and the advantage of a short distance from the metropolis, with an easy access to it. Thus, outward countenance, internal union, and a stock of valuable experience and discipline, brought from the wilderness, combined with the accommodations they had procured, though at a somewhat alarming cost, to give a fresh impulse to their undertaking.

The 17th of March, 1800, is recorded by one of the missionaries in the following words, with an evident delight that will find a chord of respondent sympathy in most Christian hearts,—"On this memorable day, *the first page of the New Testament was composed for printing in Bengalee.* Now, O Lord, let the day break and the sun arise!"

Immediately upon their settlement at Serampore, they commenced a system of itineracy; and, going out, generally two and two, they preached, and held discussions with the natives, demolishing the false philosophy of the brahmins, and exposing the fables of Hindooism. Europeans frequently attended the public services, and Mr. Carey repeatedly proclaimed the gospel in the streets. The following incident will illustrate their assiduity and readiness to become all things to all men, if, by any means, they might save some. Mr. Ward is the narrator. "In this country, it is common for the lowest of the people to take up the trade of ballad-singers, or beggars, for they have no written or printed books to sell. This morning (March 30, 1800), at a place in the town where four roads meet, brethren Carey, Marshman, and I, made our

* Letter to Mr. Fuller.

stand, and began singing *our* ballad. People looked out of their houses, some came, and all seemed astonished to see three sahibs turned ballad-singers. This evening, three of us went one way, and three another. The people seemed quite anxious to get the hymns which we give away." This was a proceeding which worldly men may probably ridicule, and which none can appreciate who are unacquainted with that "love of Christ which passeth knowledge." If he who was "the brightness of the Father's glory," became a carpenter's son and a man of sorrow, to promote our salvation,—if he disdained not the humblest occupations of a way-side and village itineracy, to instruct the people,—well may his disciples descend to the lowliest condition, and employ the simplest instrumentality, to subserve the same high design.

On the 24th of April, the missionaries solemnly united together as a church, Carey being chosen pastor, Fountain and Marshman, deacons. In the evening, Mr. Carey addressed them from those appropriate words in the twelfth chapter of the Romans, "rejoicing in hope."

On the 26th of May, they began to print the first sheet of the New Testament; 1700 copies were on Patna-paper, and 300 on English. About 500 of the gospel of Matthew were struck off in a detached form, to be distributed immediately. "Our labors every day," says Mr. Ward, "are now regularly arranged. About six o'clock, we rise;—brother Carey to his garden; brother Marshman to his school (a Bengalee school of forty children), at seven; brother Brunsdon, Felix (Carey's son), and I, to the printing-office. At eight, the bell rings for family worship; we assemble in the hall, sing, read, and pray. Breakfast. Afterwards, brother Carey goes to the translation, or reading proofs, brother Marshman to school, and the rest to the printing-office. Our compositor having left us, we do without. We print three half-sheets of 2000 each in a week; have five pressmen, one solder, and one binder. At twelve o'clock, we take a luncheon; then most of us shave and bathe, read and sleep before dinner, which we have at three. After dinner, we deliver our thoughts on a text or question. This, we find to be very profitable. Brother and sister Marshman keep their school till after two. In the afternoon, if business be done in the office, I read and try to talk Bengalee with the brahmin. We drink tea about seven, and have little or no supper. We have Bengalee preaching once or twice in the week, and on Thursday evening we have an experience meeting. On Saturday evening, we meet to compose differences and transact business, after prayer, which is always immediately after tea."*

The little fraternity was exceedingly gratified, about this time, by the indications of piety in Felix and William Carey, the one fifteen, the other thirteen years of age. These youths engaged in prayer with them once or twice a-week, with great seriousness and simplicity; and, besides, manifested concern for the perishing heathen.

Affliction, however, soon entered the circle. Mr. Fountain was seized in June, with a violent dysentery, and on the 20th of August, died at Dinagepore. He was only thirty-three years of age; had just acquired the language; and, by his various qualifications, gave promise of eminent usefulness. His letters were full of piety and feeling. He had a taste for poetry, of which some specimens remain, and a talent for music. He was the leader of singing in worship, and had a very pleasing voice. His death-bed was a moral triumph; his medical attendant remarked, that he never saw a person so composed, and he wished to die like him. He dictated his own epitaph as follows,—"John Fountain, missionary to the Indies, aged thirty-three; a sinner saved by grace."

Another painful dispensation, but of a different kind, occurred in December. Mr. Thomas fell into a state of temporary insanity. It seems to have been a disease to which he was constitutionally disposed; for he had been visited by two or three attacks in previous years. This would account for some of those eccentricities which disfigured an otherwise bright and useful career.

The various objects of the mission were pursued with great vigor,—the Bengalee school, the distribution of the gospel of Matthew, the circulation of tracts and hymns, and the preaching of the word, both to natives and Europeans.

* Ward's Journal.

While some complained that they were poisoning the minds even of their very children, others of the natives received their gifts with eagerness, and began to maintain a free and friendly intercourse; while they had the satisfaction of seeing a few emerge from the depths of heathenism into the light and profession of Christianity. At the church meeting, on the 22d of December, five individuals,—Gokol, Krishno, his wife, named Rasee, and her sister Joymooni, together with Felix Carey, appeared as candidates for baptism and church communion. "The chain of the caste is broken," said Ward, exultingly, "and who shall be able to mend it?" It was, in fact, a great event, and was no sooner "noised abroad," than a commotion was excited in the neighborhood, and two thousand were supposed to have assembled, who poured their anathemas on the new converts. Krishno and his family were dragged before the Danish magistrate; but he dismissed them with commendations. The zeal of their persecutors, however, brought them back upon another charge,—that of his withholding his daughter from the man to whom she had been betrothed. The girl said that she would become a Christian with her father; and, on the bridegroom declaring that he would not abandon heathenism, the governor said that she should not be compelled to marry a heathen against her consent. At the request of the missionaries, he afterwards sent a sepoy to watch Krishno's house during the night; and subsequently suggested that she should be removed to the mission premises, till after her baptism, as he apprehended they would murder her.

On the 29th of December, Mr. Carey writes to Mr. Sutcliff,—"Yesterday was a day of great joy. I had the happiness to desecrate the Gunga, by baptizing the first Hindoo, namely, Krishno, and my son Felix." In his journal, Mr. Brunsdon says,—"There were a great number of Portuguese, as they are called, and Europeans present, as well as Hindoos. Brother Carey sung, prayed, and preached in Bengalee; then led down Felix, and baptized him, and afterwards Krishno. To the former he spoke in English, 'I baptize thee,' &c.; to the latter in Bengalee. It was a very pleasant sight indeed." The Danish governor, being present, was affected to tears by the solemnity of the scene. "Ye gods of stone and clay," exclaims one of the missionaries, "did ye not tremble, when, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one of your votaries shook you as dust from his feet!" The great uproar that had been excited, occasioned the dissolution of the school, by the withdrawment of all the Bengalee children.

On the 18th of January, 1801, Mr. Fernandez, and Krishno's wife's sister, Joymooni, were baptized; and, on the 27th, received into the church, which now consisted of fourteen persons. They expected, also, his wife, and another, of the name of Unno. The English school which they had established, was now yielding them at the rate of £300 a year. Mrs. Marshman had begun a successful school for young ladies. Of the new converts they speak in the highest terms; particularly of Krishno. He was met in the street by an European stranger, and asked, "what he got by his profession of Christianity?" He answered, "he got nothing but much joy and comfort; it was the work of love." One evening, he said, "his chief thoughts now were about the salvation of others. He addressed Christ thus,—'Come, and I will give thee a throne in my breast; there I will worship thee; and I will invite others to admire thine excellences." Joymooni said, "she had found a treasure in Christ, greater than every thing else in the world." On the other hand, the brahmins manifested great inveteracy against them. Fakira, who seemed to have heard Mr. Thomas, whose servant he was, at Beerbhoom, with saving impressions, having spoken before the church, went up the country, but returned not, probably, as they thought, being detained from a public profession by force. Gokol withdrew, under the influence of his wife and father-in-law.

The missionaries had times, however, of suffering for the sake of Christ. "*Jan.* 30, 1801. For a month past, we have gone into the market-place at Buddaburry, instead of staying at the entrance of the village, and have had a large number of hearers, though sometimes a little turbulent. However, today, I entered the market-place, while brother Carey went to a brahmin's house, and met with a much more unpleasant

reception than usual. After speaking about ten minutes, a rude fellow began to be very abusive, and, with the help of a few boys, raised such a clamor that nothing could be heard. At length, seeing no hope of their becoming quiet, I retired to the other part of the town. They followed, hallooing and crying, '*Hurree boll!*' an exclamation in honor of Veeshno.* They at last began to pelt me with stones and dirt. One of the men, who knew the house to which brother Carey was gone, advised me to accompany him thither, saying that these people would not hear our words. Going with him, I met brother Carey. We were not a little pleased that the devil had begun to bestir himself, inferring from hence that he suspected danger. 'Think ye,' said our Lord, 'that I am come to send peace upon earth? I came not to send peace, but division.' "†

On the 7th of February, Mr. Ward writes,—"*This day we have finished composing the New Testament;*" which had occupied about nine months. It was a suitable occasion for a meeting of thanksgiving, which the missionaries held accordingly; and the native converts united with them. Copies were presented to the local governor and the governor-general. Soon afterwards, Mr. Carey was appointed by the Marquis Wellesley, teacher of the Bengalee and Sungskrit languages in the college of Fort William. But he did not allow this office to become a source of personal emolument; on the contrary, with the concurrence of his brethren, he resolved to appropriate every temporal advantage that might arise from it to the service of the mission.

Poor Krishno was again called to suffer fresh trials respecting Golok, his daughter; but his Christianity prevailed. She was, on the 10th of April, seized near his house by two men, one of whom was the person to whom she had been early contracted in marriage. Her father followed, and overtook them; but they beat him unmercifully. Three others were sent in pursuit, but in vain. Golok, also, was beaten on their way to Calcutta, whither they were forcibly carrying her; and, crying out as they passed a police station, the master of police detained them for inquiry; when she said, "she had heard of the love and sufferings of Christ; these things laid hold of her mind; she was become a Christian from choice, and was not willing to go with this man." The next day, the parties appeared before the magistrate, when the man claimed her as his wife. The magistrate said he could not separate them, but would protect her in the exercise of her religion. She was deeply afflicted thus to be left in the hands of idolaters. Krishno, at the first, consoled himself and his family, by remarking, "Perhaps she was taken to Calcutta, that she might speak of Christ there;" and now, he said, "his chief concern was for Golok to be baptized, and that she might bear a great testimony to Christ before the thousands of Calcutta." The magistrate disregarded his feelings, and refused him the sight of his daughter, notwithstanding repeated applications. Her husband, evidently much attached to her, some weeks afterwards paid fifty rupees to the brahmins to recover her caste, when a sacrifice was to be offered; but she nobly refused, exclaiming, that "live or die, she would be Christ's." At length, her father, accompanied by Mr. Carey, obtained admittance to her; but he left the house only in time, as he had reason to believe, to escape being murdered. A deposition was made before a magistrate, by the father of the husband, that Krishno had brought three or four Europeans, to remove his daughter by force. This was disbelieved; but the magistrate told the husband, if Krishno went again, to beat him away. It was proposed to take a house at Calcutta, where Krishno might reside; which would facilitate alternate visits from the Christian women and missionaries to Golok, and perhaps open a door for the gospel; especially as Mr. Carey was likely to be there during several days of each week, in consequence of his professorship.

Krishno daily evinced a growing devotedness to the interests of Christianity. The chief topic in his conversation with

* The Hindoos say, that from God (whom they call Eshar or Bhogabon, and sometimes by the Persian word, Khoda), proceeded three personal virtues or powers; viz. *Birmmha*, or *Bruhma*, the creator of all; *Veeshno*, or *Vishnu*, the preserver of all; *Seeb*, the destroyer of all. The former has scarcely one temple; the brahmins only, in memorial of their descent from Bruhma, every morning at sunrise, wash in the Ganges, or some sacred tank. In all other respects, his functions and worship seem to be absorbed in that of Veeshno, in whose temples he is sculptured with four heads and four arms.—See *Maurice's Indian Antiquities*.

† Marshman's Journal.

the natives, was the love and death of Christ, and the fruits of faith; and he often zealously defended the truth against the attacks of Armenians and Europeans; so that some thoughts were entertained of setting him entirely apart to missionary labor. His own views were explained to Mr. Ward. "As I lay musing one night," said he, "I thought thus:—one or two of the missionaries are dead; Mr. Carey is much engaged at Calcutta, Mr. Marshman in the school, and Mr. Ward in the printing-office; Bengal is a large country;—how shall the people know about Christ? I would go to the end of the world to make his love known." The method of his intercourse is thus represented. A man says, "Well, Krishno, you have left off all the customs of your ancestors,—what is the reason?" He replies, "Only have patience, and I will inform you. I am a great sinner. I tried the Hindoo worship, but got no good. After a while, I heard of Christ,—that he was incarnate, labored much, and at last laid down his life for sinners. I thought, what love is this! And here I made my resting-place. Now say, if any thing like this love was ever shown by any of your gods. Did Doorga, or Kalee, or Krishna die for sinners? You know that they only sought their own ease, and had no love for any one." Rasee, Krishno's wife, had the honor of being beaten in the street by the byraggee who owned the house in which Gokol, the fifth Hindoo baptized, was living. The brahmins and bystanders were inveterate.

Self-prompted, Krishno erected a house for God, immediately opposite to his own. This was the first native place of worship in Bengal; and, on the 16th of August, Mr. Carey preached in it to about twenty natives, besides the family of the builder. The missionaries aided in the expense. Soon after, they purchased a piece of land for sixty-one rupees, upon which they proposed to rear a house for Gokol, a room for Unno, and another for a chapel and school. In October, the adjoining house, with upwards of four acres of land, were purchased for 10,340 rupees. They had now received six Hindoos, "whom," says Marshman, "we esteem more precious than the same number of the most beautiful gems in the universe. Yet we need great prudence in our conduct towards them. We are obliged to encourage, to strengthen, to counteract, to advise, to disapprove, to teach; and yet to do all so as to endear the Saviour to them, and retain a place in their warmest affections."

In the spring, Serampore quietly passed into the hands of the English; and, happily, the missionaries now found themselves as much unmolested as under the Danish government. Not a gun was fired at the capture; and, after being summoned to the government-house, they were informed by Colonel Bie, that they were allowed to proceed with their labors as under his protection, while the English commissioner apologized for the trouble to which they had been put in leaving their occupations.* Mr. Carey refers to it, and his own appointment as professor, in these words,—"Serampore is in the hands of the English; but we have nothing to fear. I was appointed Bengalee and Sungskrit professor in the college of Fort William, by Lord Wellesley, *expressly under the character of a missionary.* I have now gone through one term."†

After referring to several Hindoos who had embraced Christianity, Mr. Carey says, "the brahmins are as full of opposition and strife, as men can well be. They gnash with their teeth, abuse with their tongues, and would do more if they could. This, however, is only the effect which the gospel may always be expected to produce. So long as they could, by any sophistry, make the common people suppose that the gospel harmonized with their shasters, all was well; but now the veil is removed, and some have voluntarily trampled on the honors of their caste, the matter is quite altered, and the *harmless* Hindoos are as ferocious as Sunderbund tigers."

This year was mournfully distinguished, like the last, by the removal of a valued member of the missionary band. Twelve months had not elapsed since the decease of Mr. Fountain, when Mr. Brunsdon was slain in the high places of the field. At the close of the previous year, he took, as he conceived, a severe cold, by standing on the damp floor of the printing-office. This was followed by a cough, accompanied with considerable fever. Mr. Thomas having arrived, ordered a warm bath, which proved of

* Ward's Journal.
† Letter to Mr. Sutcliff, dated June 24, 1801.

material benefit. In the course of a month or two, he went to Calcutta, and found that his complaint was an enlargement of the spleen. Medical treatment, however, was ineffectual; and, at the commencement of July, after frequent delirium and corporeal sufferings continued almost to the last, he finished his course at the early age of twenty-three. In referring to Mr. Brunsdon's fatal illness, Mr. Fuller, writing in the name of the Society, remarks, "We cannot but perceive the hand of a wise and merciful Father in all, who, when he tried us with the want of success, preserved your lives and hopes; and now that success is given, it is accompanied with afflictive bereavements. Had these afflictions been united, you and we might have sunk under the load; or had these successes been unaccompanied with thorns in the flesh, we might have been exalted above measure. As it is, we are led to serve the Lord with fear, and to rejoice with trembling."

Another afflictive dispensation occurred on the 13th of October, in the decease of Mr. Thomas, at Dinagepore, the proximate cause of which, was a cold terminating in flux and fever. He was a man of unquestionable excellence; warmly attached to the missionary enterprise; and ever to be esteemed as the early coadjutor and chief consoler of Carey, in the early years of solitariness and discouragement. Sometimes, indeed, he filled him with great concern and perplexity; being rather inconstant in action, and thoughtless in the use of money. Still, let his memory be revered, as having struck the first spark of that missionary fire that was kindled in India, which will, sooner or later, consume all its superstitions and idolatries.

"His afflictions and disappointments," observes Mr. Fuller, "appear to have led him much to God, and to a realizing application of the strong consolations of the gospel. He seldom walked in an even path; we either saw him full of cheerful and active love, or his hands hanging down, as if he had no hope. His sorrows bordered on the tragical, and his joys on the ecstatic. These extremes of feeling rendered him capable of speaking and writing in a manner peculiar to himself. Almost all that proceeded from him came directly from the heart.

"If we were to judge of him by what we heard in England, we should say his talents were better adapted to writing and conversation, than preaching; but the truth is, his talents were adapted to that kind of preaching to which he was called; a lively, metaphorical, and pointed address on divine subjects, dictated by the circumstances of the moment, and maintained amidst the interruptions and contradictions of a heathen audience. A large company of brahmins, pundits, and others, being assembled to hear him, one of the most learned, whose name was Mahashoi, offered to dispute with him. He began by asserting that 'God was in every thing,—therefore,' said he, 'every thing is God; you are God, and I am God.' 'Fie, fie, Mahashoi,' answered Mr. Thomas, 'why do you utter such words? Sahib (meaning himself) is in his clothes,—therefore (pulling off his hat, and throwing it down), this hat is Sahib! No, Mahashoi; you and I are dying men; but God ever liveth.' This short answer confounded his opponent, and fixed the attention of the people; while, as he says, he 'went on to proclaim *one God*, *one Saviour*, *one way*, *one faith*, and *one caste*, without and besides which, all the inventions of men were nothing.'" "There are abundant proofs," observes a writer in the Quarterly Review,* "of a zeal, a warmth of heart, a genius, which, in the Romish church, would have obtained altars for him, and which, in our own, entitle him to respect and admiration. 'Do not send men of any compassion here,' says Thomas, 'for you will break their hearts.' But with that rapid transition which marks the man of genius, he immediately adds, 'Do send men full of compassion here, where many perish with cold, many for lack of bread, and millions for lack of knowledge. This country abounds with misery. In England, the poor receive the benefit of the gospel, in being fed and clothed by those who know by what they are moved; for where the gospel is generally acknowledged in a land, it puts some to fear, and others to shame; so that, to relieve their own smart, they provide for the poor. But here, O miserable sight! I have found the pathway stopped up by the sick and wounded people, perishing

* Vol. I, February, 1809.

with hunger, and that in a populous neighborhood, where numbers pass by, some singing, others talking, but none showing mercy; as though they were dying weeds, and not dying men.'"

The visits to different parts of the country, and the distribution of small tracts, to which the missionaries addicted themselves, were soon attended with a blessing. *Petumber Shingo*, or *Singhee*, a native, of the writer caste, was an evidence of their success. He travelled forty miles from his residence at Footepoor, to hear the gospel, and said that one of their papers had brought good news to his mind. He had read many books, and inquired after salvation in vain; but in these truths he had found the way of life. He was a very respectable and venerable man, about fifty years of age; of a sober, determined mind, possessed of much gravity, and well acquainted with the Hindoo writings. Even the heathen acknowledged him to be a truly honest man. "Heretofore they had taunted at us, because 'none of the rulers or the Pharisees believed;' but this conquest of grace has silenced them; his caste being the most honorable of all among the sooders, though it admits of several degrees of honor."* Krishno found him to be a man after his own heart. Hopes were entertained of the decision of others, and of two Roman Catholics, in connection with the ministry of Mr. Carey at Calcutta.

At length, on the third day of January, 1802, they had the satisfaction of baptizing Petumber, and appointing him their Bengalee schoolmaster, a situation for which they deemed him well qualified. They refer, at the same time, to the hopeful state of Syam Dass, who had frequented the preaching of the gospel in the streets and lanes of Serampore for many months. "There is a brahmin, too," they say, "named Kemol. He has for many years been sick of idolatry, but not of sin universally. He has been hovering round us for more than a year."† Honored men, how did they watch for souls! How did they hail every spark of grace, and feel their assiduities repaid in even one or two converted to God! "When I think of Petumber having been an idolater," writes Mr. Ward,* "and hear him say in prayer, 'O Father, God!' I cannot help rejoicing over him."

The appointment of Mr. Carey to the college at Calcutta occasioned him much employment and anxiety, but presented a favorable opportunity for the extension of his useful influence; for he availed himself, with indefatigable zeal, of every interval of business, to converse with any natives to whom he obtained access. He had begun, also, a meeting for prayer and pious conversation, in the house of Mr. Rolt, of Calcutta. Many were full of astonishment at seeing the converted Hindoos sit and eat with Europeans. The brahmins were exceedingly jealous of the exploring eyes of foreigners searching into their sacred shasters; and consequently, disliked the institution of the college at Calcutta. An idea, however, of the advantage which the friends of Christianity might obtain, by having these "mysterious sacred nothings" exposed to view, partly induced Mr. Carey to write a Sungskrit Grammar, and to commence a Dictionary of that language.† In their quarterly epistle of this period, they speak of the erection of a school for the board, clothing, and tuition of twenty native youth in the principles of Christianity. Petumber Shingo, the Caesto, was, as already stated, Bengalee teacher; Ferguson, a Portuguese Christian, English teacher. Kemol, the brahmin, was to attend the catechumens in their exercises on elementary principles; while Mr. Carey was to give lectures on geography, astronomy, divinity, and other subjects.

A new sect having recently sprung up among the Hindoos, under a famous leader, called Dulol, to which Krishno and Gokol had been attached, Mr. Carey, Mr. Marshman, and Krishno, were induced to pay him a visit. A brahmin who lived with him, had been sent to request baptism, with the assurance that he would himself follow, and bring a hundred thousand disciples. To this they paid no attention; but thought it proper to proceed on a visit of inquiry and instruction, entertaining the hope that this defection from the superstitions of the country might be conducive to the spread of the gospel. About forty

* Letter from Carey to Morris.
† Period. Acc., Vol. II, p. 248.

* Journal. † Letter from Carey to Sutcliff.

years before, a cowkeeper obtained great reputation by pretending to cure diseases. He gave the people his choron amreeta, or the amreeta of his foot (the water of immortality), accompanying it with his blessing, and inviting them to disregard all debtahs, believe in one God, and obey their gooroo (teacher), that is himself. This leader dying, his widow continued the lucrative pretence, and then the son, Ram Dulol, on his coming of age, settled at Ghospara, where he lived in the style of a rajah, upon the support afforded by his devotees. The principal tenets he propagated were, that caste is nothing, that the debtahs are nothing, and the brahmins are nothing; and the shocking sentiment was maintained that God being in us, is equally the author of every motion, and consequently of all sin. After a delay occasioned by his absence, the missionaries were at length introduced to the crafty impostor in his garden, where chairs were placed for them, and a pink satin cushion for him. Krishno stood behind his old master, with the Testament in his hand. A few select followers of Dulol were also permitted to attend. Mr. Carey stated, that the purpose of their visit was to converse on the subject of salvation. Dulol inquired, What is God? what is sin? what is hell? denying the existence of any such thing; asking, as God was in us, how sin could be there, as none could resist him. Much time was consumed in interrogations on the one side, and explanations on the other. "The moment," observes Mr. Marshman, "was important; we were not afraid of being confuted, but of his evading us, which would have been construed by him and his party throughout the country, into a triumph over the gospel. We at last said, 'You are a master?' 'Yes.' 'If your servants disobey you —what?' 'I punish them.' 'Then God is our master; if we disobey him, will he not punish?' 'God is not like man; he lives in us.' 'True, God in a sense lives in us; viz., the life, breath, reason, and understanding which we possess, are his gifts; but they are given that we may serve him, not that we may disobey him. Suppose you send a servant to Calcutta, with five hundred rupees, to buy a number of articles for your use, and he goes to a house of ill fame, and lives there merely on your money; any person seeing him, and knowing him to be your servant, might say, What a profligate man is Dulol! he keeps his servant at a house of infamy. But if any one said this to you, would you not reply, it is true he lives there on my money, but I gave it to him for quite a different purpose, and will punish him when he comes home?' *Answer.* 'God is not like us; he can sway the mind; we, therefore, can draw no parallel.' 'We grant it; but, for the sake of argument, we will suppose you equally capable of swaying the mind of your servant. If, then, you, having solemnly warned him of the consequences of his disobedience, turn his mind, which was not before disposed to disobedience, and incline him, who was otherwise unwilling, to spend your money in lewdness and intemperance, will not people say, What a villain is his master! In such a light do you represent God, when you say, He, within us, commits the sins, which he has forbidden under the severest penalties.'

"This statement quite disconcerted Dulol. He attempted several evasions, but in vain. Brother Carey then told him that God now sent his word hither, to show the true way of salvation, and that we had brought him a copy, presenting it to him. To receive it, was to give up all his pretensions at once. He refused it, saying, 'This is the first time I have seen you: your words are very good; but we must be further acquainted before I can receive your book.' Seeing it was vain to press him, we withdrew it, telling him that we should be happy to see him at Serampore; that our wish was only to examine in a free and candid manner, for the sake of discovering the truth; that we had been sick unto death, had found the word of God a sovereign remedy, and, therefore, brought it to them, laboring under the same disease. Thus, in mutual good humor, we parted."*

Amongst the domestic occurrences of this period, the marriage of Mr. Ward and Mrs. Fountain, on the tenth of May, deserves to be particularly noticed, as the first instance of the ceremony being performed by the missionaries with the concurrence of the civil au-

* Marshman's Journal.

thorities. Mr. Carey officiated on the occasion.

The 27th of May was signalized by the arrival of three Mussulmans from Jawpoor Chougarea, a village at the distance of about sixty miles, in the district of Jessore, near the river Isamutty, "to *inquire about this new way.*" After remaining a few days, which afforded opportunities of conversation, they solicited a visit, which was promised after the rainy season. Six weeks afterwards, one of them, named Moorad, came again, as a deputation from the rest, to accompany any individual who might be appointed to the journey. Mr. Marshman accordingly engaged in this service, and took with him Petumber Mittre, a young Hindoo convert of the writer caste, and Bharut, an aged Hindoo of the sooder caste. The people were formerly of various castes, but being convinced of the folly and wickedness of both the Hindoo and Mussulman faith, they were eager for further information. This was an excursion of great interest, and, in many respects, of a satisfactory character.

On their way, they repeatedly halted, entering into conversation with the people, and distributing tracts and New Testaments. At one village, where they were purchasing fish, about twenty people assembled on the banks of the river. Mr. Marshman expresses the gratification with which he listened to the addresses of his native companions. Petumber invalidated, in a very striking manner, the Hindoo shasters and worship. Bharut told them what he had been, and how he had embraced the gospel; called their attention to their sinfulness, and affirmed that none but Jesus Christ could save them. "His gray hairs and simplicity." says Mr. Marshman, "rendered his address truly affecting. Moorad told them of his hearing the truth, of his going to the missionaries, of his returning now again to bring the gospel to his own village; and that it was impossible to be saved in any other way. Several appeared to be impressed, and roused to anxious inquiry."

When arrived within a short distance of Ponchetalockphool (called generally Lockphool), Moorad went forward to apprise the people of their approach. Their reception was affectionate; and they immediately sat down under a large tree, to declare the purpose of this visit. The people listened attentively to the gospel for half an hour, and subsequently, after a brief refreshment, Mr. Marshman went to the house of his friends, which had two verandahs elevated one above the other, on the outside. It was inhabited by Hindoos and Mussulmans conjointly, who, with their neighbors, assembled together, to the number of fifty. They appeared much struck with the representation given by the missionary, that the hatred of God to sin was more manifested by the death of his Son, than it would have been in the punishment of the sinner. The Hindoo system, and the Mahometan delusions were alike exposed; and though they agreed to Mr. Marshman's retirement to the boat, for two hours, to rest, they followed, and continued the subject by question and answer with Petumber. After a renewed conversation, in which some casuistical objections were obviated, "we adjourned," says Mr. Marshman, "to the verandah, where we spent a most pleasing evening together; they sitting around, and asking questions about Christ, the resurrection, the death of sin, a future state, and heavenly happiness. We talked of these things till our hearts seemed to grow warm. About nine, I left them, astonished and thankful, on account of what I had seen and heard among them."

The next day, they went to another village, where a strong discussion arose with the brahmins; but as they appeared vehemently contentious, it was deemed best to desist. Thence they proceeded about a mile, where they entered a bazar on the market day, near which, part of the ruins of a building furnished an excellent pulpit; and about three hundred Bengalees attended. In the afternoon, upon a mutual agreement, a celebrated brahmin came to hold a discussion; but he retired in the middle of the argument, apprehensive, it was afterwards found, that as several zozomans, or priests, were collecting money for a sacrifice, the ill success of their advocate might prejudice the contributions. In conversing with an aged Hindoo, Mr. Marshman discovered that about fourteen years before, he and several others began to doubt about idolatry, and that he and about two hundred

others now rejected the poojahs and castes. In returning to the boat, they met with an elderly Mussulman, named Monoo, who was at the head of a considerable number that renounced Mahometanism. He continued conversing with Petumber and Bharut till near midnight. The next day, he accompanied them.

On his return, Mr. Marshman was informed of a person, named Seeb Ram Dass, who had rejected idolatry, with twenty thousand followers. Petumber had been one of them; and the resolution was taken to turn aside to Juggerdundakatty, and pay him a visit. Their course was difficult, but at length they arrived, and found the old man sitting in the shade, on a blanket. He heard the gospel with attention, and seemed to express his approbation to his followers. The conversation was prolonged till near midnight, with the two native converts. On the next day, a place was prepared in the orchard, where a conference was held, of two hours, to which came two very sensible and agreeable brahmins. Sonaton, the old man's son, drew a circle around him, and read one of the tracts of twenty pages quite through. About three hundred, with three Testaments, were entrusted to him, for distribution.

Thus the missionaries retired, with the pleasing hope that these infractions upon the Hindoo system, on the part of the people, might lead to happy results; and we have recorded the visit, both as a specimen of the kind of labor to which the missionaries were often called, in addition to their other engagements, and of their indefatigable zeal in the discharge of their important commission. It was to be deplored, that about a month afterwards, Moorad went to Serampore with the intelligence that the brahmins at Gobrapore had begun a violent opposition, having torn the pamphlets to pieces that had been distributed, prohibited any to go and hear, and fixed up many scurrilous papers. Soon after this, however, Mr. Ward went to Lockphool, and returned with encouraging accounts. The people there were desirous of a school-house being erected, and a place of worship.

Other events of an interesting character had also occurred. Golok, the eldest daughter of Krishno, having returned to her father's house, was baptized; others soon followed, and among them, a Miss Rumohr, the daughter of Count Rumohr, whose mother was living at Sleswick, in Germany; and a greater number of inquirers came than usual to seek the way of life. In the autumn, however, they had to weep over Syam Dass, a simple-hearted Christian who had been the instrument of converting Bharut. He had joined the church in the spring, and was murdered, as there was reason to believe, on account of his religion.

About the same time, Mr. Powell died, after a short illness. He was the son of a member of Dr. Stennett's church, in London, and went to India with Mrs. Thomas and her daughter, in 1793. Mr. Thomas was the means of his conversion, and he was baptized by Mr. Carey, at Mudnabatty, in 1795. He took a lively interest in the success of the mission, and held frequent conversations with the natives. "Oh, how did he feel for the guilty heathen, both Hindoos and Europeans! Ye fields and solitary places of Mudnabatty, Moypauldiggy, and Dinagepore! ye can witness how often he poured out his soul to God, in behalf of those around him, sitting in darkness, and in the land of the shadow of death."*

Having found that Petumber the elder had made great advances in knowledge and Christian temper, and had acquired universal respect, it was determined to send him to a little distance, where he might rent a hut, and seek to promote the gospel, by conversation and itineracy. He accordingly chose a place called Sooksauger, and was solemnly designated to this work, on the 22d of November. Komal was appointed to be his successor, as Bengalee schoolmaster.

But they were not without their trials, in having to exercise a needful discipline. Gokol was excluded from the church, but afterwards repented; Petumber and Mittre were suspended; and it required a strong interference to rectify a schism produced by Krishno's want of temper. They acted under the deep conviction, that the purity of the church was as important as its extension; and the wonder is, considering the idolatrous practices, which involved detestable vices, to which the heathen were

* Letter from Ward.

addicted, that the examples of defection were so few, and the religion of some of the native converts so bright.

In January, 1803, they had the satisfaction of introducing into the church Krishno Presaud, the first of the brahmins who had broken caste, to be baptized in the name of Christ. A native of some distinction attended in his budgerow on the occasion, and it produced great conversation and inquiry among the people. Another native convert united in the same profession, named Boodheesa. He had come from a distance of eight days' journey, in consequence of seeing one of the tracts. He was a larce, or byraggee, born a Mussulman; but belonged to a people who, as they say, give up the world, in search of the true God, having despaired of finding the way of life among Hindoos or Mussulmans. He evinced great anxiety to show his decision, and then to go and make known the tidings of salvation in his own country.

The 6th of March was another of those memorable days which gladdened the hearts of these self-denying servants of Christ, in the moral wastes of India. In the evening, Petumber preached in Bengalee to a congregation of Hindoos, Mussulmans, Armenians, Feringas, English, and others. "His text," says Mr. Ward, "was a small pamphlet of eight pages, of his own writing, which we printed for him. After praying for a short time with fervor and consistency, he sat down; and, with his hands joined together and stretched out, he craved their attention. He then spoke for an hour with faithfulness and with propriety, and closed the whole with prayer. We were much pleased with this first attempt. *He is the first Hindoo who has become a preacher.* This is another new era in the mission, for which we have reason to bless God. O that he may increase the number of faithful native laborers! This is the grand desideratum that is to move the Hindoo nation."

Felix Carey had now been, for a considerable period, not only a professor of religion, but an assistant in the itinerant labors of the missionaries. At the beginning of April, his father had the additional satisfaction of seeing his next son William, together with Sadutsa, a farmer, and Ram Bosheen, a fine young man, and a great inquirer after knowledge, "put on Christ." Within two days (April 5), the missionaries again triumphed over the caste in a very signal manner, by eating, for the first time, at the house of one of the native brethren. On the day preceding, Krishno Presaud was married to Onunda, Krishno's second daughter; and on this, the following evening, they all supped at Krishno's under the shed where the marriage ceremony had been performed. The neighbors looked on with astonishment; it being a singular sight in a land where the distinctions of clean and unclean are so scrupulously regarded. "We began this wedding-supper," says Mr. Ward, "with singing, and concluded with prayer; between ten and eleven we returned home with joy. This was a glorious triumph over the caste. A brahmin married to a sooder in the Christian way! Englishmen eating with a married couple, and this couple at the same table, and in a native house! Allowing the Hindoo chronology to be true, there has not been such a sight in Bengal these millions of years!"

Soon after this, the native brethren, Krishno Presaud, Ram Roteen, and Neeloo (young Presaud's brother), encountered fierce hostility in preaching the gospel at Buddabatty. They were driven by a mob into the shelter of a house, where they continued to pray, read, and converse. The next day, they were again insulted by every abusive epithet, as feringas, as destroyers of the caste, as having eaten fowls and eggs. In attempting to return, the mob began to beat them, and thrust them forcibly forward; and one man, though a civil officer, grazed the point of a spear against the body of Krishno Presaud. Perceiving they could not make them angry, they said, "You *salla;* you will not be angry, will you?" They then reviled them afresh, and threw cow-dung mixed in gonga-water at them; and even threatened them with death, if they repeated their visit. Their reply was, that "even insults, stripes, and death, were good to them; their only concern was, that God would turn the hearts of their foes, and make them better." This was a severe probation; but they endured as good soldiers of Jesus Christ. In future itineracies, Mr. Chamberlain frequently accompanied them on their excursions for village preaching, and

for the distribution of tracts, as a kind of guard. This was a wise arrangement, till he had acquired the language; for he had a stern air and aspect, well calculated to inspire respect, and, if he aimed at it, dread.

Mr. Fernandez, in his solitary situation at Dinagepore, afforded a striking instance of the power of divine grace. He was a blessing to all around him, supporting and superintending, without any assistance, a school of more than thirty native children.

In October, Gokol died. His mind was perfectly tranquil; and he frequently said, with entire composure, especially when urged by his neighbors, to have a native doctor, "I am in my Lord's hands; I want no other physician." His happy end produced a deep impression. The missionaries had just purchased a piece of ground for a burying-place, near their house. This was very important, as they could not consent to either of the courses commonly adopted, namely, to burn the body, or throw it into the river. They therefore adopted the English method of interment, and sung a hymn of Krishno's, "Salvation by the death of Christ."

The native converts were now becoming very serviceable to the missionaries, especially whenever they undertook journeys into the country. On one of these occasions, Mr. Marshman thus characterizes his companions. "I was exceedingly pleased, on the journey (into Jessore), with the judicious and sensible discourse of Petumber, Krishno, and Sheetaram, on the nature of the gospel, the prospect of its spreading, the state of the country, &c.; as well as with their joining with me in attempting to communicate the gospel to the bearers, while in the boat." He afterwards proceeds with the following interesting account:—"Our general method of travelling, whether walking or riding (the first of which I generally preferred, both for the sake of expedition, and to ease the bearers), is to carry papers in our hands, ready to distribute to all we meet. Thus, —Friend, can you read? No. Have you any body in your family that can? No. Can any one in your village read? Yes. Then give him this paper, and let him read it to you. It tells you the way of salvation, how your sins can be forgiven, and how you can be happy after death. The poor fellow receives it with astonishment; and sometimes trembling with fear, lest it should be a trap which Sahib has laid, to bring him into trouble. Sometimes we have an opportunity for a few minutes' previous conversation. This afternoon I overtook a countryman, with whom nearly the following passed. Where are you going? Home. Where is your home? Manpore, about two koss onward. Have you a gooroo? Yes. Where does he live? At * * *, about ten koss from Manpore. How often does he visit you? Once a year. What does he do for you then? He whispers a muntra in my ear. (This is often the name of an idol; sometimes a Sungskrit sentence.) What good will you get from your muntra? It will be well for me after death, by repeating it. Do you understand it? No. How can you receive any good from your muntra, if you do not understand it? Do you give your gooroo any money, when he comes? Yes. How much,—ten rupees? No, Sahib; one rupee, or five siccas, (1¼ rupee). If you were to give him nothing, what then? He would be angry, and come no more. Do not you see, then, that he comes only for your money? He cares nothing about your welfare. He is like a fisherman; the muntra is the net, and you are the fish. If I were you, I would never give him any thing again. He can do you no good; he is a wicked man himself: do not you see that he is covetous? Besides, he does not *know* the way of salvation, nor do any of the brahmins; they are selfish, angry, and some of them adulterers. If they know, why do not they save themselves? If I were you, I would go at once to God, and beg him to teach me the right way. He is so merciful, that he will never turn any away; and he has given his own Son to *die for sinners*. Here I told him of the gospel, how we had brought it hither, translated and published the Bible, &c.; and he seemed, in about half an hour's conversation, to get some idea of it. I gave him papers, told him where we lived, and earnestly begged him to go home, and begin praying, which, indeed, he promised to do."

On the 8th of January, 1804, John Fernandez, a promising youth, the first-fruits of the school, was baptized. On the morning of the 16th, Mr. Carey,

Mr. Fernandez, senior, and all the family that could attend, partook of a friendly repast at the house of Presaud. In such a country, and at such a time, this was an event of some consequence; and hence, in recording it, they say, "two hymns of praise, with an affectionate prayer by brother Carey, all in Bengalee, concluded the pleasing scene, all in the presence of *many astonished spectators.*"

The evening was signalized by separating Fernandez to the work of the ministry. He had been baptized two years before, and had habituated himself to preach to his servants and scholars. He had a large Bengalee school, which he supported at his own cost. At his ordination, it is said, "a sweet and unusual solemnity seemed to prevail through the whole of the opportunity, while the idea of this being *the first event of the kind we have been called to witness in India*, filled us with joyful hope." On the 29th, "intending to call out Krishno shortly, we desired him," writes Mr. Marshman, "to preach to our servants. He accordingly delivered what brother Carey calls the best Bengalee sermon he ever heard; fluent, perspicuous, and affectionate, in a very high degree. How different does the news of salvation sound in the mouth of a native, whose hope and joy it is, from what it does when delivered in our foreign and uncouth accents! And what a favor, as well as ground of encouragement it is, that He who ascended on high, and received gifts for men, should thus vouchsafe them to his infant church in Bengal!"

The church now consisted of thirty-six members,—fourteen Europeans and others, and twenty-two natives, brahmins, Mussulmans, and various classes of Hindoos. They had obtained an entrance into Calcutta. The Rev. Messrs. Browne and Buchanan had, of their own accord, solicited them to make a beginning there; and they were much affected by that fresh instance of their liberality and affection. They accordingly took a house, for the purpose of conducting Christian worship both in English and Bengalee. Hitherto, they had been deterred, on the one hand, by the dread, as they express it, of "the higher powers," and on the other, by the apprehension of giving umbrage to much valued friends, by seeming to invade their province. From both these fears, they were released by the assurances of Mr. Browne.* Preaching, therefore, was constantly conducted at Calcutta; tracts every where distributed during the itinerating exertions undertaken by them and the native brethren. The press, too, was nobly at work. The New Testament and Pentateuch had been long published; and a second edition preparing of the former, under close revision. The Psalms, and the prophecies of Isaiah, were also printed. The views of the missionaries began now greatly to expand; of which the following communication, in a letter addressed by Mr. Carey to Dr. Ryland, will furnish ample evidence. "We have it in our power, if our means would do for it, in the short space of about fifteen years, to have the word of God translated and printed in all the languages of the East. Our situation is such as to furnish us with the best assistance from the natives of the different countries. We can have types of all the different characters cast here; and about seven hundred rupees per month, part of which, I hope, we shall be able to furnish, would complete the work. The languages are the Hindoostanee, Mahratta, Oreea, Felingua, Bhotan, Burman, Chinese, Cochin Chinese, Tonquinese, and Malay. On this great work we have fixed our eyes."

The committee at home responded at once to this noble design, by resolving to co-operate with them; expressing their persuasion, that the religious public would sustain the effort.

Some reference has been made already to the suspension or exclusion of members of the churches, but this seems to be a proper place to introduce some remarks which have both a retrospective and prospective bearing. Among the most melancholy pages of missionary history, are those which record the inconsistencies and falls of individuals who seem to be converted, and even make a public profession of religion. It is not surprising, when the character of the Hindoos is considered, that our brethren should have been early and painfully exercised in this way, and that even some, who appeared, at first, the most

* Names are suppressed in the early printed communications, but the same reasons no longer exist.

distinguished converts to Christianity, should be inconsistent, and even relapse into heathenism. One cannot but refer, with the greatest grief, to such names as Parbotee, Mohun Chund, and Ram Ram Boshoo, whose goodness was like "the morning cloud and early dew, that passeth away." The first continued, for some time, to afford much satisfaction. On one occasion, he relinquished a good employment, because his master insisted on his making an idolatrous offering for the souls of his departed relations. Although, as Mr. Carey states in a letter, Mohun Chund had confused ideas of the gospel, yet his attachment to it was long tried in various situations. Of Ram Boshoo he states, that he was a man of fine abilities, well informed in the word of God as the generality of Christians of England; but he fell into gross sin. In a private communication of Mr. Ward to Mr. Fuller, he speaks with great severity respecting these relapses, and censures the introduction of their names into the first volume of the Periodical Accounts with so much distinction. He quotes, also, an old journal of Mr. Fountain's, in which he says that Parbotee admitted that they deceived Mr. Thomas, for their own temporal advantage.

But surely this is not a proper view of the matter, nor is this a just censure. It would not, indeed, have been noticed here, were it not that some have participated in such objections, and the enemies of religion have made them a ground of reproach to Christianity; but it may be remarked, that the missionaries were no more endowed than others, with the faculty of searching the hearts of men, and were necessitated to decide, for the time, according to their professions, and corresponding conduct. If these were afterwards falsified, they were not responsible; they were the last to vindicate moral delinquency, and the first to lament over it.

Besides, Christianity has nothing to fear, and requires no concealment to secure its influence. Deep as our sorrow is, that Parbotee, Mohun Chund, Boshoo, Sookman, and others, disgraced themselves, the record of their infamy (which our brethren never hesitated to proclaim, as well as their alleged conversion) affects not the character of the religion of Jesus, or of its missionaries. It is the value of the gold that tempts the counterfeit; and if the objects of these men were merely selfish and worldly, their pretensions were too well sustained, for a season, to admit of the discovery of their inward hypocrisy. Nor is it conceivable that it was *mere* artifice. There is ample evidence that they were actually and very powerfully affected by the discoveries of the gospel, and the simple grandeur of the scheme of salvation it unfolds. If they professed this, and professed it long with corresponding attestations of an altered character,—was it not to be told? We deprecate hasty conclusions, and premature reports,—though great allowance may be made for men whose love to Christ will naturally lead them, amidst unnumbered discouragements and obstacles, to hail every indication of piety, and indulge in joyous anticipations,—but these apparent converts were examined, and watched over with scrupulous care; and when delinquency was detected, they were unhesitatingly dismissed. This did but show the heathen and the world that they understood Christianity, and pursued no sinister methods in its propagation.

But how high ought to be our estimate of these noble-minded missionaries, when, especially during these earlier years of their enterprise, they are seen toiling with a steady perseverance, like their divine Master, in "preaching and teaching the gospel of the kingdom," under the pressure of no ordinary privations, embarrassed by a tangled wilderness of superstitions, scowled at by European authorities, whose spirit was reflected by their oriental representatives, oppressed not unfrequently by the deepest sense of their own unworthiness and weakness, and tortured by the relapse of some of their most hopeful converts!

Ten years had now elapsed since the commencement of missionary labors in Bengal; and although the degree of success with which they had been attended might not have equalled the sanguine expectations of some of its friends, and may even have been regarded with contempt by most of its enemies; a little consideration will show that many important ends had been accomplished. In the erection of an edifice, the removal of rubbish, the digging of trenches, the

laying of the foundation, are as necessary operations as the rearing of the superstructure, to which they are preparatory; and he who plans is worthy of equal honor with him who executes. The builders of after times must ever be indebted for whatever their enlarged benevolence may achieve, to the original workmen of Serampore; and the following may be reckoned among the great results, which ensued upon these early years of toil.

First. The otherwise impervious regions of idolatry and superstition had been penetrated, and a footing obtained for the gospel, by the *breaking of caste.* We have seen the hallowed joy with which this event was celebrated; and that joy will appear most appropriate when we reflect on the formidable character of that barrier to Christianity. The caste seems to have been originally a political institution, by which the different classes and avocations of society were kept in perpetual separation; so that every person was bound to follow the trade or vocation of his forefather; but subsequently it became interwoven with every circumstance of life. Almost any trifling incident may occasion the loss of caste, as eating or smoking with a person of another nation or caste; and to *lose caste* is attended with a dissolution of every connection in life; so that relatives and acquaintance will never eat, drink, or smoke with such an one again. Nor can he be restored, for the delinquent becomes an outcast and vagabond for ever in general estimation. "The caste," said Mr. Carey, "is a superstition, that no European can conceive of, and is more tenaciously regarded than life." This, and other obstacles to the spread of the gospel, he represented as such, that "if it were not that God is almighty and true, they would be insurmountable." In further explanation of it, on another occasion, he thus writes:—on account of this unnatural distinction of classes among men, all motives to exertion, inquiry, or mental improvement are cut off; for the most honorable actions, the most beneficial discoveries, or virtuous conduct, would secure no honor or advantage to a person of a low caste; and those of a higher caste being universally revered as a sort of half divinities, lose no reputation by their being ignorant or vicious. The consequence is, a stupid contentment to remain as they are; a total want of curiosity; and not a thought about the improvement of the mind. Harmless, indifferent, and vacant, they plod on the path of their forefathers; and even truths in philosophy, geography, astronomy, or any other science, if out of their beaten track, make no more impression on their minds than the sublimer truths of religion. They suppose the different castes to be distinct species of animals, and therefore conclude that it is as possible for them to become some other kind of animal, as to become Christians; and that the different forms of worship, and habits of life, observed by particular castes, are as necessary to that caste as eating grass is to the support of an ox, or flesh to the maintenance of a tiger." *

Here, then, was a deep-rooted superstition, pervading, by its ramifications, the entire mass of society, which precluded the social charities of Christianity, and opposed its very principle. Like an impregnable wall encompassing a city, it rendered the community inaccessible to conviction and truth. It destroyed all motive to change in minds so besotted and saturated with the absurdest error; while the very first claim of Christianity implied a change, both of character and conduct, the most entire. To become Christians, they must at once renounce all, and be estranged from the whole world; relatives, friends, and gods, must be everlastingly abandoned. It is not surprising, that calculating philosophers at home described the very attempt to accomplish such a moral revolution, and to overthrow such long-cherished and universal superstitions, by means of a simple ministry of the gospel, as perfectly foolish, hopeless, and fanatical. How could men be convinced to their own ruin? How could one or two unpatronized and humble men, from a distant land, expect, by their single voice or feeble efforts, to shake the faith of millions, or at all impress the surface of a strong, well compacted, powerful and pleasurable idolatry, rooted in the passions as well as in the earliest inwrought prejudices of the people? These very questions, so often repeated, and so strenuously urged, only prove the greatness of the

* Letter to Mr. Pearce.

work that was accomplished in so short a period, by the instrumentality of the missionaries. To make a breach in this wall of brass, was more than all human philosophy could have performed, had it even found its disciples possessing the heart to attempt it; when performed within such a time, and by means so despised, it demanded that expression of gratitude to God, which the feelings of those who were the means of it prompted, and which will be re-echoed by the church in all future ages. "Not unto us, O Lord! not unto us, but unto thy name, be the glory."

2. The victory over caste was not, however, more illustrious than the victory over *language*. It was worthy of the study, the anxiety, and the pecuniary expenditure of ten years, had nothing else resulted, to produce the *Bengalee Testament*. What a present to the shaster-duped millions of that land! Hitherto, the people had been cursed with the knowledge of the history of their imaginary deities, and taught the obscene mysteries of their worship as religion. For centuries they had wandered in error, and rioted in vice. Their land was pervaded with blind teachers and malignant demons; from age to age perpetuating the falsehoods that degraded the reason, and cherishing the sins that destroyed the soul. They had three hundred and fifty millions of deities,—but *no God!* Their knowledge was but a diversified ramification of a gross and debasing ignorance; and they followed in utter darkness the train of their debtahs and brahmins to an unknown, unprepared-for eternity. It was a simple, early, and sublime conception to give them the Bible in their vernacular tongue; for nothing could so effectually "put to silence the ignorance of foolish men." That was the wisdom of heaven, and would work its way when the translators themselves were gone,—or rather, pre-eminently, *the translator;* for that will be the immortal distinction of Carey till the heavens are no more.

3. The establishment of a *printing press*, by which the translations were capable of indefinite multiplication, and by means of which, also, tracts or other works would be put into the most extensive circulation, was no mean benefit to India. No sooner was a printer wanted, than, in the providence of God, one was provided; and no sooner was the mighty engine required to pour the streams of life through the channels of every eastern language, than Christian benevolence supplied the necessity.

In connection with this provision, the hand of Providence was distinctly visible in the *setting up of a letter foundry* at Calcutta for the country languages, at the precise period when it was needed. The persons engaged in this undertaking, could have had no intention to accommodate the missionaries, and probably had no knowledge of their existence; yet was their proceeding requisite to the printing of the Scriptures; for, although specimens of Bengalee letters were sent to England, in order to obtain a fount of types, the extreme difficulty, if not utter impracticability of accomplishing it, became sufficiently apparent.

4. One of the most important effects of missionary exertion, was the *conversion of natives and even of brahmins*, who evinced a capability of becoming instrumental in diffusing the gospel among their countrymen. Persons born among them, of their own blood, speaking their own vernacular language, familiar with all their habits and modes of thinking, —must necessarily have been more, incomparably more, adapted to interest them than foreigners, however in other respects qualified; and we accordingly find every accession of moral strength, by this means, hailed with a just exultation. In a communication of October, 1803, from Carey, Marshman, Chamberlain, and Felix Carey, they state that they had five or six native brethren, who possessed, they would not say ministerial talents, but a desire to make known the gospel to their perishing fellow-countrymen, according to their ability; "when you consider," they add, "the advantages they possess over the best of us, in language, and in exact knowledge of the manners, customs, ideas, and prejudices of their countrymen, with their opportunity of access where we durst not set our foot,—you will agree with us, in esteeming this among the most important blessings bestowed on the mission." About the same time, Mr. Ward, being on a journey, writes thus from Saddamahl: "One of the native brethren with me, a brahmin, has preached boldly the gospel of Christ,

under the banian shade, in my presence. What we sung and prayed, therefore, on board the ship, has been so far fulfilled." He refers to the hymn, written by him just after their embarkation, in which occur the two following verses:

"When they shall preach the Saviour's word
Beneath the banian's shade,
Let the poor Hindoo feel its power,
And make his spirit glad.

"Oh, let the heavenly shaster spread,—
Bid the new caste arise,
Till brahmins preach the gospel word,
And India taste its joys."

5. Another very important effect of the mission was *the spirit which had been produced at home*, and the concurrent movement which had been occasioned beyond the precincts of the Baptist denomination. The objections started at first by the timid or the selfish among the churches, had considerably abated, and Scotland had almost universally responded to the call for aid. Persons of all religious persuasions took a deep interest in the Indian mission, and the visits of the honored Secretary, Mr. Fuller, had not only kindled a missionary zeal, but diffused a sympathy of religious feeling. Those visits were always sought with avidity, and hailed with delight; and they still occupy a distinguished place among the pious reminiscences of the land.

The Baptist mission gave birth to another and kindred institution, which, with a more abundant patronage, a more widely extended aim, has ever since ranked as one of the noblest undertakings of the age.

In saying this, there is no desire to arrogate an honor which is not fairly due to the Baptist Society; but the fact ought to be recorded, not as a matter of boasting, but of grateful praise to God. A few months after the settlement of Dr. Ryland, as President of the Academy in Bristol, he received the first letters which had arrived from Carey and Thomas, and was so delighted with the intelligence they contained, that he became immediately anxious to communicate it to Dr. Bogue, of Gosport, and Mr. Steven, of the Scotch church, Covent Garden, London, who were supplying the Tabernacle in that city. Inviting them, therefore, with a few other friends, to his house, he read these letters; and all united in prayer and praise. A conversation arose, in which the two ministers in question expressed their wish to set on foot a missionary society in their own connection; and deliberations were subsequently held with ministers and others, convened in the parlor of the Tabernacle House, which induced the people ever after to designate it, "the cradle of the Missionary Society." Unquestionably, the attention of Dr. Bogue had been previously turned to the state of the heathen world, and perhaps with more depth of contemplation than had distinguished any other individual, excepting only Dr. Edward Williams, then of Birmingham. Whether the movements of the Baptist ministers, in 1792, furnished the first suggestive thoughts may not be ascertainable; but it is certain, that the meeting at Dr. Ryland's house was the immediately determining stimulus that led ultimately to the formation of the London Missionary Society, in 1795. That again became the instrument of impelling other minds and other combinations of Christian benevolence; as in a mechanical contrivance, the turning of one wheel by touching another, causes it to revolve, and wheel after wheel successively catches the impulse, till the whole machinery is set in motion.

Other reasons for gratitude and exultation might be enumerated,—snch as the disregard which numbers of Hindoos had recently discovered to their own superstitions, and the existence of a strong presentiment, entertained by many, of their downfall; the favor which had been obtained by the missionaries, in the eyes of many who at first despised them; and the distinction conferred on Carey, in particular, by the Governor-General; together with the moral influence of all these circumstances. But, whatever were the successes and honors of our mission, and our missionaries, we lay them down in humble adoration and thanksgiving at our Redeemer's feet, as so many trophies of *his* victories—not *ours* or *theirs*—over the prince of darkness.

CHAPTER IV.

ACCOUNT OF MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S APPOINTMENT AND MISSIONARY LABORS, TO THE PERIOD OF HIS SETTLEMENT AT AGRA.

The superior character of John Chamberlain demands that he should be introduced to the reader's attention with more than an ordinary notice, and that his first series of missionary efforts should be exhibited consecutively in a detached form. He was born at Welton, in Northamptonshire, on the 24th of July, 1777, of poor, but industrious parents. In 1789, he removed from his father's house, to be placed at Market Harborough, in Leicestershire, with a farmer. Afterwards, he went to Braunston, where he derived spiritual benefit from the ministry of Mr. Simmons, and, in 1796, became a member of his church. Having received information of the mission in India, and read the discourses preached at the formation of the London Missionary Society, his spirit instantly kindled with missionary zeal; but, from an apprehension that there was no probability of his being employed in such a work, he concealed the feeling in his own bosom. In 1797, he went to live in the employ of Mr. Haddon, a farmer at Naseby, and a valuable deacon of the church at Clipstone. There, in the humblest situation, he soon began a career of public usefulness, by influencing the people to establish a Sunday school and to have meetings for prayer, which he diligently attended. At the instance of his worthy master, the committee held at Northampton, in September, 1798, resolved on accepting him as a missionary probationer, and placing him under the tuition of Mr. Sutcliff. His general conduct and his recorded feelings, both before and after this period, show the deep devotion of his mind, and the noble decision of his character. His religious experience, during twelve months' residence at Olney, was of the profoundest kind; full of solemn searchings and unaffected humility. He was at length informed by Mr. Sutcliff, that the Society determined not to continue him there any longer, which threw a shadow of uncertainty over his prospect of going to India. But this disappointment could not repress his ardor in preaching the gospel in the villages, whenever opportunity offered; and it proved a providential discipline, of a correcting and salutary tendency, upon his character. At length, he was sent to the Bristol Academy, under the superintendence of Dr. Ryland. There he became a severe student, an early riser, a reader in private of pious books calculated to cherish the religion of the heart; and, though fainting in hope, yet still pursuing in desire the missionary enterprise. The author having been his associate, speaks from personal knowledge and admiration of his devotedness. He was unrivalled in the intensity of his application to acquire whatever was attainable, and made a rapid progress in several languages, particularly the oriental; partly from his never-abandoned thought of missionary labors abroad. In addition, however, to the usual routine of study, his holy zeal could no longer be restrained; and the love of souls led him to visit the meanest parts of Bristol, that in the cottages and in the streets, he might warn the abandoned, comfort the sorrowful, administer instructive truth to the dying, and preach to every one the unsearchable riches of Christ. This conduct was the more remarkable, because at first none of his brethren "heartily," as he says, "closed in with his proposal" to adopt extra measures for the benefit of the poor and profligate population; and he was left to go alone. Their scruples, however, it ought to be stated, were soon dismissed, and he found a vigorous co-operation. The early labors in which he had so disinterestedly and incessantly occupied himself, were not without reward; and, doubtless, another world will evince their character in brighter developments of grace and glory. At the close of the session of 1801, Dr. Ryland put a short question to him, to ascertain whether he were still willing to go abroad as a missionary. Though he had to sever himself from many powerful bands of affection at home, the

latent spark of his earliest religious desire at once burst into a flame, and he answered, without hesitation, "I am willing."

The committee chose him as a missionary, in April, 1802, and after a public ordination to the work, in London, he and Mrs. Chamberlain (formerly Miss Smith of Walgrave) sailed for India, by way of America, in the month of May; whence after a short sojourn, they proceeded to their ultimate destination, and reached Serampore on the 27th of January, 1803. "It was an hour," says Mr. Ward, "of great joy. In the evening, we went to Krishno's. I catechised the children, and we sung three hymns in Bengalee. Brother Chamberlain joined us in 'Doya Koro.'* Our native friends made inquiries whether our new brother and sister had left father, mother, brothers or sisters. I never saw our native friends manifest such attachment as on this occasion. Joymooni said, 'They cannot talk our language, but we see that all our hearts are one; we are united in the death of Christ.'"

Mr. Chamberlain entered upon the necessary preparations for his future ministry, with characteristic zeal. He had wisely desisted from the study of the Bengalee during the voyage, lest he should acquire an erroneous pronunciation, or be afterwards perplexed by the delusory acquisition of false idioms. The consequence was that he not only made unparalleled progress in the language during the first year, which was chiefly devoted to it, but learned to speak in it with a facility and correctness that equalled any, and surpassed most of his contemporaries. Such was his love for souls, that he could not consent to be silent, when only able to utter a few words in conversation with the natives; and prompted by this feeling, his pleasure in gaining terms and phrases was like "the joy of harvest." "No huntsman," says Mr. Yates, "could be more eager in his chase, than he was in his pursuits; nor could Archimedes himself rejoice more in finding the solution of his problem, than he did, when he found out a way of conveying to the natives an idea which before he had not known how to express.

"By a happy mixture of exercise with study, he soon overcame the difficulties of the language, and in about one year, was able to preach the gospel with confidence. But he did not stop here; he was not satisfied with being able to read the best authors, to understand and be understood in conversation, to speak on public occasions, and to compose in common prose; but, knowing how much the natives admire poetry, and that any thing in a poetic dress is doubly interesting to them, because the shasters which they venerate most, are thus adorned, he applied himself diligently to the study of their poetical works, and soon made such attainments in this more difficult branch of literature, as to be able to compose hymns and other religious pieces in various metres; and upon the foundation which he here began to lay, he afterwards raised a considerable superstructure."

While at Serampore, he took a regular share in the duties of the station; the desire of making full proof of his ministry induced him to engage in English preaching at Serampore and Calcutta; and at the former place, he devoted his energies to the instruction of the rising generation. In the evening, he would frequently converse, read, sing, and pray with the native brethren; and often made short excursions to the villages, to carry the tidings of salvation to the poor inhabitants. "The number of places he would visit, together with the number of times he would address different congregations in one day, was truly astonishing. I attended him several times, when he was possessed of far less vigor and strength than at the period of which we are now speaking, and the simple travelling from village to village, and from place to place, in the different villages where he preached, appeared to me a sufficient exertion for one day; while he, from the hour he set out, about eight in the morning, till five in the afternoon, continued to travel and to preach without cessation, allowing himself time to take a little dry provision only as he went from one hamlet to another. In this manner he would visit five or six villages in one day, and in some of them speak at two or three different places, a considerable distance from each other. It must be granted, that his discourses were not of a nature to require much study, being, for the

* The first words of a favorite hymn.

most part, a declaration of the same simple truths of the gospel, and an exposure of the same objections and errors which are urged alike in all places by the natives; but to recommend the same truths over and over again with equal fervor and interest as he did, is by no means one of the smallest of those attainments which constitute the perfection of the missionary character."*

About a year after his arrival, he was appointed to visit Saugur island, whither thousands were daily flocking to their annual poojah, or festival. In company with Felix Carey, Krishno and Bhyrub, he left Serampore on the 9th of January, 1804, to perform this important mission."† A few extracts from the journal of Mr. Chamberlain will afford the best idea of the place and of the proceedings of the missionaries on the occasion in question.

"*Jan.* 12.—Yesterday we entered the eastern creek, it being not safe to go down the great river in a small boat. Here are no villages at which we can call; but all is a dismal jungle where the savage tigers rage unmolested and uncontrolled, which is a stronger barrier to this country than all the fortifications in the world! * * * * We are accompanied by many boats full of people, some of whom are the most disgusting sights that can well be imagined. Their hair and beards have been suffered to grow, probably for years, and never once dressed; their bodies covered with the most odious and indecent marks, and their shame scarcely hidden. Some of these most wretched, if not most wicked of men, have come a journey of three, four or five months to bathe in Gunga Saugur.

"*Jan.* 13, *Gunga Saugur*.—Arrived here this morning. Astonished beyond measure at the sight! Boats crushed together, row upon row, for a vast extent in length, numberless in appearance, and the people swarming every where! Multitudes! multitudes! Removed from the boats, they had pitched on a large sand-bank, and in the jungle. The oars of the boats were set up to support the tents, shops, &c. Words fail to give a true description of this scene. Here an immensely populous city has been raised in a very few days, full of streets, lanes, bazars, &c., many sorts of trade going on, with all the hurry and bustle of the most flourishing city. We soon left the boats, and went among the people. Here we saw the works of idolatry and blind superstition. Crowds upon crowds of infatuated men, women, and children, high and low, young and old, rich and

* Yates's Memoirs of Chamberlain, p. 121.

† The island of Gunga Saugur, or Gonga Sagor, is situated at the extreme point of the land where the great western, or holiest branch of the Ganges unites its waters with those of the Indian ocean; and is so called, from the Sungskit appellation, *sagor*, or *sea*, and *ganga*, or *river*; the latter term being emphatically applied to denote the Ganges, the chief of rivers; as *Bible* is *book*, and is used to denote the pre-eminency of the word of God. The island is a flat, swampy, and cheerless shore, bordered with forest trees and underwood; but is the scene of one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in India. "Its peculiar sanctity arises from its situation at the junction or point of confluence of the Ganges with the ocean, where the purifying virtue of the waters is believed to be mightily increased. Here there is a ruinous temple, erected in honor of the great sage Kapila, the founder of one of the chief schools of Indian philosophy, who is here reverenced as a god. It is usually occupied by a few disciples of the sage, of the class of ascetics, who always keep an arm raised above their heads; some of whom are every year carried off, to furnish a repast to some of their voracious neighbors of the jungle. Twice in the year,—at the full moon in November and January, vast crowds of Hindoos resort to this temple and neighborhood, to perform obsequies for the good of their deceased ancestors, and to practise various ablutions in the waters of such purifying efficacy."—*Duff's India and Indian Missions*, p. 201.

The reverence with which the Ganges is regarded, almost exceeds imagination. At the January festival at Gunga Saugur, hundreds of mothers were accustomed to throw their unconscious infants into the turbid waters; and they bewailed the sacrifice as lost, and the gods unpropitiated, if they commissioned not the shark and other monsters of the deep to crush and devour them before their eyes. Their sacred writings abound in imagery to extol its praises. In one of them, the sacred stream is thus addressed:—"O goddess, the owl that lodges in the hollow of a tree on thy banks, is exalted beyond measure; while the emperor, whose palace is far from thee, though he may possess a million of stately elephants, and may have the wives of millions of conquered enemies, is nothing." The distant sight of it is declared to be attended with present benefit; the application of a few drops of its water may remove much pollution; daily bathing in it is followed with inestimable advantages, both in this life, and that which is to come; immersion in it on certain auspicious days of the moon, and certain conjunctions of the planets, may wipe away the sins of ten births, or even of a thousand; ablution, accompanied with the prescribed prayers, on particular days of high festival, may entitle to a residence in one of the heavens of the gods, and insure an amount of blessings which no imagination can conceive.

"In the prospect of dissolution, its waters are fraught with peculiar efficacy in obliterating the stains of transgression. To think intensely of the Ganges at the hour of death, should the patient be far distant, will not fail of a due reward; to die in the full view of it, is pronounced most holy; to die on the margin, in its immediate presence, still holier; but to die partly immersed in the stream, besmeared with its sacred mud, and imbibing its purifying waters, holiest of all! Yea; such is its transforming efficacy, that if one perish in it by accident, or in a state of unconsciousness, he will be happy. And what is more wonderful still, it is affirmed, that 'if a worm, or an insect, or a grasshopper, or any tree growing by its side, die in it, it will attain the highest felicity in a future state.' On the other hand, to die in the house, when within one's power to be carried to the river side, is held to be the greatest misfortune. But if distance, or any sudden contingency, interpose a barrier, the preservation of a single bone, for the purpose of committing it at some future time to the Ganges, is believed to contribute essentially to the salvation of the deceased. Hence the origin of many of those heart-rending scenes that are constantly exhibited along the banks of the Ganges; scenes, from the contemplation of which nature recoils,—scenes, at the recital of which, humanity shudders."—*Id.*, pp. 208, 209.

poor, bathing in the water, and worshipping Gunga, by bowing, and making salams, and spreading their offerings on the shore, consisting of rice, flowers, cowries, &c., for the goddess to take when the tides arrive. The mud and water of this place are esteemed very holy, and are taken hundreds of miles upon the shoulders of men. They sprinkle themselves with the water, and daub themselves with the mud; and this, they say, cleanses them from all sin—this is very great holiness. * * * We gave away a great quantity of papers, but with no small difficulty, the press being so great. Withdrawing to our boat, we were surrounded on all sides, which afforded a pleasing opportunity of speaking to the people, and of distributing tracts. Felix and Krishno talked to the people, and I gave out the tracts and books, and endeavored to speak as I was able. Never had I greater satisfaction than in this work. The attention of the people to that which was spoken, their eagerness for the books, together with their peculiar circumstances, having never heard of the Saviour before, gave me such satisfaction of mind that I cannot express. I would not change my situation with the greatest lord in the world. I suppose the people were scarcely able to understand me; but one occurrence encouraged me. Two respectable people came, whom I began to address; and I was enabled to speak with some liberty respecting the death of our Saviour. They heard with great attention, and seemed much affected; I saw tears standing in the eyes of the oldest man, and falling down his cheeks. The lowest computation of the people here is one lack, or 100,000; and perhaps two lacks is nearer the truth. Most of the people to whom we gave books, came from parts of the country where the word of life had never been, and the news of salvation never was heard.

"*Jan.* 14.—In the afternoon, Bhyrub and I went out, while Felix and Krishno staid in the boat. As we went through the crowd, I felt my spirit moved, and began by giving Hindoostanee papers to some byraggees, who speak that language. They did not receive them very freely; and as we could not converse with them, we left them. Turning to the Bengalees, I interrogated them in this manner: 'On what account are you come hither?' 'To bathe in Gunga Saugur, Sahib.' 'By bathing in the Gunga what fruit have you obtained?' 'Holiness,' says one; 'good for the future,' says another. 'Thus you say, indeed; but how do you know? Is not all this without evidence?' * * * 'Are you so void of reflection as to suppose that Gunga can save you? What is Gunga? Is it larger than other rivers? No; I have seen larger. Is its water better than other water? Certainly not. Why do you act so unwisely? Why are you without understanding? There is but one God, worship him. Know that your minds are defiled by sin; which defilement, Gunga, though you should bathe in it a thousand times, can never wash away. Hear, brethren, why *we* are come hither. Not to bathe in Gunga; but to publish among you the good news of God. What is this good news? It is this: God, the maker of the heaven and of the earth, the maker and preserver of us all, seeing us all overwhelmed with sin, hath had very great compassion on mankind, and hath given his own Son to be our Saviour. His name is Jesus Christ. He, leaving his own happiness, came down from heaven, assuming our nature, that to procure our salvation, he might suffer in our stead. Thirty-three years he lived in this world; in the presence of thousands of people, he performed many wonderful works; to the blind he gave sight, and to the deaf he gave hearing; the sick he healed, and the dead he raised to life. Afterwards, that he might make satisfaction for our sin, he endured very great sufferings; he gave his own life a ransom for us. He died. After three days he arose from the grave, appeared to his disciples, talked and ate with them; and at the end of forty days, he ascended into heaven in their presence, first giving them this command, 'Go ye into all the world, preach the gospel to all men; he who believeth your word will obtain salvation, but they who believe not will fall into hell-fire.' Now he is in heaven, the maker, the preserver, the ruler, the judge of all. At the last day he will come again, to judge all mankind; and for this purpose, will he raise all who have died in all ages of the world, and then will all receive according to their works. Then

they who, forsaking their sins, have believed in his name, and have received a new and holy mind, shall be received by him into heaven, where they will dwell with God to an endless duration; there their sorrow will never be any more, their good will be eternal, their pleasure will be boundless. But those who have not believed in his name, will he destroy; them will he throw into hell, where they will never obtain happiness; there, who can describe what misery they will endure! Endless anguish will be their portion. That you may not fall into this miserable place, and that you may eternally enjoy the happiness of heaven, we now declare these things unto you. These are not our words, but the words of God. Most certainly we seek your present and eternal good. For this end we are come to this country, and to this place; nor do we seek any thing else. We do not seek your money; we want not your lands. Your future, eternal good,—this is all we want. We know that this can be obtained in no other way, than by Jesus Christ. Besides him, there is no remedy. If you will not forsake your sinful ways, your lying, adultery, quarrelling, your idol worship, &c., and believe in Jesus Christ, you never can by any means be saved. But if, forsaking all these, and every sin, you believe in the Saviour, and, taking his name, you pray unto God for mercy, most assuredly you will get salvation. God will pardon your sins, and receive you into heaven, to dwell in his presence for ever. Pay attention to these words. Judge in your own minds whether they be good or bad. Know that your shasters are lies; believe them no longer. Why will you fling your souls into eternal fire? Why will you destroy yourselves? Now is the time of salvation. Now has God been very gracious to you, and has sent you the good news of salvation. Believe this good news; receive it into your hearts. If you do this, Jesus will be your saviour; but if not, he will be your judge, and you will have to give your account to him at the last day. Now we must go. May you be eternally happy! May God have compassion on you all!'

"In this manner, we stopped in four places, surrounded by crowds. As I was able, I spake to them, but am afraid I could scarcely be understood. In this work, my joy is great. Give me Bibles, tracts, and ability to speak the language more fluently; then, to distribute these, and to publish the glad tidings of salvation—a greater or a more glorious work, I do not desire.

"*Jan.* 15.—Left Gunga Saugur this morning. We are in the midst of hundreds and hundreds of boats, swarming with men and women, crying, Hurry bol! Hurry bol! *i. e.* Cry Hurry! Cry Hurry! Hurry is Krishno, one of their idols. They use this exclamation when women are burnt alive."

At this period, the missionaries projected a plan for the greater enlargement of their operations, which consisted in occupying various stations in the country, where Christian efforts might be carried on in connection with commercial pursuits. The individual in each station was to trade with a small capital of two or three hundred pounds, in cloth, indigo, or any other commodity. He was to receive money and send the goods monthly with accounts to Serampore, to keep a common stock and table as before, to have the same allowance, and to attend an annual meeting there of the whole missionary body. It was supposed that it would secure a more effectual and wider dissemination of the gospel throughout the country, the training up of natives, the preparation of an experienced body of missionaries, who would, from time to time, introduce others, and the consolidation of the talents of the missionaries and the profits of their labors into one available fund.

Mr. Ward differed in opinion from his brethren on this subject, thinking that the setting up of a number of single missionaries in business at different and distant parts of the country, was "a dangerous experiment,"—so he terms it,—running much risk of failing in business, and requiring more capital than their funds would be able to bear. His sagacity also intimated other grounds of objection; still he said that he was "wholly united with his brethren, and they were full of love and indulgence to him."*

The perplexity, as well as secularity of this scheme, led to its ultimate failure as a whole, though partially perpetuated in the creation of stations. But Mr.

* Private communication to Mr. Fuller.

Chamberlain was induced to accede to the request to make the first experiment, in the hope of extending his usefulness. It has been supposed that his readiness to undertake this service originated from his disagreeing with his brethren in regard to some of their proceedings; and that their proposal sprung from dissatisfaction at his irritability, which was, indeed, the chief fault of his character. This may be supposed, without impugning in any important degree either the judgment or Christian worth of either party. It gave occasion, however, for an exhibition of his own pious state of mind, and a testimony to his brethren, too valuable to be suppressed. The most distinguished of men have ever been the most prone to self-condemnation. "In some degree," says this eminent missionary, "I hope that I am sensible of my weakness and sinfulness, and consequent unfitness for this great and important work; and am astonished that one so worthless should be thus employed. I have a world of iniquity within me, and to contend with it, no strength of my own. I have now been at Serampore one year; the review of which, as it respects myself, gives me no pleasure, but great pain. Instead of living nearer to God, I have gone farther from him, and have been more indolent in his work, instead of being more active; and instead of advancing in the amiable graces of a Christian, I appear to have gone backward. These things are very painful and discouraging to me. The importance of keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, has been a great weight on my mind, and I hope that I have at least endeavored to keep it. I am apt to be too precipitate in speaking my mind, which often appears to others unlovely, when I had no such intention. I have, in instances, differed in opinion from my brethren, and have too warmly contended for my own, which has afterwards given me grief; but have always been the most strongly convinced that they have had the good of the mission at heart much more than I, and have therefore hoped that their determinations were for the best. I know not their equals, as it respects fitness for their station, in the whole world. They are indeed men qualified by the Lord."

The arrangements which have been mentioned, fixed Mr. Chamberlain at Cutwa, whither we shall now accompany him. Previously to his settlement there, he had an opportunity of surveying it in the course of a journey to Dinagepore, which furnished him with many opportunities of doing good, as well as of acquiring a more extensive knowledge of the habits and superstitions of the people.

Cutwa is situated on the western bank of the river Hooghly, in the district of Burdwan, about seventy-five miles north of Calcutta. It was formerly the scene of severe warfare between the Mahrattas and the Mussulmans, of which many indications still remain. Mr. Chamberlain was much employed during two months in building a house, and making the necessary arrangements for his residence, but neglected no opportunity of proclaiming the gospel to the people. He procured a spot of ground, about two acres, pleasantly situated by two tanks, and a fine grove of mango trees, at a small distance from the town. It was obtained with difficulty; having been compelled to leave one situation, after having begun to form a settlement, by the violent opposition of the people, which now ceased; on which account he gave it the name of *Rehoboth*, "for," said he, "Jehovah hath made room for us." Kalicundra had been recommended to him, as being numerously peopled, having a market twice a-week, and surrounded with villages. He went there on foot, though it was eight koss distant, to survey it; improving the occasion to converse of the "things of the kingdom," under trees, and by the way-side. Considering the great advantage of living in a large town, by the river, where thousands resorted from different quarters every day, he finally determined on remaining at Cutwa. By keeping a horse, he regarded it as an easy and delightful work to itinerate twenty or thirty miles round the country, in addition to daily labors at home. From this time, accordingly (the spring of 1804), we find him engaging in this great enterprise alone, with his wife only as a companion, in the midst of the ignorant, the rude, and the gainsaying; full of faith, of apostolic simplicity, of holy love to Christ and souls; with indefatigable zeal and with undaunted courage,

working his way through a tangled wilderness of idolatry.

No sooner did he commence his efforts, than his journals abounded with interesting details, and displayed in every paragraph the ardor of his spirit. The following are brief specimens:—"A poor old man expressed much gladness in hearing of the Saviour, which was to me a little encouraging. 'These are good words,' said he; 'hearing these, I get knowledge, and my mind gets good, it becomes soft. I am old,—my days are few: hearing you, sahib, I shall get good; I will hear you as often as I can; I will come again and hear.' In this manner he spoke, with so much apparent simplicity and pleasure, that I could not but be encouraged. If this poor man's soul be gained, O what a recompense!" Again, "This morning, a number of people, besides the servants, attended worship, and afterwards some stayed with me, and others came; so that I have been speaking more or less for three or four hours. Some Brahmins have just left me, one of whom, an old man, came from ten miles' distance to inquire. He read the gospel with some feeling, and appeared to be sensible of the fatuity of the Hindoo system. Last evening, I had a number of people, to whom I spoke the word of life. O, to be able to speak to them with all that affection and compassion which were so evident in our dear Lord!"

He not only devoted himself, immediately upon his settlement, to incessant preaching in the streets and bazars, but kept open house for visitors and inquirers, to whom he unfolded the mysteries of evangelical truth at all hours of the day; and was frequently so employed from morning till night.

In the month of September, he wrote to Dr. Ryland in the following terms:—"People are continually coming to our house, which prevents my going out. Some seem determined to oppose, others appear better inclined. It gives me great pleasure to endeavor to make known to them the word of life; nor would I change my situation for any worldly advantage. True, we are surrounded with them who know not God; we have no joyful assemblies of the saints to which we can resort, to unite in the reviving exercises of social worship,—no private families where we can meet and converse to our mutual comfort and encouragement. No, we are strangers, and accounted a strange people: we also dwell among a people of a hitherto strange language, but which is now becoming familiar; a people self-interested to a proverb, avaricious, proud, cruel, plunged into the depths of iniquity, delighting and wallowing in the vilest sins; a people than whom none can be more unpersuadable,—fostering self-conceit, and the most delusive opinions, accounting wood, stone, mud, straw, trees, flowers, rivers, water, &c., God,—and so worshipping these things, together with some of the vilest of men and women, as gods. This is our situation; yet, God be praised, we are not hopeless, nor comfortless. We know it is but for Jehovah to display his glorious arm, and then will our eyes be blessed with a wondrous sight. I anticipate the time when people shall come from the circumjacent villages and towns, flocking over the extended plains, to hear the word of life at Cutwa, having forsaken their idols, their debtahs, &c., and taken refuge in the Lord Jesus Christ. I anticipate the day when the horrid din of idol music shall give way to the songs of Zion; when in the place of their filthy, idolatrous songs, shall stand the sweet singer of Israel in Bengalee array; when children shall delight to lisp the name of Jesus, and old men join the chorus, Glory to God in the highest; when their shasters and vaids, which have so long been the support of this part of Satan's kingdom, shall melt away like wax before the sun; and that precious fountain of truth, the Bible, shall be the glory of this land, and the confidence, comfort, and support of all the people. These things I anticipate, and am encouraged. Not that I am so sanguine as to suppose that my mortal eyes will behold it; but my confidence is, that omnipotent truth will fulfil the promises of unerring wisdom and boundless mercy."

His journals record the great attention with which he was heard, the long disputations he had with the Hindoos about their idols and poojahs, and the hopes he entertained of some individuals. A few, from the distances of ten, fifteen, and twenty miles, repaired to his house for instruction. This has been the fre-

quent experience of missionaries in India; and though many hopeful impressions, apparently made on such occasions, have passed away, "like the morning cloud and early dew," yet subsequent years have sometimes shown that the good seed remained in the heathen bosom, and ultimately vegetated and brought forth fruit in distant years. He speaks, on one occasion, of the Hindoos being "mad upon their idols," who were then worshipping the wicked Doorga. "I was engaged all the afternoon of yesterday in disputation with several Hindoos about their idols and poojahs. After exposing the infamous character of Doorga and Gunga, by a reference to their received history, I assured an old brahmin, who waxed warm in the debate, that were such characters now living, they would certainly be hanged, yea, verily, all of them, without exception. The altercation being ended, I had much conversation with him about the gospel. I gave him some tracts, and he came again yesterday. I read to him the narrative of our Lord's feeding the five thousand, and of his walking on the sea; and the old man confessed that these were the works of God." *

In November, Mr. Chamberlain suffered one of the severest afflictions of his life, in the loss of his beloved partner in her confinement. But though for a season overwhelmed with distress, he never sunk into despondency, or relapsed into inaction; the pious ardor of his truly missionary soul gave him buoyancy amidst the waves of trouble. He continued to distribute tracts amidst multitudes of people, to meet and converse with them at their places of idolatrous concourse, and to labor "in season and out of season." He calculated that within a circle of six miles, there were a hundred thousand souls,—a momentous charge! "The Lord," he exclaims, "help me, and be merciful to me!" His hopes were much excited by the state of mind in which he heard some people were, at Jumakundee, a large town about thirty miles distant, where Kangalee was pleading for the gospel. This man had been an idle religious beggar, but when he renounced heathenism, he cheerfully labored with his hands to provide things honest in the sight of all men.

Fourteen months after his painful bereavement, Providence supplied him with another help-meet in Mrs. Grant, the widow of that valued missionary who had been so early removed to his eternal rest. But scarcely had she entered upon her useful labors among the native females, and otherwise proved an eminent aid as well as solace to her husband, before she, too, was removed under circumstances extremely similar to those of her predecessor, leaving her husband to mourn under a second bereavement.

Notwithstanding his extraordinary trials, Mr. Chamberlain pursued his work with unrelaxing diligence. "Through the great mercy of God," he writes, "I am still continued, and enabled, in some degree, to bear witness for Christ in the face of heathen idolatry. Wherever I go, the people are more or less willing to hear the word, and the work of preaching is increasingly pleasant to me. Though secluded from the society of the good, and exposed to the insults of the heathen, with a heavy weight of afflictions upon me, yet I am fully satisfied with my situation, nor would I change it for that of the greatest emperor in the world."

The brethren of Serampore having furnished him with a horse, he rode about continually to the villages, and, generally collecting people under a tree, he proclaimed to them the word of life. In these itineracies, the method of in-

* Doorga, or Durga, is considered to be the consort of Shiva or Seeva, the third person of the Hindoo triad, the destroying power. She is believed to have manifested herself under an immense variety of forms, of which a *thousand* are mentioned, with as many distinct appellations. The chief are two, Durga and Kali. In the former, she has been said to blend in herself the characters of the Olympian Juno, and the Pallas, or armed Minerva of the Greeks; but is a far more tremendous personage than both combined. She has been endowed by all the gods with their attributes, and concentrates, in herself, their united power and divinity. Of all the annual festivals, hers is the most extensively celebrated in Eastern India. She is represented with ten arms, into which the gods delivered their respective weapons of war, together with befitting ornaments, of a golden crown, robes adorned with jewels, a necklace of pearls, and a wreathed circlet of snakes. Thus she is ever ready to encounter the mightiest giants and most malignant demons. In addition to numberless offerings at the annual festival, bloody sacrifices are presented. Hundreds of families in the Calcutta district alone, sacrifice, severally, scores of animals; many present their hecatombs; and some occasionally their thousands. Each animal is consecrated by a brahmin, who marks its horns and forehead with red lead, sprinkles it, for purifying, with Gunga water, adorns its neck with a necklace of leaves, and its brow with a garland of flowers, and reads various incantations in its ears, adding, "O Durga, I sacrifice this animal to thee, that I may dwell in thy heaven for so many years." In addition to this, both young and old smear themselves with the gory dust and mud, and dance about with savage ferocity.

struction was chiefly by conversational discussion, and both in the mode of obviating objections, and enforcing truth, he displayed great sagacity. Joy and sorrow were wonderfully intermingled in almost every day's experience. In one paragraph of his journal, he says, "out of many thousands of souls, not one appears, of late, to have embraced the gospel; the more they understand it, the more their enmity appears:" in the next, he states that "he had the pleasure to converse with fifteen inquirers" from a distance. On the following day, a numerous congregation were "solemnly silent, appeared convinced of the truth, and many wept;" and the day after, Seboo Roy and Thakur Dass brought inquirers with them. These persons had repeatedly afforded proof of their attachment to the Saviour, though at present they had not made a public profession. The former soon died from the effects of a severe cold, but closed his days in faith and peace. Mr. Chamberlain was indefatigable in visiting the markets, and frequently found favor in the eyes of the people. He particularly refers to the Dewangunje market, where he had a great number of hearers, and a continual congregation for three and four hours together, whom he addressed with scarcely any intermission. "If it please the Lord," says he, very characteristically, "I promise my feet little compassion for some months to come. O that my soul may hereafter be kept in a preaching frame, that I may preach the crucified Saviour to the perishing heathen, with that spirit which the beloved Paul expresses, Gal. 2: 20, 'I am crucified with Christ!'"

The review of his own labors at the end of five years, is thus concisely and impressively given, in a letter addressed to a friend in England:—"It is now upwards of five years since Providence fixed my lot here. I will not trouble you with a detail of my afflictions. Fiery trials have tried me severely, and after all, I fear I am not purified. To say much about my exertions at this station would scarcely be interesting to you, as it would little become me. What can I write of the works of God? They, at present, are not gloriously manifested, yet,—blessed be his name,—through his grace, the word of salvation by the death of the incarnate Jesus, has been published from this place to all parts of Bengal. Millions of the heathen have heard the glorious report, either from preaching, or from the distribution of upwards of one hundred thousand tracts, and many hundreds of the Scriptures. From these means, the light is breaking in upon the darkness; its operations are paradoxical,—imperceptible, and yet evidently manifest. People hear; brahmins dispute, are put to confusion, retire in shame, or, more to their disgrace, raise an uproar. Sober minds judge; the idols, the shasters, the customs, &c., are brought into judgment by the common people. Now they laugh at idolatry, feeling the force of truth; now groan in their pains, dreading the consequences of liberty. Some read the Scriptures, some the tracts; many converse on these things. The leaven is at work, though as yet its operations are in silence, and its effects concealed. At present, converts are few, and a missionary has but little encouragement from them; but he sees, with gladness of hope, the way preparing for the march of Emmanuel to 'subdue the people under him.' A spirit of hearing continues; some are beginning to examine, to see whether things are so; and so they find them.

"It is nearly three years, perhaps more, since a man came to my house to see me, and to hear words from my mouth. He had received some tracts before; I gave him others. He went home, and read them. He resides about sixty miles west from this place. He returned; heard very attentively; after this, sent for the Holy Book. He read it by himself and to others; they considered things. One great man, who had a house full of idols, heard the word from this man; took him under his protection, and began to think less of his gods. When I paid him a visit this last year, they were in being; their priest remained to offer to them; but their master regarded them not. By degrees, the idols fell into such disgrace, that to preserve himself from their bad fortune, the brahmin was glad to leave them to their destiny. They were soon hurled from their high station, and regarded as the meanest of things.

"The week before last, I took a journey into Beerbhoom, to Lakrakoon-

da, to see how these people were going on. I found them reading the Scriptures. I spent two days amongst them very happily; and when we were coming away, Krishno Rosh, the owner of the fallen gods, very cheerfully gave me them, to use as I might think proper. We brought four of them in two bags across the baggage poney, all through the country, to the confusion of their deluded votaries. Two remain, to fetch which men are under orders to set out to-morrow morning. I intend to send these idols to Europe and to America, that our brethren may see with their own eyes what God has done, and be encouraged to hope for abundantly better things to come. *The idols shall be utterly abolished.*"

Another of Mr. Chamberlain's occasional efforts consisted in keeping a native school at Cutwa; for whose benefit he translated Dr. Watts's catechism in verse, and composed a number of hymns. There were about forty scholars, and he employed a schoolmaster; but he had to complain of great neglect during his missionary excursions. Sometimes their prejudices induced parents to remove their children; then, again, these prejudices appeared to subside, and a conviction of the benefit they obtained led to their restoration. These alternations were natural under the circumstances. In the mean time, the seed of truth was sown for futurity in the minds of these children of idolatry.

In many respects, the most important of all the labors of Mr. Chamberlain, were those in which he engaged at Berhampore. This was a military station, where a brigade of troops were fixed in commodious cantonments, at the distance of forty-five miles from Cutwa. The twenty-second regiment of foot occupied the barracks when this distinguished missionary paid his first visit, in 1808. Having repeatedly visited them, he found that the work of conversion had been progressive among the soldiers, and that several were desirous of baptism. Prudential considerations, however, induced him to defer this for a time, while he continued, not only to preach to them, but frequently to a multitude of the natives, with considerable effect. It was the "stir," as he calls it, that induced the hesitation in question; and, perhaps, the particular circumstances might justify this procrastination. During the next visit to Berhampore, in August, where, and in the vicinity, he preached and itinerated for some weeks, he came to the resolution to baptize the converted soldiers; and accordingly, he first administered this ordinance to seven, then to nine, and subsequently, in different proportions, till they amounted to twenty-four. They consisted of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, and were all united into a church; three being constituted ruling elders by the unanimous vote of all. Immediately upon their profession, they brought forth fruit to God, subscribing seventy-five sicca rupees to the mission, which they transmitted to the brethren at Serampore and Calcutta. One friend proposed to subscribe a gold mohur every three months towards his native school.

In September, 1809, Mr. Chamberlain was married to his third wife, Miss Underwood, with whom he had been acquainted in England, and who was one of the first to direct his mind to missionary service. On occasion of the next visit to Berhampore, in October, he received three more candidates, and administered the Lord's supper to eighteen, the rest being ill or on duty. The following month, repeating his visit, he baptized nine, and presided at the Lord's table with twenty-seven. The Bible was now put into circulation throughout the barracks, and many were engaged in scriptural researches and inquiries. Several had died in the hospital during the year, without having made a public profession, but giving substantial evidence that they had not heard the word in vain. On the 10th of January, 1810, twelve persons were baptized, in the presence of a numerous concourse of spectators. A few of the profane blasphemed, but, in general, the people attended with great seriousness. His description of this newly formed church, under his pastoral superintendence, is highly gratifying. Their meetings were crowded. Between the hours of eight and nine, the barracks rang with the songs of Zion. They all walked in love, and were very zealous for the cause of God. They were accustomed to hold a public meeting every evening, and afterwards to spend an hour in social

prayer. The elders abounded in simplicity, piety, and sacred gifts. It was not uncommon to find some of them at a prayer meeting before four o'clock in the morning; and wherever they were called, it was usual for them to take a Bible, or some pious book, to read at every moment's leisure.

But this pleasing state of things was interrupted by some reverses in the months of March and April. Several, by falling into sin, brought discredit on the church; one, from remorse, afterwards committed suicide; while others were happily restored. In anticipation of Mrs. Chamberlain's confinement, Mr. Chamberlain took a small bungalow at Berhampore, where he shared with his people their reproach, while he encouraged them by his contiuual ministrations. At the critical hour in his family, he received an order from the authorities to quit the place; but in consideration of his domestic circumstances, it was somewhat delayed. An order was also issued to interdict the attendance of the soldiers on worship; but this, too, was afterwards modified, and the cloud disappeared; he received four into the church on a profession of faith, and left it for Cutwa, after adding two elders, in a state of progressive comfort.

Soon after this period (in August), the twenty-second regiment received orders to quit Berhampore for the presidency; whence they were expected to proceed on some distant expedition. Mr. Chamberlain found them, without any previous suspicion of the fact, in the act of embarkation, when he arrived on a visit. He convened his beloved people at his bungalow, and celebrated the Lord's supper with them, expecting it to be their last united commemoration on earth. He determined, however, to meet the regiment at Calcutta, where he once more joined them on the Sabbath in Christian worship and fellowship.

Being on the eve of separation from their valued pastor, the regimental church, after solemn prayer and consultation, chose one of their own number as their future pastor, with whose piety and gifts they were well acquainted. They also appointed two assistant elders. The church consisted of between thirty and forty members, many of whom were men of judgment, piety, and good scriptural knowledge. At Berhampore, they had instituted a school, which they conducted gratis, and in which not only were all the children of the regiment instructed, whose parents could be induced to send them; but many of their adult countrymen were taught to read the word, of whom some were converted. In addition to nearly one hundred pounds, which they expended in Bibles, hymn-books, and other books adapted to promote religion, they transmitted a considerable sum as a present to the mission.*

The regiment was destined for the Isle of France; but previously to their departure, the pious soldiers addressed the following letter to the missionaries. It received the signature of thirty names.

"*September*, 1810.

"It has pleased our heavenly Father, in his wise dispensations, to call us from you on military duty.

"We have reason, in a peculiar manner, to be thankful for the many benefits we have received since it has pleased the Bishop of our souls to place us under the ministry of the brethren, which has been wonderfully blessed among us; particularly the incessant labors of our dear pastor in the Lord, brother Chamberlain.

"The thought of parting with you, dear brethren, is very painful to us, when we consider the mutual love that has subsisted between us. What consolation in Christ! what comfort of love! what fellowship of the Spirit! what bowels of compassion! O, often have our hearts glowed with that love which passeth all understanding!

"Dear brethren, what shall we say? We cannot find words to express our feelings of love and gratitude towards you.

"Pray for us, that we may stand fast in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, that whether life or death, prosperity or adversity, darkness or light, awaits us, we may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. Dear brethren, we now conclude with the ardent desire of our souls, that the love and fellowship of the blessed and glorious Trinity may rest upon you."

The visit of Mr. Chamberlain to Calcutta on this occasion led to an impor-

* Yates's Memoirs of Chamberlain.

tant change in his situation. The leading missionaries at Serampore being anxious for the extension of the gospel, and the improvement of the translations of the Scriptures made for the Upper Provinces, and having at the time no station beyond Digah, came to the resolution to adopt prompt measures for the accomplishment of both these purposes. "Being assured," as the brethren express it, "of brother Chamberlain's facility of acquiring languages, his acquaintance with the original Scriptures, particularly the Hebrew, his tried zeal and experience in missionary work," they considered him as exceedingly suited to engage in a mission "where at least two versions of the Scriptures, the Hindoo and the Shikh, would require to be carefully examined and improved." He was accordingly invited to undertake this service; and in humble faith consented to quit his beloved Rehoboth (so he continued to designate Cutwa), and proceed to Agra.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL AFFAIRS OF THE MISSION, FROM 1804, TO THE SUCCESSFUL TERMINATION OF THE CONTROVERSIAL WARFARE IN ENGLAND.

Having related the proceedings of Mr. Chamberlain during his residence at Cutwa, we now resume the general narrative.

On the third of January, 1804, some additional missionaries, who had been set apart for the work in the previous month, sailed with their wives from Bristol; two of them, Richard Mardon and John Biss, members of the church at Plymouth Dock (now Devonport), under the pastoral superintendence of the Rev. Isaiah Burt; and one, William Moore, a member of the church at Stoke-gomer, under the care of the Rev. Robert Humphrey; and one, Joshua Rowe, a member of the church at Salisbury, under the Rev. John Saffery. As they first went to America, and then to Madras, they did not reach Bengal till the commencement of the following year.

In the mean time, the missionary affairs were proceeding successfully in India. The Europeans and the natives were diligently culivating the field of itinerant labor; two tracts were at this time printed in the Hindoostanee language; a new edition of the Bengalee New Testament was issued, while the translation of the Old was advancing; and the press was erected, and the school, which prospered beyond expectation, proved an important support to the mission. In the month of February, two of the Hindoo converts, Petumber Singho and Krishno, were set apart to the ministry. But the pleasures of success were not unmingled with sorrows; for the missionaries had to lament over some backsliders. Still there was a compensation in five others, with reference to whom Mr. Marshman says, "this cheers our hearts, and makes us look forward for more. Of these is not every one given as a pledge? What is the *intrinsic* value to the husbandman of the few first droppings from a cloud richly surcharged with the precious showers of heaven? But viewed as a sure pledge, with what joy are they beheld!"* Two new schools were opened; one at Arendah, under the tuition of Kobeer; the other at Bishoohurry, under Sheetaram. At the latter place, a number of adult natives attended. In the course of the year, seventeen were baptized.

Dinagepore was occupied as a station by Ignatius Fernandez, who preached every week in Bengalee, awaiting the appointment of a missionary to be sent to his aid; and they were now contemplating another station at Sooksauger, where Petumber Singho was to be fixed. The native free schools formed an interesting object of cultivation. Of these, the one at Serampore, under the care of Bydenaut, contained seven or eight Portuguese boys; that at Arendah, under Kobeer, about twenty or thirty Bengalees; that at Bishoohurry, nearly twenty; that at Lockphool, under Sookee Behase, eight or ten; Fernandez's school at Dinagepore, about twenty; Mr. Creighton, of Goamalty, near Malda,

* Letter to Mr. Fuller.

had several schools, containing from one to two hundred scholars. On a visit which Mr. Ward paid to Jessore, towards the close of the year, he touched at many of these places, and gave an encouraging report of their general state.

The impression which some of the self-denying acts of the missionaries, even more than their words, produced on the native mind, may be conceived from an incident mentioned in the journal of Mr. Ward. A native brother, named Totaram, having died, they carried the corpse on their shoulders to the grave; a proceeding, as he remarks, which would shock many of the Europeans who heard it; but the natives said, "This was great love, and showed that we did not forsake those who joined themselves unto us, even to the last."

Mr. Ward refers, also, with natural and just exultation, to a service in which he with Felix Carey, Fernandez, Caleb Hirons, Krishno Presaud, Ram Rotten, Ram Mohun, and Roop, were engaged at Calcutta. "In the afternoon, we had *Bengalee preaching for the first time.* First we sung, then Ram Rotten prayed, then we sung again, then Krishno Presaud preached an excellent sermon on the way of salvation, then singing, then prayer by Ram Mohun. We had between thirty and forty Hindoos, Mussulmans, and Portuguese; and two or three Europeans. A brahmin boldly preaching the gospel on the day five years after we had landed in this country,—at Calcutta, the capital of Bengal, and the seat of government of the Company, a brahmin, too, avowing his own conversion, and preaching, to the admiration of Europeans, a consistent gospel sermon, with fluent language; and in that place where two years before, he was an idolater! 'This is the Lord's doing, and is marvellous in our eyes.'"

Instances of persecution were not unfrequent; and they furnished fine opportunities for the display of Christian character in the native converts. "This evening (Nov. 14th, at Bishoohury),* Buxoo, a brother who is a servant with us, and Soroop, went to a market in the neighborhood, where they were discovered to be *Yesoo Khreestare Loke* (Jesus Christ's people). The whole market was all in a hubbub; they clapped their hands, and threw dust at them. Buxoo was changing a rupee for cowries, when the disturbance begun; and, in the scuffle the man ran away with the rupee without giving the cowries." Again,—"*Nov.* 24. This day Hawnye and Ram Kaunt returned from their village. They relate that our brother Fotick, who lives in the same village, was lately seized by the chief Bengalee man there; dragged from his house; his face, eyes, and ears clogged with manure; his hands tied; and in this state confined several hours. They also tore in pieces all the papers, and the copy of the New Testament, which they found in Fotick's house. A relation of these persecutors being dead, they did not molest Hawnye and Ram Kaunt; but the townsfolk would not hear about the gospel; they only insulted them for becoming Christians."

On the first of January, 1805, a meeting was held to commence subscriptions for a new place of worship at Calcutta; and 4800 rupees were contributed. In March, they made a purchase of extensive premises to the east of their residence, which were walled round, and had many buildings already erected on them. The cost was no less than 14,200 rupees; but they deemed it absolutely necessary for carrying out the objects they had in view, while anticipating a continual enlargement of the mission family. In June, they constructed a new printing-office, sixty-five feet long, by thirty-five broad. The press-room, with three presses, and the binding-office, were opposite one end of the composing-room, and were commodious and extensive buildings.

The arrival of the four missionaries, who had embarked at the commencement of the previous year at Bristol, was a valuable accession. One of them, Mr. Moore, in writing home, gives a description of the mission-house, which places the reader on the spot. "It is pleasantly situated on the banks of a river about half a mile wide. As soon as we ascend the bank, which is rather steep, we enter a gate, with a green, one hundred and twenty feet by ninety. The first room we enter, by ascending steps from the green, is the museum, which is about sixty feet by twenty-four. There is a room at each end, of the same breadth each way. The room for preaching is the same size as the mu-

* Ward's Journal.

seum, with a room at each end twenty-four feet square. The next is the hall, or dining-room, ninety-five feet by twenty-one. Brother Carey and Ward's houses form the two wings in front, joining the hall. We occupy one of the rooms at the end of the museum, and have a full view of Lord Wellesley's park. Brother Marshman's is not quite so large as the mission-house, and is about an hundred yards further up the river. The girls' school is kept in it; the boys' school lies between the two houses, as do also the printing and binding-office, and foundry for the types. There are several other buildings on the premises, which consist of about eight acres of land. Thus hath the Lord blessed this mission, and prospered the labors of his servants."

At this period, the missionaries were much concerned at the apparently unpromising state of their affairs. Every one who had appeared in the character of an inquirer, had left them in a clandestine manner. In consequence, a day was devoted expressly to humiliation and prayer; a measure, the beneficial effect of which can scarcely be questioned, in tracing the future successes of the mission. Thus, in October, 1805, Mr. Marshman writes,—"A most gracious gale seems to have been breathed on the mission, within the last five months. The former part of the year we were called to mourn, and the Lord seems to have inclined his ear." Eight natives were added to the church in five weeks, and fifteen in the course of the year, together with some Europeans. They had, besides, a considerable number of inquirers. In his itineracies around Calcutta, Krishno found several persons who had received tracts and New Testaments three years before, which had been fermenting in the mind like leaven. One instance was remarkable. The man had, for many years, been a byraggee, and lived on the gains of his pretended holiness. He once visited the temple of Zugunnat'h Khetre, the grand resort of the pilgrims. The lord of the district offered him land if he would settle there; but he replied, that, without Gunga water, it was impossible for him to live. To evince his respect, the great man clasped him round the neck, and seated him by his side, in the public assembly. Yet the gospel found its way to the heart of this devotee of Gunga. He gave up his livelihood, threw his byraggee books into the river, and hung up his image of Zugunnat'h in a tree. On one occasion, after his baptism, being short of fuel to boil his rice, with the advice of his wife, he took down the image out of the tree, and cleaving it in two, with one half he supplied the fire to dress his dinner!

The important influence of native Christians became continually manifest. The following is a specimen. A poor husbandman, about forty years of age, unable either to read or write, went from the distance of seventy miles, to Serampore, to inquire into the way of salvation. After a time, he was baptized and returned home, where, telling his artless story of what he had "found," two women were so impressed, that they travelled all that distance to hear the gospel. They also believed, and were baptized. Some time subsequently to this, a Mussulman received the good news from his lips, and imitated their example. Soon after, a respectable Hindoo heard the word from him, and repaired to Serampore; and, upon his return, took up the cross. This person's nephew, in a few months, followed his example. Another poor husbandman, receiving the welcome intelligence from the first, renounced all for Christ, and, after working some time in the missionary garden, died in faith. Nor was this the whole extent of his usefulness; for he led several others, in a similar manner, to the Saviour. This man was *Sheetaram*. Upon these facts, Mr. Marshman remarks, "a native brother or two can often accompany an European brother even newly arrived; can catch the broken accents from his lips, and explain them with a fervor and clearness that would surprise you; while the mere presence of an European brother protects them from insults, and inspires them with boldness. Nor are they useless when sent alone. Though not so well calculated to harangue a multitude, yet they can enter private circles, watch opportunities, and drop an effectual word, where we cannot be heard. They, silent and obsure, can penetrate a bigoted city, stay two or three days in a house, and, unsuspected, scatter the precious seed, while only the

appearance of one of us would create universal alarm."*

The indefatigable zeal and perseverance of Carey appeared in every day's transactions. Rival to these, was his deep humility. The following is part of a letter which he addressed to Mr. Sutcliff.† "You may, perhaps, wonder that I write no more letters; but when you see what I am engaged in, you will cease to he surprised. I translate into Bengalee; and from Sungskrit into English, (viz.,the *Ramayunee*,—I have also begun an attempt at translating the *Vedas*), I must collate copies. Every proof sheet of the Bengalee and Mahratta Scriptures, the Sungskrit Grammar, and the *Ramayunee*, must go three times, at least, through my hands; a Dictionary of the Sungskrit, which is edited by Mr. Colebrooke, goes once, at least, through my hands. I have written and printed a second edition of my Bengalee Grammar wholly new worked over and greatly enlarged, and a Mahratta Grammar; and collected materials for a Mahratta Dictionary. Besides this, I preach twice-a-week, frequently thrice, and attend upon collegiate duties. I do not mention this because I think my work a burden,—it is a real pleasure,—but to show that my not writing many letters, is not because I neglect my brethren, or wish them to cease writing to me. The truth is, that every letter I write is at the expense of a chapter of the Bible, which would have been translated in that time."

In the month of August, the missionary band were much afflicted by the death of the venerable Petumber. Mr. Ward furnished a memoir of him to the Society, of which the following are the principal particulars.

Petumber Shingee (called, also, *Singgu* or *Shingo*) was born at Jagolee. He was the eldest of four children. When Petumber was six years old, his mother died, and at twelve, his father,—both in a state of idolatry. About the age of sixteen, Petumber married. Before he was twenty, he entered into service, and at one time he was a *durugа*, or chief constable. Afterwards, he spent some months with a goraye, or leader among the byraggees, when he read several of the popular books of Hindoo mythology. God seems to have given him wisdom to judge persons by their fruits, even from his youth. Hence the character and conduct of the gods, as exhibited in these books, and his personal observations on the pride and profligacy of the brahmins, opened his eyes to the inefficiency of his religion, and gave him a distaste for the muddy waters of heathenism; but where to get the water of life, he knew not. Though this feeling produces no change of heart, it opens a way for the reception of the gospel, wherever there is an ingenuous mind, as in the case of Petumber, to receive it. During the latter part of his life as an idolater, he wandered about as a byraggee, conversing with those who were supposed to have some knowledge of God, or some revelation of the right way; and, being accounted a man of deep knowledge, and of a clear judgment, he became a kind of gooroo, and had disciples who listened to his discourses, prostrated themselves at his feet, and deemed him their oracle.

In this situation, the gospel found him. In a journey which Mr. Ward took in 1801, through the Sunderbunds, a tract fell into the hands of one of Petumber's companions; but on showing it to him, Petumber told him to "take it away." He had no idea of holiness coming from an Englishman. In the night, however, he reflected how foolish it was to send the book away without looking at it, and in the morning, he went and obtained it. He read the book, and was convinced at once he had found the true way of salvation. Seeing the word "Serampore" on the back of it, he set off for that place. On his arrival, after some conversation and explanation, he seemed pleased, and retired with Krishno, at whose house he lodged. After some examination, he expressed a wish to be baptized; he ate with Krishno, without minding his caste, and seemed decided from the beginning; and after going back to his home, to announce to his wife and friends that he had found Jesus the Saviour, he returned, and was baptized. As teacher of the Bengalee school, to which situation he was appointed, he gave great satisfaction. Afterwards, it was thought desirable that he should change his field of labor

* Letter to Mr. Fuller.

† This, with the paragraphs distinguished in the original manuscript by brackets, he requested not to be printed. The interdiction, however, in such cases, is not to be regarded as authoritative at this distant period.

to Sooksaugur, about twenty miles from Serampore, to try how such a man would succeed when removed from the immediate superintendence of missionaries. In this station he continued, for two or three years, to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ, adorning the doctrine he professed, by his conduct; but, though his integrity was duly appreciated by his heathen neighbors, not a single person received his message. During his residence at Sooksauger, he became afflicted with the asthma, and this, together with his want of success, induced him to return to Serampore, where he was reinstated in the management of the school. This was no longer filled with children; the parents, having taken alarm lest they should lose caste, had removed them, and the school must have been abandoned, had not the numerous inquirers who had come from various parts to Serampore for religious instruction, given a new and more important direction to the energies of Petumber. From this period, however, he never recovered his former strength, and he rather instructed his inquirers by his patient suffering, firm faith, and conversation, than by his active labors. During this part of his life, he on several occasions manifested his concern for the peace of the church. He had learned that love was the essence of religion. Hence, also, he was beloved by his brethren, who frequently consulted him, and treated him with a respect more than bordering on reverence. He would caution his brethren against launching out into those things which, though not immoral, would prejudice their countrymen against the gospel. For instance, he saw that nothing would more stigmatize the cause of Christ in the eyes of a native, than a convert appearing in an English dress, and therefore warned his younger brethren against it, and against every thing which might become a stumbling-block to others. On these subjects, he seemed to have entered into the spirit and advice of the apostle Paul (than whom no man was better acquainted with human nature), "becoming all things to all men, that he might by all means save some." No person, however, could charge him with dissimulation. His temper naturally was rather unbending than otherwise; and his abhorrence of falsehood and dishonesty was manifest from the whole of his deportment. In his conversations, writings, and sermons, he had a happy talent of forcible reasoning. His understanding was naturally clear, and his judgment solid, and when God opened to him the sources of truth, he was a match for the most subtle of the Hindoo pundits. Of this they were aware, and therefore commonly avoided an encounter with him.

During his sickness, though he was not without the desire of recovery, yet he steadily refused every remedy connected with idolatry. For three or four months before his death, he continued gradually to decline. This last period of his life was truly interesting to all the brethren. It was wonderful to behold his patience and resignation increasing more and more as his affliction increased. He said once or twice to Mr. Ward, "I am never unhappy that it is so with me; my spirits are always good." He would say, with a moving simplicity, "He is my God, and I am his child; he never leaves me; he is always present." About two months before his death, having perceived in Jugguldhumba, his wife, a change of mind respecting the gospel, he earnestly pressed on her to make a profession of it. He warned her against returning to idolatry, or going to a *gooroo;* and, above all, entreated her to make Christ her refuge, that ultimately they might both meet again in heaven. These last words seem to have made a strong impression on her, for soon after his death, she was baptized, and became an ornamental member of the church.

The missionaries had formerly thought Petumber less affected with the unparalleled love and sufferings of Christ than was desirable; as he seemed to be employed in exhibiting the deformity of vice in the debtahs and brahmins, and the beauties of righteousness in Scripture characters, rather than holding forth Christ as the source of pardon and universal conformity to perfect excellence. But when his own hope for futurity came to be tried in the fire of affliction, he found the Saviour to be precious to him, and his death and mediation the only comfort in the prospect of eternity. The day before he died, he was anxious to see his daughter, that he might make a last effort, after long

continued but unsucessful exertions, for her conversion. Means were used to accomplish this desire; two native brethren were appointed to take a boat and fetch her. Before they could depart, however, he became worse, and forbade their going, intimating that she would only disturb his last moments by her sorrow, and that he was too weak to address any thing to her that could be of use. On the morning of his death, August 21, 1805, he called his brethren to come and sing. While they were singing a hymn, the chorus of which runs—"Eternal salvation through the death of Christ," the tears of joy ran down his dying cheeks; and in that happy frame of mind he departed, leaving a smile on his countenance which imparted to it so pleasant an aspect, that at first one or two of the missionaries hesitated whether he were indeed dead.

Petumber was supposed to be about sixty years of age. His happy death produced a good effect on his surviving native friends, who all seemed animated with one sentiment thus expressed—"May our last end be like his!"

Among the missionary excursions of the year, a journey was undertaken in September, to Dhacca, by Mr. Moore, W. Carey, Ram Mohun, Bydenaut, and Bhorrutt. In their way, they had many opportunities, as usual, of distributing pamphlets and conversing with the people. On their arrival at the city, the people thronged their boat, to receive their papers, and so eagerly, that they were obliged to put off seven or eight yards from the shore, and even then they followed them into the water. Before making much progress, however, they were interrupted in their city labors and distributions, first by a collector, and afterwards by a magistrate, who demanded their passports, alleging, that "the pamphlets had created great uneasiness among the people," that is, the brahmins. They were accordingly interdicted from proceeding further. On their return, they found in a village a congregation of Hindoo Roman Catholics, with whom they had some interesting communication, but over whose general ignorance and intellectual degradation they had reason to mourn. They did not appear, however, to be so strongly wedded to their images as in Europe. In the neighborhood, there were, as they stated, about five hundred families of Roman Catholic Christians.

On the anniversary of the formation of the Society at home, Marshman and Ward were chosen co-pastors with Carey; and Mardon, Biss, Moore, Rowe, Krishno, and Krishno Presaud were appointed deacons. Mr. Biss was soon afterwards appointed to assist Mr. Fernandez, at Sadamahl, near Dinagepore.

It is stated, in December, that twenty-one members had been added during the preceding three months. Some of these endured great opposition from their countrymen; but they endured it with Christian fortitude. The number of persons who had recently come from various parts of the country, to inquire about the gospel, and to unite with the church, provoked the inhabitants of Serampore, while some were awakened to serious thought. "As one of the brethren," says Mr. Biss,* "was coming home the other day, he heard some persons behind him speaking to this effect, —'The people are coming from one place and another to embrace the gospel; and we, who are living in the midst of it, think nothing seriously about it!'"

Among those to whom reference has been made, as recently united to the church, seven were from Ram Kreeshnopore, and appear to have been the fruits of the tract and Scripture distributions there. Mr. Ward seems, in more than one instance, to have adopted the plan of giving the New Testament to a village, prescribing that he who could read the best should possess it, and read it to others. Krishno Dass related to the church, that it was in this way he had obtained tracts and a Testament, which had changed his ideas, induced him to abandon idolatry, and trust in Christ. Thus was the heavenly seed deposited, and in a manner unknown to the Christian sowers, secretly vegetated in the heathen heart; till, after months and years, it exhibited a spiritual produce.

On the 27th of January, 1807, a new church was formed at Dinagepore, over which Mr. Fernandez was ordained the pastor. Mr. Carey delivered the charge. Two of the members were the first fruits of that part of the country where he and Mr. Thomas had so long labored without

* Letter to Mr. Fuller.

success. This was the second Baptist church constituted in Bengal.

A bamboo shed having been opened at Calcutta, by Mr. Ward, for the preaching of the gospel in Bengalee, as a temporary accommodation till the chapel should be erected, Jaggernaut and Krishno Dass were stationed there to converse with the natives, and distribute tracts. The curiosity of the people was much excited by this proceeding, and multitudes followed them through the streets, clapping their hands and loading them with abuse. They called them feringas: some called them in contempt, Yesoo Kreest; and, bowing to them, said "Salam, Yesoo Kreest:" others said, "There goes Salla, Yesoo Kreest!" When they saw Mr. Ward, one exclaimed, "That's he—that's the Hindoo Padree; why do you destroy the people's caste?" Another said to one of the native brethren, "Oh Salla, why did you not come a begging to my house? I would have given you a morsel to eat, rather than you should have become a feringa!"*

A new source of affliction arose in the death of Krishno Presaud, on the 24th of July. Having come from Dayhatta for instruction, he was united to the church in 1803. This afforded peculiar pleasure, as he was the first brahmin who had been baptized. His decision enraged his friends, who, one day when he went to them in Calcutta, broke the hookah they had given him to smoke with, and ordered him away. Soon afterward, he began to preach the gospel, to the great satisfaction of the missionaries; and undertook the Bengalee school. He was associated with Mr. Ward, young Fernandez, and Ram Roteen, in a journey to Dinagepore, during which he labored indefatigably, and produced considerable effect by his addresses and conversations. In January, 1806, he was chosen a deacon of the church at Serampore. His many excellent qualities and talents seemed to promise well for the future; but he was cut off, after months of illness, in the very flower of his age, and bud of his usefulness. At his own desire, he accompanied Dr. Taylor, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Biss, who were going up the country, thinking the river air would prove serviceable to him. They wished him to remain at Cutwa, but yielded to his desire to proceed to Malda, Mr. Chamberlain accompanying him two or three days on the journey; when dropsy and diarrhœa increased upon him, till he breathed no more. His remains were interred in the European burying-ground at Berhampore. In a funeral sermon, Mr. Ward characterizes him as distinguished by habitual trust and confidence in Christ; as evincing, by a consistent conduct the sincerity of his profession, manifesting tenderness of conscience among a people who make sin their plaything, and amongst whom the sentiment is universal that sin is the play of the gods. He was a strict observer of the times of preaching, prayer, and other Christian duties, a diligent reader of the Scriptures, and distinguished by an anxious solicitude for the salvation of his relations, and for the spread of the gospel in general. He not only adorned religion by a holy life, but by his patience and fortitude, during a long and trying affliction in 1803, when he had caught a fever. Never was he known to utter the least murmur; and in his last illness, Mr. Ward remarks that in several conversations, he perceived in him a happy submission to the will of God, founded on a sense of his own deserts, and just views of the glory of the divine character. "Grace triumphed over nature; the poor idolater, turned from dumb idols to serve the living God, instead of murmuring against the object of his adoration,* falls into his arms, knowing in whom he had believed, and that he was able to keep that which he had committed to him against that day; he smiles amidst the storm, and meets the king of terrors with composure.

"Thus lived and died Krishno Presaud; once a brahmin,—once employed in the burning of poor widows,—once revelling at midnight in the abominable orgies of Kreeshnoo; but now he is washed, sanctified, and justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God; yes, he hath washed his robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; therefore is he before the throne."†

* Ward's Journal.

* In times of affliction, the Hindoos often use angry expressions against their gods, telling them they have made so many offerings to them, and yet they have suffered so many afflictions to enter into their families. Sometimes they even curse their gods; and some have even taken their images down, kicked them about, and destroyed them.

† Ward's Funeral Sermon.

The attendance at Calcutta was of the most encouraging description. A congregation of from four to six hundred constantly assembled, and many of the Portuguese and Armenians interested themselves in the Bengalee worship; sometimes even taking an active part in the occasional disputations that arose.

The missionaries now resolved upon organizing a more regular and extensive plan of itineracy, so as to secure the co-operation of all the native church, and sending them forth, two and two, an elder and a younger, without European assistance. For this purpose, they appointed a committee of management, which was to consist, not merely of missionaries, but of persons chosen from the church. The following were then nominated;—Krishno Paul; Sheetaram, then at Bishoohurry; Koovera, at Erinda; Ram Mohun, at Goamalty; Kingalee, at Cutwa; Fotick, or Futtick, and Gotuck, at Dinagepore; Bhagvat, at Goamalty; Krishno Dass, Sebukram, Jaggernaut, Deep Chund, and one or two younger brethren. Others who, while they worked in the office and contributed to the support of the plan, embraced opportunities on the Sabbath of making known the word of life; as Ram Rotten, Kanee, Neeloo, Mittre, and Roop.

The spirit of intense opposition to missionary effort was, at this period, beginning to display itself in new forms. Mr. Moore and Mr. Taylor had accompanied Mr. Biss and his wife to Dinagepore; from which place, after leaving the latter at their newly appointed station at Saddamahl, they intended to proceed to Patna and Benares. On their arrival, a servant came from the magistrate, to inquire respecting them; and, at length, they went to his house. The magistrate informed them, that, if they advanced up the country, they might, possibly, be sent on board a ship, and that his duty required him to send them back again. He added that if Mr. Fernandez, whom he supposed to be an acquaintance, would give his word for their speedy and direct return to Serampore, they might remain for a few days. He further offered to obtain permission for them to pursue their journey; but deeming this to be inexpedient, they declined it, and obeyed the order to return.

A few days afterwards, on the 23d of August, 1806, Messrs. Chater and Robinson, with their wives, arrived in an American ship, the *Benjamin Franklin*, commanded by Captain Wickes. On presenting themselves at the police office, some demur arose as to their being allowed to proceed to Serampore. On Mr. Carey's application at the office, the next day, one of the magistrates intimated that a message had come to him, from the governor-general, "that as government did not interfere with the prejudices of the natives, it was his request that Mr. Carey and his colleagues would not." As explained by the magistrates, the message amounted to this,—"They were not to preach to the natives, nor suffer the native converts to preach; they were not to distribute religious tracts, nor suffer the people to distribute them; they were not to send forth converted natives, nor to take any step, by conversation or otherwise, towards persuading the natives to embrace Christianity." Mr. Carey inquired if they had any *written* communication; and being answered in the negative, he retired, saying, that neither he nor his brethren, wished to do any thing disagreeable to the government from which they could conscientiously abstain. In a subsequent modification of the interdict, it was stated, that "it was not meant to prohibit Mr. Carey, or his brethren, from preaching at Serampore, or in their own house at Calcutta; only, they must not preach at the Lol Bazar. It was not intended to prevent them from circulating the Scriptures, but merely the tracts abusing the Hindoo religion; and that there was no design to forbid the native Christians conversing with their countrymen on Christianity, only they must not go out under the sanction of the missionaries." Notwithstanding this explanation, an order of council was passed, commanding Messrs. Chater and Robinson to return to Europe, and refusing Captain Wickes a clearance, unless he took them back with him. The missionaries then represented to the government, that Captain Wickes had cleared out from Rotterdam for Serampore, and that the newly arrived brethren had repaired thither, to the mission family, under the protection of the king of Denmark. This plea produced im-

mediate inquiry as to the fact. The Danish governor stated, that when the missionaries first settled at Serampore, his predecessor had received instructions from Copenhagen, approving of their residence at that place, and requiring him to extend his protection to the mission; in consequence of which, he had now taken Messrs. Chater and Robinson under the protection of his Danish Majesty. Upon this answer, Captain Wickes applied for a clearance. At first, he was informed that the order in council had been confirmed; but the magistrates afterwards sent for him, to hold a friendly conference. He assured them, that the missionaries were willing, rather than oppose the government, to give up their two brethren; adding, that though it might be a serious affair, both with America and Denmark, if he and the missionaries were to be obstinate, yet each of them considered the peace and good understanding of nations to be of such importance, that they would give up almost any thing, rather than be the occasion of interrupting it. The captain was then furnished with the necessary papers for his departure; but the government still showed some dissatisfaction with the continuance of the two missionaries at Serampore. It was agreed, therefore, to adopt measures for keeping them at a distance for the present; and the brethren Chater and Mardon were accordingly appointed to proceed to Burmah, to ascertain the practicability of establishing a mission in that country. Thus was good educed, by Providence, from seeming evil.

But the hostilities to which our attention has now been turned, were only expressions of a more extensive and deep-rooted enmity to the missionary enterprise, that was burning in the hearts of the unholy and infidel part of the Indo-European population, which soon kindled a flame of fierce controversy in England.

An insurrection in which many British soldiers had been massacred, took place at Vellore, in July, 1806; the tidings of which reached Calcutta soon after the arrival of Messrs. Chater and Robinson. The circumstances were these. An order had been issued for altering the turban of the sepoys into something similar to the helmet of our light infantry, and for preventing their wearing on the forehead the distinguishing mark of their caste. This was an outrage on their religious customs which produced extreme irritation; and they revenged themselves on the British soldiers. The dissatisfaction of the sepoys was general, and their plans were so skilfully prepared, that had the insurrection been longer deferred, the consequences must have been far more dreadful. In December, a proclamation was issued at Madras, in which the governor-general stated that an extraordinary agitation had been observed to prevail among several corps of the native army on that coast, and that his lordship had anxiously endeavored to ascertain the cause; when it appeared that persons of evil intention had aimed to impress upon the native troops a belief that it was the wish of the British government to convert them, by forcible means, to Christianity, and that such malignant reports had obtained credit among them. It was, therefore, deemed proper in that public manner to repeat to the native troops the assurance, that "the same respect which has been invariably shown by the British government for their religion and for their customs, will be always continued, and that no interruption will be given to any native, whether Hindoo or Mussulman, in the practice of his religious ceremonies." No inquiries were instituted respecting the originators of this measure; but to conceal them from public notice, it was convenient to make use of a virulent prejudice; and the missionaries were made to suffer the reproach. There was not even the shadow of a probability to sustain this absurd and malignant representation; for not a missionary was to be found in Mysore, nor had one approached that part of Hindostan. Thus, hatred of religion and political partizanship combined to falsify the plainest facts; adding to the crimes of iron-hearted usurpation and despotism.

Leaving, for a time, the affairs of the east, let us advert to proceedings at home, which grew out of these unpropitious circumstances. Mr. Fuller, with the other originators of the mission, had continued from the first to promote this great object with indefatigable zeal. To this holy band others had from time to time been added, who had shown a similar spirit, and labored

with a similar activity, to raise subscriptions, and awaken the dormant energies of the Christian church; but whatever of talent and assiduity distinguished them, Mr. Fuller was not only the chief officer, but it may be truly said he was for many years the very soul of the mission; and in efforts for its advancement he "labored more abundantly than they all." He neglected no opportunity, refused no call, and shrunk from no self-denial, by which he might fulfil his original pledge to the work. Not only did he hasten to obey every requirement, as far as it was practicable, which came to him from the extremities of the kingdom, as well as from all its principal towns; but he paid continual visits to Scotland, where his public services not only procured for him extraordinary popularity, but produced a hallowed excitement, which is still felt and referred to by surviving thousands, who listened to his discourses. The consequence was that large contributions flowed from every quarter into the treasury of the Society.

When the anti-missionary spirit traversed the mighty waters, by means of gentlemen recently returned from India full of prejudice in favor of Hindooism, and kindled in Britain the fire of hatred to the missionary enterprise, believing, or pretending that it was fraught with danger to our eastern possessions, Mr. Fuller was naturally regarded as best adapted by station, talent, and conversancy with the subject, to conduct the discussions on behalf of the Society and the friends of missions in general. In order to prejudice the efforts of the servants of Christ in Bengal, attempts were made to work upon the fears of government and the East India Company; and some of their bitterest foes published not only false accusations, but even went so far as to intimate, in no very indistinct manner, the necessity of recalling them. Mr. Thomas Twining published a pamphlet, directed chiefly, indeed, against "the British and Foreign Bible Society;" but containing various insinuations with regard to undertakings to diffuse Christianity. He expressed a "hope that our native subjects in India will be *permitted* quietly to follow their own religious opinions." Major Scott Waring, in a pamphlet entitled, "Observations on the Present State of the East India Company," humbly submitted to the consideration of "his majesty's ministers, the East India Company, and the Legislature, a plan for restoring that confidence which the natives formerly reposed in the justice and policy of the British government, as to the security of their religion, laws, and local customs;" which plan comprehended "the immediate recall of every English missionary, and a prohibition to all persons dependant on the Company from giving assistance to the translation or circulation of our Holy Scriptures." (Pref., 22.) He afterwards issued a second, then a third pamphlet, replete with invectives. Another, and still more famous publication issued from the press, by a Bengal officer, vindicating the Hindoos, as it is stated, from the aspersions of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, and containing remarks on an address from the missionaries in Bengal to the natives. He aimed to show the "excellency of the moral system of the Hindoos, and the danger of interfering with their customs or religion." Among other opponents of missions, too, appeared, unhappily, on this occasion, the Edinburgh reviewers, who charged the missionaries with insanity, and described themselves as too pitiful or too busy to stop to "discriminate the finer shades of lunacy."

These productions were answered by Mr. Fuller, in "An Apology for the late Christian Missions to India, in three parts." The first section, issued separately, was written in December, 1807, when he went up to London to watch the enemy; and, as he had said a few months before, when the first intelligence arrived of the difficulties that occurred in India, "to sound the depths of the danger." The court at the India House having dismissed Mr. Twining's proposition, refused to interfere with the propagation of Christianity in India. Mr. Fuller resumed his pen, and sent forth the other pamphlets in quick succession. These productions are characterized by his usual felicitous method in controversy, and rival, perhaps any from his pen, in calmness, clearness, and point. They did not absolutely and at once silence the adversaries of missions, some of whom, Major Scott Waring, in particular, persevered for a time in their vociferous opposition, through

the medium of ephemeral publications; but it was sufficiently apparent that their efforts to depreciate and destroy the mission only resembled the violent struggles of a dying gladiator, displaying fury and weakness, in pitiable combination.

Mr. Fuller was desirous that others of his friends should assist in this painful controversy; and he entreated the Rev. Robert Hall to prepare a reply to the strictures of the Edinburgh Review on Methodists and missions; well aware that the productions of his splendid mind would obtain attention in quarters where his own would be inaccessible. Mr. Hall felt a deep interest in the mission, and was ever ready to afford it all the assistance in his power. Writing, however, was a painful process to him; and it was even more painful to make promises. It was not surprising, therefore, that he left Mr. Fuller in doubt of his determination; but the hopes of the secretary were never realized.*

Before the adversaries of the mission were entirely silenced, a writer in the Quarterly Review afforded valuable assistance. The missionaries are thus characterized:—"Men who have the zeal and the sincerity, the self-denial and the self-devotement of apostles. Hear Thomas when he says, 'never did men see their native land with more joy than we left it; but this is not of nature, but from above.' Hear him also, when, pouring out his heart to one of those relations of whom he had taken leave for ever, he exclaims, 'if it were not for my engagement to the mission, I could come to old England to-morrow, and kiss the ground I trod on, and water it with tears of joy, as the glory of all lands,'—and then say, if the man who with such feelings abandons his country for ever on such an errand, is to be regarded with contempt or with admiration."

Speaking of the anti-missionaries, who called them fools, madmen, tinkers, Calvinists, and schismatics, keeping out of sight their love of man and zeal for God; their self-devotement, their indefatigable industry, and unequalled learning, the Quarterly reviewer adds,—"These low-born and low-bred mechanics have translated (this was written Feb., 1809) the whole Bible into Bengalee, and have by this time printed it. They are printing the New Testament in the Sanscrit, the Orissa, Mahratta, Hindostanee, and Guzarat, and translating it into Persic, Felinga, Karnata, Chinese, the language of the Seiks and of the Burmans; and in four of these languages they are going on with the Bible. Extraordinary as this is, it will appear more so, when it is remembered that of these men one was originally a shoemaker, another a printer at Hull, and a third the master of a charity-school at Bristol. Only fourteen years have elapsed since Thomas and Carey set foot in India, and in that time have these missionaries acquired this gift of tongues; in fourteen years these low-born and low-bred mechanics have done more towards spreading the knowledge of the Scriptures among the heathen, than has been accomplished or even attempted by all the world besides."*

* Soon afterwards, the author of this history paid a visit to Mr. Hall, who then resided at Enderby, near Leicester, and found that he had begun to write. He seemed much interested in the undertaking, and read about twelve quarto pages of manuscript, which he had prepared. These, for pungency of satire, power of argument, and beauty of composition, certainly equalled, if they did not surpass, any of his writings; but the manuscript was never published, and in all probability, never completed.

* Quarterly Review, Vol. I, pp. 223—225.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF A MISSION TO BURMAH, IN 1807, TO THE FIRE AT SERAMPORE, IN 1812.

At the close of 1806, the entire number of persons baptized was upwards of one hundred. In the course of the previous six years, thirteen had been excluded, and six removed by death. The native members who remained in the two churches of Serampore and Dinagepore was *seventy-five;* to these must be added *twenty-five* Europeans; making, therefore, *one hundred*, besides *three* who had gone to Europe.

Allusion has been made to the appointment of Messrs. Chater and Mardon to undertake a journey to Burmah. They accordingly embarked, Jan. 23, 1807, on board a small brig, and arrived at Rangoon on the 10th of February, where they were hospitably received by a Mr. Timmer, to whom they had recommendations, and were unmolested by the people in their religious exercises. The shawbunder, or intendant of the port, promised them every assistance upon their return; and the Catholic priests, with several others, treated them with great civility. In May, they went to Serampore, and communicated much information respecting the manners, customs, and religion of the Burmans.

In July, a consultation was held on the subject of another visit to that country, when Mr. Chater expressed his willingness to undertake it; but Mr. Mardon declined, on account of the general debility of his constitution. It was then resolved to make the subject a matter of special prayer for fifteen days, concluding that if any one felt disposed to offer himself at the end of that period, it might be regarded as a call from God. Mr. Felix Carey did so, and was accepted. Having received a solemn charge from his father, the church at Serampore gave them an affectionate dismissal, for the purpose of forming a church at Rangoon, under the pastorate of Mr. Chater. "It is in the faith of his promise," say the brethren at Serampore, "who hath never despised the day of small things, and who is able to make a little one become a thousand, that this little society has been formed and organized. To his protection we commit the tender plant, praying that, in the Burman dominions, it may be as a handful of corn upon the top of the mountains, the fruit whereof shall shake like Lebanon."

They were detained a long time, by an embargo on the shipping, which occasioned a degree of impatience; but it afterwards appeared that, had they gone sooner, they must have fallen into the hands of the French privateers. They were received at Rangoon with kindness, by a Mr. Rogers, who introduced them to the maywoon or governor. He inquired if they had wives. Being answered in the affirmative, he smiled, and said, "They were not pungees, that is, priests; but sorras, that is instructors." They took a house belonging to an Armenian gentleman, which had never before been let for less than £150 per annum, houses being excessively expensive; but when they offered to pay him, at the end of a short time, for which they had engaged it, he would take nothing. Mr. F. Carey, having studied medicine, and walked the hospital at Calcutta, introduced the vaccine inoculation into Burmah, which he practised on the children of the Governor, and a great number of people in the city. "I have visited," says he, "many of the most respectable people, as well as those of the poorer sort; and among them all, have met with the same kind disposition; their house, and every thing they have, is at your service. When I enter the dwelling of a Burman, the women and children come and sit round me on a mat, and talk to me, though I do not understand them, and offer me any thing they have. If there be any thing I like to eat, they will join me; but it is quite otherwise in Bengal. This frank and open disposition, and their having no caste, certainly tends to the flourishing of the gospel, when once it begins to spread."

In 1807, a small chapel was opened for Bengalee worship in Chitpore Road, Calcutta, one of the best parts of the city for collecting a native congregation.

Mr. Biss having been some time ill, was ordered by his physician to Europe. It had been proposed that he should proceed to Dinagepore to assist Mr. Fernandez; and the hope was indulged that the passage by water would fully restore him. It proved otherwise; and he returned and resided a short time at Calcutta, for the sake of medical advice. Pursuing the course prescribed to him, he set sail for America, on his way to England. Though during the first fortnight of his passage, his health appeared to improve, he soon afterwards relapsed, and expired at sea on the 5th of February. He was considerably afflicted at the close of his career, with temptations, and was overtaken, two days before his death, by delirium. His wife and four children returned to India.

On the third day of May, Mr. Oakey, a sergeant in the artillery at Fort William, was admitted to the church. He afterwards obtained a place in the fort to meet for worship, and induced other soldiers to join him. In the same month, Ram Mohun, a converted brahmin, was set apart to the work of the ministry, and went into Jessore to assist Krishno in a visit to the native church. Mr. Mardon expresses himself thus on the subject:—"This is what I have long desired to see, as I am fully persuaded that he is well qualified for the office, as to piety, zeal, and knowledge. I knew but little of his abilities till last summer, when I travelled with him between two and three months in the neighborhood of Malda, Rajmahal, &c. From that time I have thought it a great pity that his talents should be buried in obscurity. He applies himself very diligently to the study of the Scriptures, and to reading; and speaks very fluently. He was a brahmin of the highest caste; but is now as completely weaned from every Hindoo superstition as it is possible, perhaps, for a man to be."

Malda, as well as Cutwa, and other vicinities, presented a pleasing aspect. Mr. Ward had the satisfaction of receiving a letter signed by twelve of the Portuguese at Calcutta, expressing their faith in the gospel, and attachment to him as a minister. There were, however, some mournful events. On the 12th of October, Mr. Creighton, of Goamalty, died at Berhampore; and on the 27th, Mr. William Grant, in the same house. Both had been very useful, and departed in peace. The latter bequeathed 20,000 rupees to the mission.

The progress of the translations, to the end of 1807, will be seen in the subjoined tabular arrangement.

Sungskrit,	translated to	2 Thess:	printed to Acts 27.
	(All printed except from this to Galatians.)		
Bengalee,	translated to	2 Sam. ch. 6;	printed to Judges 8.
Mahratta,	"	Heb., Job & Ps.	" Matt. 22.
Orissa,	nearly all N.T., Job, Ps.		" John 19.
Hindostanee,	trans. to	Mark 12;	" Mark 1: 5.
Guzaratte,	"	John 20;	" Matt. 1: 5.
Chinese,	"	John 10;	Printing not yet begun, but types are casting as fast as we can get them done.
Seik,	"	John 20;	
Felinga,	"	John 20;	
Kurnata,	"	John 17;	
Burman,	"	Mark 1;	
Persian,			

It is much to be lamented that insinuations were published to the prejudice of the translations carrying on at Serampore, by parties at home who were engaged in the same general work of missions, and who suffered themselves to be influenced by feelings not in accordance with that catholicity of spirit which should prevent Ephraim and Judah from envying each other; and which, were it to prevail in every body of professing Christians, would unquestionably tend to the more rapid diffusion of Christianity. In noticing these, in a private letter, Dr. Carey exhibits his own fine temper of mind, and gives some details of the proceedings of the translators which ought not to be withheld.

"We do not want the vain name of the *men who have translated the Scriptures into this or that language*, but we do want *the thing to be done;* and we have not yet seen the least probability of any one's doing it besides ourselves. We, however, wish every one to try and do all he can; this is no reason why we, who have begun before them all, should, to compliment them, throw away all which we have done. It is, perhaps, necessary, to obviate the objections founded in our employing natives to assist us, which represents it as if no advantage could be obtained from employing a 'wicked brahmin.' In the first place, they, themselves, who make this complaint, do the same, and must do it. But, in the second place, we never print a sentence without examining it, and seeing it through and through. Brother

Marshman does this with the Chinese. I translate, and write out with my own hand, the Bengalee, Hindoostanee, and Sungskrit. The two latter (New Testament) I translate immediately from the Greek, and every sentence is afterwards compared with the Greek by brother Marshman and myself, as is the Bengalee with the Hebrew. I compare the Mahratta and the Orissa, to the best of my power, and can say that I believe these translations to be good ones. I believe, likewise, that I am as able to judge of them as any person now in India (I am a fool; they have compelled me). We do employ natives, and avail ourselves of all the help we can; but we never give up our judgment, in any language, nor ever intend to do so. I have no doubt but there are mistakes, arising from various causes, which will be gradually corrected in future editions; but I am persuaded that there are no capital errors in them. In this way we mean to go on as long as we can, without giving up any thing which we have begun."*

On the 28th of January, 1808, Serampore was taken by the English, hostilities having arisen between England and Denmark. This circumstance, however, did not affect the situation of the missionaries.

Mr. Mardon went to Goamalty in February. On his arrival, a church was formed, consisting of seven members. Another native, Krishno Dass, who had been united to the church at Serampore two years previously, and twelve months afterwards elected deacon, was called to the work of the ministry. His public services were exceedingly acceptable both at Calcutta and Goamalty.

The personal afflictions of Mr. Mardon, who for some time lost the use of his voice, and the illness of his wife, necessitated their removal from the station for a time; an event which occasioned much lamentation in the infant church. With a characteristic piety of spirit, however, he remarked, that, "to show that success does not depend on the strength and exertions of poor mortals, the Lord continued to work among the heathen, for his great name's sake." There were a few additions, and he speaks of others who appeared to him to be hopeful, while two had died under circumstances at once affecting and pleasing. One was an inquirer who had been bitten by a mad jackal. Mrs. Mardon, upon visiting him, found that his situation was becoming extreme; but he was earnest in prayer, not only for himself, but for the church. In every lucid interval, he was either engaged in devotion, or in conversation, respecting the great Redeemer, and expired with prayer upon his tongue. The other instance was that of a byraggee, named Subhasingha, who was on a pilgrimage to Juggernaut.* Observing him stop under a tree, Mrs. Mardon requested Krishno Dass to go and converse with him. The poor devotee appeared to feel that the narrative of the Saviour's sufferings for the salvation of sinners possessed a character of peculiar interest, as applicable to his own condition; and he said that he would take Christ for his refuge, instead of pursuing his journey to Juggernaut. He was received into the house of Krishno Dass, where Mr. Mardon and

* Letter to Sutcliff.

*The most celebrated temple of this monstrous object of worship is in Orissa. Juggernath, Juggernaut, or Juggat-nath, signifies "lord of the world;" and his temple in Orissa is a huge granite pile, containing an immense block for the idol, with a frightfully grim and distorted visage, placed amidst thousands of massive sculptures, representative emblems of the cruelty and vice which constitute the essence of his worship. When brought forth on his lofty car, amidst shouts of "Victory to Juggernath our lord," the officiating priest begins the service by a loathsome pantomimic exhibition, accompanied with blasphemous and obscene songs to which the multitudes respond; and as the ponderous machine rolls along slowly, votary after votary throws himself beneath the wheels, and is instantly crushed to pieces; or, as sometimes happens, by being partially crushed, he lies lingering a day or two in unknown agonies. Besides these, numberless austerities are practised around the precincts of the city; some remaining all day "with their head on the ground, and their feet in the air; others with their bodies entirely covered with earth; some cramming their eyes with mud, and their mouths with straw; while others lie extended in a puddle of water; here one man lying with his foot tied to his neck, or with a pot of fire on his breast; and there a third enveloped in a net-work of ropes." Along the plain, the barren sands are for ever whitened with the skulls and bones of deluded pilgrims, and hundreds continually die of famine and fatigue on the approach.

The extent of Juggernath's dominion is scarcely credible. Besides the shrine at Puri, which is the most celebrated, there are, in hundreds and thousands of places, and indeed, almost in every village of Bengal, images and cars without temples, formed after the same model. In Calcutta, are multitudes, of various dimensions, from a few feet to thirty or forty in height. "On the anniversary occasion of the car festival," says Dr. Duff, "all the millions of Bengal are in motion; so that when the great car at Puri is dragged forth amid the shouts and acclamations of hundreds of thousands, assembled from all parts of India, on the very same day, at the very same hour, there are hundreds of cars rolled along, throughout the widely scattered districts, and cities, and villages of the land; so that there are not only hundreds of thousands, but literally millions, simultaneously engaged in the celebration of orgies so stained with licentiousness and blood, that, in the comparison, we might almost pronounce the bacchanalia of Greece and Rome innocent and pure!"

the native Christians conversed freely with him, and prayed. He paid the greatest attention. In the evening, he ate with them, threw off his poita and necklace, and seemed regardless of caste. He was very weak, and the next day, died. To them, however, it appeared that he was "a brand plucked out of the burning;" and what Christian reader will not sympathize with the delightful belief?

In their letter of March the 25th, the missionaries represent their affairs as discouraging. The state of the church in Jessore, one of the four now formed in Bengal, was the most afflictive; religion appearing to be at a low ebb, partly on account of the infrequency of the interviews held with each other by the members, who were separated by impracticable distances. During the quarter only three members had been received at Serampore.

On the 25th of April, died the native brother Futtick, who is spoken of in the highest terms; and while so many departed from their profession, it is pleasing to dwell upon the exemplary character of such a man, who adorned the doctrines he professed to the last. He was the son of a weaver, and a strict idolater, who lived in a village in Jessore, called Mujgoore. After the death of his father, he lived with his mother and sister. At this time, he disregarded the caste in secret, and under the idea of cultivating universal love, used to eat with all other castes who were of the same mind. Still, however, he worshipped Kreeshno, under the name of Huree. He was led away into various idolatries by different deceivers, but found no rest. In this state, a tract written by Petumber fell into his hands, and another written by Mr. Ward. These he was accustomed to read to his mother and sister, and to Deep Chund, or Chundra, Kanee, and Kaunta, with whom he had contracted a friendship. At length, he determined to go in search of Serampore, in company with Chundra. They could obtain no information respecting the missionaries on their arrival, and proceeded to Calcutta, where, however, they met with some rude treatment, and they returned to their village. After some months, Futtick and two others resumed the search after the missionaries and the new shaster. They were again abused by the people in Serampore; but while they were disputing with a brahmin, Krishno Presaud happened to be going out of his house, and inquiring the cause of the controversy, discovered their object, and took them at once by the hand. They were all astonishment, when they heard of the love of Christ to sinners, and found themselves in the centre of the native converts. They remained a few days, and then went home; but after some time, Futtick returned with Kaunta, and after two months' residence, was baptized. Others, also, were brought by his influence. He met with much opposition in his own village, but endured it with magnanimous courage, though he was once seized by a mob when at prayer, who bound his hands and dragged him into the road, throwing dust and dirt upon him, covering him with cow-dung; but offering him deliverance, if he would promise to renounce *Yesoo Khreest*. The mob destroyed his Bengalee Testament, and all the tracts in his house; and he was kept tied up to the pillar of an idol temple for several hours.

Desirous, at length, of placing one or two natives at Dinagepore, Futtick readily acceded to the request of the missionaries that he would proceed to that station. Having previously gone to Poojee to sell his little property, his sister Bhanee was induced to accompany him to Serampore, and thence to the sphere appointed to him; but she continued in an unconverted state, till the period of another visit to Serampore, when her religious concern commenced, and she made a profession of Christianity. After the lapse of a few months, she died full of the hope of a blessed immortality.

Poor Futtick himself followed her, after repeated attacks of affliction, in none of which did his faith waver. Whenever opportunity offered, he did not hesitate to warn his fellow-countrymen against persevering in the rejection of the gospel. On the evening before his death, he sent for Mr. Ward, who, upon his arrival, found him conversing with his mother on the evil of worldly-mindedness, giving salutary cautions, and urging her to make preparations for death. His remarks were

expressive of an eminent degree of religious feeling; and after singing a hymn with Roop and Krishno, the chorus of which is, "Full salvation by the death of Christ," he almost immediately expired.

"Futtick was naturally of a warm and ardent temper. On his first convictions, he entered into the gospel with his whole heart. Nor did he ever swerve from it, or shrink back when it was to be defended. Before the most learned or the most audacious of the brahmins, he was the same; he feared none of them; he avowed himself a Christian; he exhibited to them in undisguised language the character of their gods, and then would show them the love of Christ and the way of salvation by him. He would say, 'I have gone into all your ways of folly, sin, and shame; I have tried them all. I know where you are, and declare to you that there is no way to heaven, but by Jesus Christ.' His zeal in recommending the gospel was a pleasing trait in his Christian character. * * * Who can help admiring the riches of Divine grace in the conversion, perseverance, and blessed end, of a man who was once an enthusiast in idolatry? This grace will particularly appear, if we think of his former state. An European Christian may be a wonder to many; much more a man who has been saved from such a state as that in which Futtick was found by the Saviour. There are many obstacles in the way of the salvation of every man; but to all these common obstacles add those in the way of every Hindoo, arising from his caste, his ignorance, the influence of friends, his prejudices, his aversion and contempt of foreigners, through union with whom alone he can hear of the way of salvation; and then say, is not every converted Hindoo eminently a monument erected to the honor of our Saviour? No doubt it appears much more easy to a Hindoo female to mount the funeral pile, and embrace the flames which are to burn her to ashes, than to shake hands with an European. But that we may still more admire the riches of the sovereign, all-conquering grace of Christ in the conversion of a Hindoo, let us remember that every power and faculty of the mind, and all the members of his body, have been baptized into idolatry. His mind is filled with the impure stories of the gods, and all his modes of thinking and reasoning are interwoven, like net-work, with every decision of the mind. He can scarcely think at all, except through the medium of the system in which he has been nourished. His hands have been employed in assisting him to repeat the names of the gods, or have been stretched out in indecent motions and gestures in dancing before them; his feet have been employed in this, and in carrying him to their temples; his eyes have been inlets to the foul ideas suggested by the rude and indecent figures stuck up wherever he goes; his ears are full of the sounds of the names of the gods, of their actions, and of the ceremonies of their worship; his tongue, like the pendulum of a clock, has learned to move regularly in the service of the idols; the sounds in the mouth of a parrot are not more habitual than the names of his deities in his mouth. He has the marks and scars of idolatry indelibly imprinted on his flesh, and must carry them to the grave with him. All he hears, and sees, and practises, after conversion, is new, and to his old nature and habits very strange; nor can he see all the reasons for these things as he could have done, if he had been taught from his infancy to think and reason in religion by the metaphors, ceremonies, histories, and doctrines of the Bible. Well may conversion in all cases, but especially in such a case, be called a new creation, and a Hindoo Christian a new creature in Christ Jesus."*

The missionaries in Rangoon wrote that they had obtained a person to teach them the language, named Gowngmeng, a very excellent Burman scholar, and moreover capable of reading and speaking Latin, Portuguese, French, Italian, Spanish, and Armenian. He seemed anxious to make them proficients in the language, and is said to have had a good knowledge of the Bible; but afterwards there appeared to be some relaxation in his zeal, and the difficulty of the acquisition pressed heavily upon them. In consequence of the illness of Mrs. Chater and Mrs. F. Carey, they returned to Serampore in May. In two or three months, Mr. Carey followed them. Mr. Chater, however, perse-

* Ward.

vered in his work, and taught English to the Burman children. Of his own teacher, Gowngmeng, he states that he was what in England would be called a counsellor. "He seems to have a great veneration for Gaudama; and whatever I say in commendation of our Lord, he brings immediately something similar to it in commendation of him. One evening, he came in while I was reading in Bengalee one of our Lord's miracles of feeding the multitude. I endeavored to give him some idea of it. He so far understood me as to exclaim, 'Jesus Christ, then, must be God; he must have created the bread!' But he immediately brought an argument to prove the divinity of Gaudama, —he would say to a person, What is this? It is a candle. A candle! no, no, it is gold;—and it became gold immediately."

An aged Armenian also, by name Babasheen, who occupied a station under government, had been friendly. From the first, he had expressed his pleasure in their going to reside in Burmah, and offered any aid in his power, particularly in acquiring the Armenian and Burman languages.

On the 22d of August, Mr. William Carey, Jr., was set apart by prayer and the laying on of hands, to the service of the ministry, and joined Mr. and Mrs. Fernandez, who had proceeded to Dinagepore. Sebukram was also set apart on the 23d. On the 28th, Mr. and Mrs. Moore proceeded to Miniary, the late residence of Mr. Grant; Carapeit Chater and two other natives went to itinerate in Jessore. The former determined upon making some village near the residence of Sheetaram, his abode. The missionaries had been afflicted with the relapse of Deep Chund, but were afterwards gladdened by his restoration. His own simple and repenting narrative was most satisfactory, and he was taken as a compositor in the printing-office. They now had nine stations occupied as follows:—

Dinagepore	Fernandez.
Saddamahl	W. Carey.
Goamalty	Mardon.
Miniary	Moore.
Cutwa	Chamberlain.
Jessore	Carapeit Aratoon.
Serampore } Calcutta }	Carey, Marshman, Ward, Krishno, &c.
Rangoon	Chater and F. Carey.

On the first of January, 1809, the new chapel was opened in Calcutta. At this period, three friends at home,—namely, Mr. Burns, of Barbican, Mr. Scott Moncreiff, sen., Edinburgh, and Mr. and Mrs. Skinner, of Bristol, had, with a laudable and disinterested zeal, engaged to support three native missionaries. This proceeding not only relieved the funds of the mission, but happily tended to strengthen the sympathies of England and India, and thus to encourage and facilitate missionary operations.

In March, a second attempt was made by Mr. Robinson, accompanied by Mr. W. Carey, Sebukram, and Ghorachund, to form a settlement at Bhotehaut, on the borders of Thibet. On their arrival, they found that a large market was held; and the two native brethren were sent to obtain information. They were treated with the greatest civility, both by the Bengalees and Bhoteeas; the katma, or chief magistrate, intimating that he knew of the presence of the missionaries, and would facilitate their object. Subsequently, after a conference and exchange of presents, they underwent the ceremony of being *received into friendship*. Soon after, Mr. Carey was obliged to return with the two natives, who were taken ill; and then Mr. Robinson, being seized with a dangerous fever, was compelled also to return. But although this attempt proved abortive, by a providential counteraction, it afforded the opportunity of ascertaining, both the state of the country, and the disposition of the natives.

The Orissa New Testament having been prepared for distribution, together with a variety of small tracts, Krishno Paul, now called John Peter, formerly of the Armenian church, was invited to go and reside in that country. Mr. Ward describes him as one of the most eloquent and pathetic of the Bengalee preachers; and it was supposed, that as the Orissa language was very similar to the Bengalee, a very few months would suffice to enable him to speak in it fluently. He promptly complied with this request, and was ordained to the work, at the same time, in October, with Carapeit Aratoon, appointed to Jessore. The former, however, could not reach the place of his destination, till January of the ensuing year.

In July, Dr. Carey was attacked with a fever by which his life was endangered;

but, from an apparently hopeless state, he was at length mercifully restored. At the time of his seizure, he had just completed his translation of the Scriptures into Bengalee, and it was believed that the fever was superinduced by the exhausting efforts to accomplish it. "He was laid aside," says Mr. Rowe, "on the very day he finished his translation of the whole Bible into the Bengalee language. He dined at the public table the day he was laid aside, and expressed a great deal of pleasure and thankfulness at the idea of being about to finish a work for God, which had cost him the labor of about *sixteen years*. I asked him how much more he thought of doing, if God should spare him. He replied, that he had set his heart upon that which would take him about *twenty years*, at the rate he now goes on. A day or two after this, we concluded he had done his generation work, and that God was about to take him to himself. It is impossible for me to describe my feelings on this occasion. I fully expected his death, and longed for the delirium which the fever produces to be removed, to have his parting blessing. We got the best medical assistance that could be obtained; and though, for some time, all seemed ineffectual, yet when it came to the extremity, a Divine blessing was given, and the disorder took a favorable turn." *

At the close of the year, the plan of a school was formed, and established under the name of "The Benevolent Institution for instructing the Children of indigent Christians."

The intelligence from Rangoon was encouraging. Mr. Chater was engaged in translating the sacred volume; and, in addition to direct missionary labors, Mr. F. Carey found his medical knowledge and practice of great importance. They had become intimate with several of the natives; and set apart an hour, twice in the week, to converse with them on religion. The Burmans evinced a desire to read the Scriptures; and a pamphlet, consisting chiefly of Scripture extracts, was judiciously prepared, as a precursor of the entire book of inspiration. The European residents there, though some of them were even conformists to idolatry, were kind to the missionaries.

* Letter from Rowe to Sutcliff, dated Aug. 15th, 1809.

It is observable, as Mr. Ward remarks, in a review of the mission to the close of this year, that from the year 1733, when Thomas began to converse with the natives in Bengalee, to the end of December, 1800, when Krishno was baptized, the work of God in Bengal made but little apparent progress. Much preparatory work, however, was performed; but from the time when this, the first native who had ever publicly renounced caste in Bengal, entered the church, the word of the Lord seemed to have a more free course, and was glorified. The church at Serampore had now received 190 members, by the various modes of admission, in its two branches of Serampore and Calcutta. The number baptized in all the churches in 1809, amounted to sixty-seven; two or three only having been suspended or excluded.* The cost of the chapel at Calcutta, amounting to between 25,000 and 30,000 rupees, was nearly discharged; many recent additions had been made; several native itinerants had been sent forth; and a valuable mission property had been created. At Cutwa, and especially at Berhampore, Mr. Chamberlain, as before related, had been laboring with success for several years. At Goamalty, Mr. Mardon had been assiduous; but owing to removals and various causes, the state of affairs, at this time, was not prosperous. The church at Saddamahl consisted of fourteen members. Mr. and Mrs. Moore had recently proceeded to Patna, where they commenced a school, and found appearances promising. C. C. Aratoon's efforts had been successful; and, in a few months, the Jessore church had increased from a small number to twenty-nine, all natives, Hindoos and Mussulmans. In Burmah, a door of entrance had been opened, and important preparatory measures undertaken.

The state of the translations was as follows:—In *Bengalee*, the whole Bible was printed and published, in five volumes. In *Sungskrit*, the New Testament was published, and part of the Pentateuch printed. In *Orissa*, the New Testament and the poetical books were printed and published, and a considerable part of the prophetical books printed. In *Hindoostanee*, the New Testament was printed to the end of

* Letter from Carey to Fuller.

Romans. In *Mahratta*, the New Testament was finished at press as far as the middle of Acts. In the *Sikh* language, the New Testament was put to press. Besides the progress at press, the greater part of the whole Bible was translated into *Hindoostanee;* the New Testament and part of the Pentateuch, into the *Sikh;* the New Testament and nearly all the poetical books, into the *Mahratta;* the New Testament and part of the Pentateuch, into the *Kurnata* and *Telinga;* and the blocks for nearly the whole of Matthew were cut, and some sheets of the first part thrown off for revision, in the *Chinese*. "Thus," says Mr. Ward, "mountains of difficulty, common to first efforts, have been removed; formidable attempts to overturn the work have been rendered abortive; facilities of the most important nature, opened to us; a number of persons acquainted with the languages of the country have been raised up, and are at their posts; access to the people of Hindoostan, Bengal, Bootan, Orissa, Burmah, and China, obtained by a knowledge of their languages; the Holy Scriptures are distributing, or are soon to be distributed amongst all these, and other nations, in their own tongues; the prejudices of the natives of Bengal have greatly subsided, and their knowledge of the pure intentions of the missionaries has removed their fears to the greatest distance; the printing-office, belonging to the mission, contains Sungskrit, Hindoostanee, Arabic, Persian, Bengalee, Orissa, Felinga, Sikh, Mahratta, Greek, Hebrew, and English types, besides presses, and every other article necessary for printing the sacred volume. And now, brethren, has not God completely refuted the notion, that all attempts to promote the gospel among the Hindoos are vain? This happy degree of success, which surprises even us who are on the spot, has been gained within the space of about *nine years;* for it is no more since the baptism of the first Hindoo."*

On the part of the missionaries, it was continually and very judiciously urged upon their native converts, that God had converted them, not only for the purpose of fitting them for heaven, but for the sake of their heathen and Mohammedan neighbors; and, consequently, if they were personally unable to itinerate for the spread of the gospel, they were bound to aid in the maintenance of those who were so capacitated and disposed. These intimations were very cordially received and acted upon with reverence. In the unanimity and spirit of the church at this period, there was much to remind the Christian observer, of the character of primitive times, alike in the members, missionaries, and native evangelists. They were distinguished by exalted piety and unsleeping activity; and besides Carapeit Aratoon and Peter, already sent out, there were several in the church at Calcutta, whose hearts were burning for the service of God. Some of these were Europeans, who had been long in India, as Mr. Leonard the deacon and others. The advantages they possessed were obvious,—accustomed to the country, in some degree acquainted with the language, having a right to reside any where, and one or two of them with a little independence of thirty, forty, or fifty pounds a-year.

In writing to a friend in England, Krishno, the first Christian convert, made the following interesting statement:—"I was an idolater. I lived continually in sin. I was floating in a sea of sin. God, in great grace, made known, in the province of Bengal, the good news of the death of the Lord Jesus Christ; and is now preparing his chosen ones to perform his service. At present, he hath fixed me in this city (Calcutta); and I am now making known, week by week, the good news in the houses of forty-one brethren. I was lately preaching at the house of Mr. ——, when his Hindoo servants assembled and heard the word. I was declaring, that in the whole world there was not one righteous person; but that all, having broken the law of God, were unclean. One of the servants, an old man, on hearing these words, was full of wrath. 'What!' said he, 'is there not one righteous person amongst us? Gunga-govinda, Gourmullika, and Nimoo-mullika, who are giving immense sums to the poor, are they not righteous?' 'Ah, sir!' said I, 'all these things are ineffectual.' At this they were more enraged. I then made known the way of salvation through the death of Christ, in which the justice and mercy of God harmonized; and

* Letter to the Society.

added, 'They who see their sin, will come to Christ for salvation.'

"Formerly, it was not known in this country, how men might obtain salvation; but now, through the great favor of God, in almost every house in the city, men are speaking of these things. Many come to worship, many are hearing and examining, and many are baptized. I preach to the debtors in the jail, and tell them the good news of salvation by the death of Christ. I have also sung, and prayed, and preached, in the house of correction, among the thieves. Many of them have heard the news about Jesus Christ with joy, and were anxious to be instructed. I was ignorant through sin; through Christ I have obtained the true knowledge."

Mr. Leonard's account of this man's proceedings is of an interesting character.

"I could not help noticing with admiration the zeal and activity of our truly valuable brother Krishno, who appears to gather strength of body by his unremitted labors. He preaches at fourteen different places during the week. He has fifteen families in his circuit; spares no labor, and shuns no fatigue, but flies wherever duty calls. In addition to the above services, he regularly visits twenty-eight private families in the city. Indeed, were you to see him engage, if not well acquainted with his manner, you would suppose him, instead of being wearied in all these visits, to be a young, warm convert, having at the same time the experience of a father."*

The labors of Carapeit Aratoon in Jessore were very extensive and successful. Besides his daily efforts, he travelled monthly to four places, distant about thirty miles from each other, where his members resided. On these occasions, he administered the Lord's supper to them, both to save them the expense of a journey, and to afford their neighbors an opportunity of hearing the gospel. At his request, a native preacher was appointed to each station. Their names were Seetaram, Manik, Prankrishna, and Manik-sha. And thus a foundation was laid for establishing several churches. He mentions an interview which he had with the rajah at Nubdanga. He had a number of brahmins with him; and in their presence put many questions respecting the gospel. "I continued," says he, "conversing with him till the evening, when I took leave of him, and went to brother Punchanan's. I have never heard so much talking about the gospel, as I have in this place to-day. Wherever I went, and whomsoever I saw, all were talking about Jesus Christ. Even children of seven years old were talking to one another about the gospel, and making observations on our being Christians, as we passed by them. The brethren went among the people, talking of Christ. We were happy to hear that the rajah had formed a favorable opinion of us." Surely it cannot be questioned that an excitement of this nature was productive of some lasting good; and though no striking instances of conversion on the spot are recorded, these emotions could not be entirely vain. Ministers at home and missionaries abroad have reason to take encouragement from the thought that what is actually accomplished does not always become visible, and that many a humble cottage, and many a distant wilderness, which has been regarded as a fruitless solitude, left in despair, or vanished from memory, will prove to have been a birthplace for souls.

In referring to the converts in Jessore, Mr. Marshman observes that the hardships they endured in embracing the gospel were truly serious. They lived generally by cultivating the soil. Some had forsaken a life of religious mendicity, which was of course abandoned when they embraced the gospel. They could no longer confer blessings and promise heaven in the name of Shiva, by which they had previously obtained an ample, and in the opinion of their idolatrous countrymen, an honorable support. A Hindoo or Mussulman farmer could not employ them, after forsaking the religion of their ancestors; and besides this, they became disqualified by refusing to labor on the Sabbath.

"How is it, then," inquires Mr. Marshman, "that these people do subsist in the midst of their countrymen, without any European Christians near, to shelter them from the storm? Truly I can say little more than that it is not by begging, nor by stealing, nor by what they receive from us. He who feeds the ravens when they cry, knows how

* Letter to Marshman.

to feed those who turn to him from the service of dumb idols. The visible means seem to be these. Some of the baptized have a house and a furlong or two of garden; this they cultivate, and sell its productions, with the fruit, perhaps, of a few trees, plantains, cocoanuts, &c. This serves to subsist a family; and, if they are able, they employ a native brother, too, and feed him. Others take a few furlongs of ground, agreeing to pay a part of the produce for rent; and where a bullock is required to plough the small spot, it is, perhaps, hired, on condition of delivering a certain portion of corn, &c., to the owner of it when the crop is ripe. Others may find a less bigoted, and more good-natured neighbor, who, being on their own level, and perhaps a former acquaintance, still engages him to labor in his little field; and thus, as you will find in the sequel, more nearly viewing at leisure his walk and conversation, feels his groundless aversion subside; listens to his artless account of the gospel of Christ; and feels, before he is aware, that he himself has also a soul to be saved. Thus does the wisdom of God turn the curse into a blessing, bring good out of evil, fill the mouths of his children with food, and their hearts with joy and gladness."

In the month of March, 1810, Mr. Robinson went to Barbaree to prosecute the Bootan mission. He speaks of the situation as pleasant and healthful. About two thousand persons attended the market twice a-week, which afforded good opportunity for proclaiming the gospel; while, on the Sabbath, his congregation soon increased from a few to fifty or sixty. Affliction, however, soon visited his habitation; his children became ill of the fever, and his wife died at Dinagepore at the end of July. Besides this, during his absence, thieves broke into his house at Barbaree, and robbed him considerably. He resolved, therefore, under feelings of much discouragement, to visit Serampore. Still his labors had not been altogether ineffectual; for, in about three months, six natives had joined the church.

When Mr. Robinson went to resume his work at Bootan, he was accompanied by a young man and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Cornish, members of the church at Calcutta. They reached Barbaree on the 19th of January, 1811, where they intended to stop for about a fortnight; but a night or two afterwards, they had a narrow escape from a large party of fifty or sixty robbers, armed with spears, who attacked the house. The details are appalling, and their escape next to miraculous. Mr. Robinson was struck at by two men with their spears. He received four wounds, one of which must have been mortal, had not the spear struck against the bone of his breast. Mr. Cornish was preserved, also, from a fatal wound, by the spear terminating on his rib. He remarks, with reference to the wonderful providence that attended their flight, "In that corner of the garden where the stable was, there was no gateway, which at every other corner there was; and at these three gateways were placed a set of ruffians to watch the entrance; so that had we gone through any of these, we must, in all probability, have been murdered." Mrs. Cornish first ran, in her confusion, towards the stable, and the rest followed. The cook and housekeeper were both murdered, and the washerman soon after died of his wounds. They estimated the loss of property at two thousand rupees, or about two hundred and fifty pounds. After getting over a ditch, they ran towards some adjoining houses, where they knelt to return thanks to God for their deliverance, and seek his farther protection; and then wandered into the fields, where they sat down under a bush, almost destitute of clothing, in a night of severe cold. The next day, they hastened on their way to Dinagepore, which required two or three days' hard foot-travelling to reach. On their arrival they were received with the utmost kindness by Mr. Fernandez and the family. The result was that Mr. and Mrs. Cornish returned to Serampore; but Mr. Robinson remained, with the intention of making yet another attempt on Bootan.

In November, 1809, Mr. F. Carey performed a journey into Pegue. The viceroy ordered three buffalo-carts for himself and baggage, and men to attend him whenever he wished to go upon the hills of Chittore and Martaban. He considered his journey useful in many respects, particularly as affording an opportunity of enlarging his knowledge of the manners and customs of the

people, and facilitating his acquisition of the language. Mr. Chater refers to this as a period of extreme distress in trade, and indifference in regard to religion. The Burmans were determined on war, which produced general trouble and confusion. The Europeans were entirely indisposed to public worship; for after their new edifice had been opened three or four weeks, not an individual attended. About this time, the whole of Rangoon, excepting a few huts and the houses of the two principal governors, were consumed by fire; nearly all the merchants and tradesmen were ruined; and the missionaries only escaped the conflagration, in consequence of having providentially, and contrary to their first intention, removed previously from the house they had been occupying, and built one out of the town.

In 1810, they speak of the continued kindness of the authorities. Mr. F. Carey had a singular opportunity of testing their influence with the viceroy. He applied to him on behalf of a poor sufferer who was condemned to die by crucifixion. Seeing him suspended, he repaired instantly to the viceroy's house, though orders had been given that no one should be admitted. He entered, therefore, at much hazard to himself, and ventured to present his petition, insisting, according to the Burmese custom, on its being granted before he left the place. The viceroy refused several times; but at length agreed, upon condition of his never interceding for another. To this he could not consent. He was then made to promise that he would accompany the viceroy to Ava, when the boon was granted. After passing through the forms of office, Mr. F. Carey hastened to the spot; but the attendant officer required even then a reward. To this he found himself compelled to agree, and the man was taken down, after having been suspended from three till between nine and ten at night. It is lamentable to add that thankful as he appeared at the moment, he afterwards returned to his habits of robbery, and was again taken into custody. How ineffectual are even the greatest severities of law to reclaim the sinner! A deeper wound must be inflicted by the all-subduing grace of God.

About this period, the missionaries arranged their labors under the specific designation of "The United Missionaries in India," comprehending the Bengal, the Burman, the Orissa, the Bootan, and the Hindostan. This afforded a convenient method of keeping in distinct view the information they communicated from time to time respecting the diversified operations of the mission.

The Bengal Mission included five stations.

1. *Serampore and Calcutta.* The letters which Mr. Leonard, deacon and master of the charity school lately instituted, addressed monthly to Mr. Ward, at his request, contain statements of the most encouraging description. The spirit of inquiry continually increased in the fort. An interesting account is given of a Mrs. Wilson, a native woman. She had been a slave of the worst description, but was taken as a wife by a serjeant of artillery in the war under Lord Lake. Her attachment was so strong, that she accompanied him in the heat of every battle, and often supplied his place at the guns when he was exhausted. On one occasion, a musket ball penetrated his temples nearly through the skull, carrying part of the brass hoop of his hat along with it. At this moment, while shots were falling like hailstones, she took her husband on her back, and carried him out of the scene of action as she thought to bury him; but he recovered. Their house in the fort was opened, by her influence, to the preaching of the missionaries; and having herself received salvation, and joined the church, she anxiously waited in hope, while she employed every effort to win her neighbors. She was the fruit of Krishno Paul's ministry. Her character was finely brought out upon the occasion of an interruption that took place in the usual worship, in March, 1811, of which she gave the following account:—

"When the Europeans and natives came to our house at the usual hour, not doubting but they would hear the word from the minister whose turn it was to come, I informed them all was at an end. The colonel had ordered my husband to discontinue the meetings, and on pain of his displeasure, not to allow any thing of the kind in future. It was of no use to remonstrate; the order must be complied with. This was

sad news indeed to those who had come expecting to hear the word of God, as fully appeared by the tears both of Europeans and natives, who were particularly affected by the short interview and prayer with Mr. Marshman. They supposed this would be the last opportunity they should have of meeting together.

"Knowing that I was engaged in the cause of my Saviour, and trusting to him for success, I this morning came to the resolution of waiting upon the general to make known my distress. I found him engaged in a conversation with two officers; but my business was too urgent to admit of much ceremony or delay. I therefore begged a hearing, which the general very kindly granted, and invited me to take a chair, and come out of the heat of the sun. This I objected to, telling him that I was the wife of a poor man, and therefore could not think of accepting such an honor; and that neither the heat of the sun, nor even being burned to death, appeared a matter of any consequence, when compared with the business I had come about. I then told him the story of the meeting at my house, from the beginning to the present time. He asked me who preached there. I answered, the missionaries. 'But,' says he, 'you do not all understand English sufficiently to benefit much by their preaching.' I told him that most of us understood a little, and that the discourses were very plain and agreeable to the Scriptures; and besides this, that we were amply blessed by being provided for, even in case of our not understanding English, as the Bible was translated into Bengalee, and was expounded once a week, in addition to English preaching twice. It pleased God to grant me favor in the sight of the general. He not only smiled all the time, but expressed his hearty approbation of what I had narrated, granting full permission to continue the meeting, and promising that no one should interrupt it. I felt at a loss for words to express my sense of the favor.

"The business, however, was not yet finished. The colonel knowing nothing of my petition, nor of the general's answer, I suggested the necessity of his being informed of it. This the general readily commissioned me verbally to make known to him. I submitted to him, however, whether a few lines from himself would not better establish what he had so kindly granted. He then wrote a note, requesting the company of the colonel at head-quarters. This happily completed my wishes; as I had now an opportunity of hearing the colonel's objections. I found these to be grounded on a surmise that the soldiers met to get liquor, and that my husband procured it for them. This I soon cleared up to the satisfaction of both the general and the colonel. The latter then started another objection, much more unexpected than the first, viz., that he supposed the missionaries and myself received money. To this I answered, that a house as large as that in which I then stood (head-quarters), with a thousand rupees a month, would be considered of no value when compared with the news of salvation through a crucified Redeemer, which I heard preached at my house; that my husband and myself now resided at a house under his (the colonel's) control, and were receiving a salary of thirty rupees per month in his gift, for all which we felt thankful to him; but if he were determined to shut out the words of eternal life, we would as freely resign his favor as we at first received it. After the latter of these remarks, the two gentlemen retired and conversed a few minutes out of my hearing; after which they came and told me to continue the meeting, without the least apprehension of being interrupted in future. I then expressed my fear that at some distant period, if they should be out of the way, some other superior officers might interrupt us; but both the general and the colonel passed their word that I might be easy on that head, and that the late interruption was purely the effect of a misunderstanding."

2. *Dinagepore and Saddamahl.* Here Mr. Fernandez was active in promoting the great cause; and his diligence was repaid with some, though not extensive success. In April, 1811, he states the number of the members as sixteen. In June, a Hindoo, a silversmith, had become impressed with religion, and he persuaded the greater part of his large family of thirteen to renounce their Hindooism, and embrace Christianity. In August, six had abandoned caste.

By the end of the year, the natives who had rejected caste amounted to twenty-five.

3. *Goamalty.* In this station Mr. Mardon labored amidst great personal affliction; and the native preachers who went to assist him suffered from frequent attacks of fever. Goamalty was situated near the Rajmahal hills, whose inhabitants differ considerably from the Hindoos in general, especially in having no caste. Mr. Mardon made some inquiries which led him to believe, that if he visited them, they would receive him with kindness; he was the more disappointed, therefore, that his ill state of health rendered it impracticable. In July he received into the church the wives of Deep Chund and Bhagvat; but circumstances which greatly tried him, occasioned these natives to quit Goamalty. He was under the painful necessity of excluding Krishno Dass from the church, of whom his expectations were at one time very high; but he imbibed a wrong spirit, and instead of a helper, he had become a burden. Ram Mohun had come from Miniary; but both he and Deep Chund left together with their families, leaving Mr. Mardon quite alone and discouraged. He continued to visit the schools, and to preach as he was able, till he went to Serampore in October, where his health seemed to improve; and he took back with him De Cruz, as assistant in his work, a member of the church at Calcutta. It was at length deemed expedient to remove the station at Goamalty to a place called English-bazar, which appeared to possess advantages for the spread of truth, superior to any other in the Poorniya district. The river, down to Bhotehaut, was bordered by a succession of villages, running into each other, and containing as great a variety of caste, rank, and occupation, among the inhabitants, as could be found in the whole province; and up the river were similar ranges of habitations on both sides, to Malda. The accounts given by Mr. De Cruz show both his diligence and the good effect of his labors.

4. *Culwa.* Mr. Chamberlain occupied this station; and the prospect around opened auspiciously. The church itself was small, but some of the villages yielded fruit to God, though there was considerable opposition.

5. *Jessore.* At the close of 1810, the church under Aratoon consisted of nearly sixty members, and many more were added in 1811. Aratoon was assisted by five native brethren, Pran-Krishna, Manik-sha, Manik, Seetaram, and Punchanun. Some instances of a violent spirit of persecution appeared. Pran-Krishna had been ejected from the village in which he lived, by the zemindar or headsman, who told him that as he brought other persons to preach the gospel, Christianity might spread; it was better, therefore, to lose him, than a multitude of others.

The zemindars of Sooryadeeya called on Manik-sha, to inquire why he was rearing a house. He answered, "I am a Christian, and am making a house to worship in." They then flogged him, and kept him in prison three days, without giving him any thing to eat. He was at length released, upon paying four rupees; saying, "Go home; you may make your house, but do not preach in these parts; if you do, we will some day kill you." Manik-sha replied, "You are able to kill my body, but you are not able to destroy my soul." One of the servants then struck him, and said, "Go away from this place; we do not want to hear you."

The Burman Mission had not yet made any considerable advances. The labors of the missionaries were chiefly of a preparatory kind, such as the learning of the language. Mr. Felix Carey applied himself assiduously to the Magadha, into which he proposed to reduce his father's translation of the Sungskrit; then to write his translation in Burman by the side of it. He speaks of the Magadha as held in as much estimation there as the Sungskrit in Bengal; and expresses his conviction that it is as necessary to understand the Magadha in order to have a perfect knowledge of the Burman, as it is to understand the Sungskrit to obtain a perfect knowledge of the Bengalee. He studied, also, the Palee. In June, 1811, he writes to his father, that he was exceedingly bent on the translations. He had begun with Mark, and had made considerable progress; while Mr. Chater was translating Matthew. He prepared, also, a Burman Dictionary, to be completed in one volume folio, of about three or four hundred

pages. Soon after this, he describes the country as in a state of fearful commotion. The Mugs and Rachooners revolted, rejecting the Burman government; and the Burmans themselves were forming parties under the different princes. Rangoon was again threatened: notwithstanding all which disastrous circumstances, there were pleasing indications of the spread of truth. Felix Carey was employed to translate all the correspondence between the English and Burman governments, which brought him into contact with the court at Ava.

The state of the country, in connection with his wife's ill health, induced Mr. Chater, at length, to relinquish his position there; and determine on proceeding to Columbo, to establish a mission in Ceylon.

The Orissa Mission was conducted by John Peter. Some of his military members were required to go to Cuttack, the capital of the country, which, though a painful event to him in so small a community, was overruled for good. They proclaimed the gospel and spread tracts wherever opportunity occurred. Their names were Smith and Greene. On their first arrival, the former refers to a number of brahmins who frequently conversed with him about Christ, while many of their comrades were persuaded to leave off profanity, and assist in building a small house for worship. The worship of Jugunnath was unusually attended in the summer of 1811. Peter speaks of four or five thousand from Bengal coming through Balasore, to whom he and Krishno Dass preached Christ and gave tracts; and Smith and Greene, after a lively description of the flocking multitudes at Cuttack, speak of instances in which their efforts appear to have been useful. "A sepoy," says Smith, "took me to his dwelling that I might make known the words of Jesus to some men who were there in their way to Jugunnath. I spoke to them of the dying love of our Lord, and they heard very attentively. One of the principal men among them answered, 'You speak the word of truth; and all that you have spoken has struck into my heart.' Another said, 'I will hear no more from the Hindoos; for it is in vain that they worship idols of wood and stone.'" Again, Smith and Greene, in a letter to Mr. Ward, write thus of the people among whom they are stationed:—"The poor heathens are much surprised to hear the gracious news of eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord. You would admire to see with what gladness they accept the Orissa Testaments at our hands. They say, they never thought the feringas had such a good book. We have distributed a considerable number of Testaments in the country, and have had the pleasure of sending one to Pooree, and the brahmins of Jugunnath received it gladly. They wanted to pay for it; but we strictly charged the bearer to present it without taking any thing for it."

With regard to the Bootan Mission, —after the calamitous event that occurred at Barbaree, Mr. Robinson applied to the katma at Bhotehaut for a moonshi to teach him the language, and for permission to ascend the hills. He was referred to the rajah; and afterwards receiving a discouraging letter, he determined, in May, 1811, to relinquish the attempt. At a subsequent period he resolved on Java as the sphere of his future labors.

The Hindoostanee Mission consisted of two stations, Patna and Agra. The former is a city of great extent. Premises were purchased for the Society at Digah, in its immediate neighborhood; and Mr. and Mrs. Moore, who were afterwards joined by Mr. Rowe and the natives Petruse and Hedal-ulla, labored there.

Mr. Chamberlain having been appointed to Agra with Mr. Peacock, set off on their journey thither, a thousand miles up the Ganges, in January, 1811. Mr. Peacock was the eldest son of the Rev. W. E. Peacock, rector of Wholly, Huntingdonshire, who was brought to the knowledge of salvation in India, and immediately devoted himself to missionary service. He was distinguished by considerable talents, but still more so by humility and piety. He had been previously in the navy, and was on board the *Ardent*, in Lord Duncan's engagement, and in the first attack on Copenhagen. Called now to a nobler service, he accompanied Mr. Chamberlain, chiefly, at first, for the purpose of assisting in keeping a school. The journey occupied about four months,

during which period every opportunity was embraced of preaching, and distributing tracts and Scriptures. Frequent letters were sent to Serampore, which contained pleasing accounts of their progress. Thousands heard the news of salvation, often apparently with great delight, and received the tracts with avidity. Occasional opposition, however, was manifested by the brahmins. Mr. Chamberlain sometimes preached twice, four, and even six times a day. At one place, he met Kangalee, who gave him a good account of things at Lakrakoonda and Bheerbhoom. At Monghyr, he was engaged the whole day in addressing crowds of willing hearers, and in the distribution of books. They touched at Patna; and, at the end of two months, reached Ghazeepoor, having travelled upwards of 600 miles. In writing from this place, Mr. Chamberlain speaks of the natives as differing considerably from the Bengalees. The men are less complaisant, more manly, and equally superstitious. The females are held in greater subjection, and work harder. The Mussulmans were few in comparison with the Hindoos. "The brahmins," he says, "speak Sungskrita Hindoostanee, and appear to despise the Scriptures on account of their containing so many Mussulman words. The proper brahmins appear to be very proud, and not quite so pleasant to deal with as the Bengalees. This, however, may be accounted for, in part, by my deficiency of language, both as to a right understanding of them, and properly speaking it myself. This is to me, at present, a trial; but *vincit omnia labor.*"

Benares is described as in a state of extreme moral depression. "There," says Chamberlain, "Satan sits enthroned." It was the intention to have passed by Allahabad; but a mutiny among the boatmen detained them there, which afforded an opportunity of introducing the gospel to that great city. Chamberlain, Peacock, and Vrundavun (Brindabund), who voluntarily accompanied them, were indefatigable. There and in different places they met with people who inquired for "the Sahibs that gave away the *new shaster.*" "I have been," says Chamberlain, "in many places where the word of God has excited great attention; but never saw a greater spirit of inquiry after the *new way* than was discovered at Allahabad. Mussulmans and Hindoos, learned and unlearned, all seemed eager to hear the word of God. Seeing these things, I regretted, for the moment, that I had to proceed onwards, and prayed, 'O Lord, send forth more laborers into thy harvest!' After we had left the city, several came after us in the course of the day, some eight or nine miles, for books. Thus the standard of Immanuel has been displayed at Priyag (Allahabad), to the apparent joy of many people. When Patna and Agra become efficient stations, then at the great assemblies at Priyag, in January, a detachment from each might meet here, and find a month's employment in preaching to almost all the different nations of India."

On the 17th of May, they arrived at Agra. From a small village, it rose to a magnificent city, founded by the Emperor Akbar; but was at this time in ruins, with 40,000 inhabitants. The river Jumna runs through it. Chamberlain calls it a second Benares, a place devoted to Seeb. The language of the people is pure Hindee. The missionaries entered upon their labors immediately, but they were received with surprise and coldness. The commander of the garrison, however, spoke in a free and friendly manner, and recommended their commencement of a school. They soon began to preach in English at their own house in the morning, and in the evening at the fort, where Serjeant-major Todd spared his quarters for public worship. Mr. Peacock frequently went there to read the Hindoostanee Testament to the natives. As soon as Mr. Chamberlain could procure a pundit, he set about the language in earnest, and devoted himself to the translation of the Scriptures. He represents their general prospects, after some months, as not very flattering, yet they were not discouraged. "God," he says, "will perform his own work in his own way, and at his own time. When I left Cutwa, it was with regret; yet I have never repented. It seemed to me the call of God, and I obeyed it with cheerfulness. When a pioneer has removed the obstacles in one place, he goes to another. Our dear brother

Forder was a pioneer to his company. I once saw his cap and accoutrements, and the motto upon the cap so pleased me, that I wished to make it my own. It was, *Aspera non terrent.* The pioneer's work is rough; he has to press through difficulties; and his actions, though not blazoned in the annals of war, are not the least necessary and arduous. May I be but a pioneer in this great work, faithful and persevering, I ask no more. The Hindoos are a mild people in comparison with the Mussulmans. I love them from my heart."

Affliction still pursued Mr. Chamberlain, for he suffered the loss of his two daughters, Mary Anne and Hannah Smith Chamberlain. The latter was an extraordinary child. She could read and converse in three languages, and manifested indubitable evidences of real religion. A still further affliction occurred at the end of October, in the sudden death of Mr. Todd, who fell down and expired in an instant. In the early part of the ensuing year, Mr. Chamberlain was still further bereaved of his only remaining child. These repeated visitations, however, were not without their merciful tendency to ameliorate his character, and concentrate his energies on the great work to which he had devoted his life.

It has been already recorded that the church in the 22d and 14th regiments embarked under orders at Calcutta, after having chosen Mr. Forder as their pastor. They proceeded to the Isle of France, viewing their appointment as a providential call to promote the gospel wherever they might be sent. They suffered many discouragements, but still pursued their object. Their place of meeting was in the open fields in the evening, where they had proofs of the Divine presence, and a few, in addition to their own members, were inclined to frequent their assemblies. Those who belonged to the 14th regiment soon went to Madras, from which place letters were sent by several of them to Serampore. On the 9th of February, 1811, one of their number, named Low, died, they hoped in a state of repentance, though he had been excluded, while in the Isle of France, for intoxication. In March, Davidson wrote that four had been added to the church. The 22d was ordered to the Isle of Madagascar, where, having taken possession of the French fort of Tamatase, they remained in garrison.

The number of members in all the churches at this period exceeded three hundred, one third of whom had been added within little more than a year; and among these, the proportion of those who were qualified for public labor, far exceeded the average in our British churches. The following statement exhibits a pleasing picture:—

Missionaries from Europe.—Carey, Ward, Marshman, Chamberlain, Mardon, Moore, Chater, Rowe, Robinson	9
Missionaries raised up in India.—Fernandez, Felix Carey, W. Carey, Peacock, Cornish, Aratoon, Peter	7
Hindoo brethren called to the ministry.—Krishno, Krishno Dass, Ram Mohun, Seetaram, and Sebukram	5
Itinerant Hindoo brethren on probation	7
European gifts for the ministry, either called out, as Forder, or about to be so, as Leonard	2
Total,	30

About fifteen years before this time, the church in Bengal consisted of *four* members. It had now doubled *six* times, or once in *three* years. Amidst frequent occasions of mourning, they, and the Society at home sympathizing with them, had great reason to rejoice. The cause in India, though many circumstances arose, both internally and externally, which frequently wore a distressing aspect, had been, like the bush at the back of Horeb, unconsumed amidst the flames of persecution; and in the solitude of the desert, her God was her indwelling glory and defence.

From the earliest period of the mission, one of the greatest objects of interest was the translation of the Scriptures. To this Dr. Carey had applied with the utmost assiduity, and the idea of thus pouring the streams of salvation along the plains of India, through the channels of its languages and dialects, was the solace of his heaviest hours and most unsuccessful years of missionary effort. In this great enterprise, he was ably assisted by Dr. Marshman,* while Mr. Ward's skill in printing facilitated every operation.

The missionaries were accustomed to prepare successive memorials on this subject, that the Christian world might have an opportunity of tracing their progress, and mingling its benevolent sympathies in their undertaking. The

* A diploma from Brown University, Providence, U. S., was sent by Mr. Lawson.

reader will form the best conception of what they accomplished by presenting a comparative view of the achievements of three years.

At the end of 1809.	*At the end of* 1812.
1. *Bengalee.* The Old and New Testament translated and printed.	1. The New Testament gone through three editions, and ready for a fourth; and the second edition of the Pentateuch printed to the 4th chapter of Leviticus.
2. *Sungskrit.* The New Testament printed, and the Old Testament printed to Exodus.	2. The Pentateuch printed, the historical books printed to the 2d book of Samuel, and copy prepared to the 2d chapter of the second book of Chronicles.
3. *Orissa.* The New Testament printed, and nearly the book of Psalms in the Old Testament.	3. The New Testament tried and approved by Orissa pundits, the Hagiographa and the prophets printed, the historical books printed to the 1st book of Kings, and copy prepared to the 20th chapter of the 2d book of Kings.
4. *Telinga.* The New Testament translated, but unrevised, and a beginning made in the Old Testament.	4. Matthew in the press.
5. *Kurnatta.* Ditto.	5. Matthew revised.
6. *Guzarattee.* The printing stopped, and the translation slackened, for want of sufficient pecuniary support.	
7. *Mahratta.* The New tament translated, and part of the Old Testament. The gospels nearly printed; but the printing retarded by the same cause as the last.	7. The New Testament printed, and in circulation, the Pentateuch printed to the 4th chapter of Numbers, and copy revised to the 2d chapter of Deuteronomy.
8. *Hindoostanee.* The New Testament translated, and about half printed. The printing retarded by the same cause as the two last.	8. The New Testament printed, the second edition in the press, the Pentateuch printed to the 2d chapter of Exodus, and copy prepared to the 26th chapter of Numbers.
9. *Sikh.* The New Testament translated, and the printing begun.	9. Printed to the 7th chapter of Luke.
10. *Burman.* A fount of types cast.	10. A volume of Scripture extracts printed, and copy prepared to the 18th chapter of Luke.
11. *Chinese.* The New Testament translated to Ephesians.	11. The whole of the New Testament translated, the Gospel by John in the press, and the Old Testament translated to the fifth chapter of the 1st book of Samuel.
	12. *Cashmere.* Translated to the 2d chapter of Romans.
	13. *Assam.* Translated to the 6th chapter of John.
	14. *Pushtoo*, or *Affghan.* Commencing.
	15. *Nepala.* Ditto.
	16. *Brij Basha.* Ditto.
	17. *Bilochee.* Ditto.
	18. *Maldivian.* Ditto.

At the close of their memoir, the missionaries refer to those circumstances which they regarded as favorable to the completion of the work, which did not exist at its commencement. These were,

1. *Types* in the different languages. There was at that time only one in which they had actually succeeded,—namely, the Bengalee; of the other characters they had seen little or nothing in print, and considerable doubt was felt by them whether they could attempt their publication. This, however, was removed by their success in the Orissa, and then in the Deva Nagree, the original character of India, and parent of all the rest. To this were added founts in the Mahratta, the Burman, the Telinga, and the Sikh.

2. The manufacturing of the *paper* of India. Having this article made so as to be indestructible by worms, was of great importance to the versions of the Scriptures, and this they were enabled to accomplish; so that their manufacture remained untouched even when placed for a considerable length of time among paper already half devoured.

3. The association of a *number of brethren* and friends, who were able in various ways to render aid. Some would translate, and others compare the translations with the current idioms, and suggest improvements. Thus Chater and F. Carey were able to proceed with the Burman and Magadha; Mardon, Chamberlain, and Peacock, with the Hindee; and the two latter with the Sikh. John Peter and others read and explained the Orissa version; and another friend circulated the Mahratta, which he had been studying several years. Mr. Marshman had undertaken the Chinese, in conjunction with Mr. Lassar and their rising pupils.

Impressed with a conviction of the advantages which youths trained from their infancy to grammatical studies, and at the same time habituated to *speak* the various languages of India, must possess beyond those who begin the study of a foreign idiom later in life; aware, also, that experience is essential to the accomplishment of perfect translations, the missionaries had now laid the foundation of a seminary at Serampore, where youths were instructed in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. Of the oriental languages, Chinese and Sungskrit were studied most critically, as they form the basis of nearly all the dialects from Persia to Japan, and from Cape Comorin to the Snowy Mountains.

Amidst these preparations, productions, and bright anticipations, an event occurred on the eleventh of March, 1812, which wore an aspect of gloom and disaster. Already had they, within a few

months, suffered numerous bereavements, in Mrs. Mardon and her infant, Mr. Chamberlain's three children, Mr. Ward's daughter, of five years old, and Mr. Marshman's infant; but now their faith and patience were tried by a calamitous fire. In what manner it originated they were never able to ascertain; but the most probable conjecture was, that it arose from the embers of a hookah, or pipe, falling unperceived among the loose papers lying underneath a range of shelves containing 700 reams of English paper, sent out to print the Tamul and Cingalese New Testament, where it commenced. There were only one or two servants in the printing-office at the time. Mr. Ward was writing in his room adjoining, and ran immediately to the spot to summon all possible assistance, but in a few minutes he was nearly suffocated by the smoke. After advising to keep all the doors and windows shut, if possible, to smother the flames, he ascended the roof, pierced it where the fire was, and poured in a great abundance of water; which so far succeeded, that four hours afterwards the fire was confined to the shelves beneath which it was kindled. Some well-meaning but injudicious person at length opened one of the windows, while Ward and Marshman were busily occupied in another part of the building. A flake of fire was soon blown into the centre, and the whole building, 200 feet in length, was speedily enveloped in flames. At midnight, the roof fell in, but successful efforts were made to prevent the destruction of the adjoining buildings. The articles consumed were,—upwards of 1400 reams of English paper, a considerable quantity of Patna and other paper, 4460 pounds of English types, of which nearly 1000 pounds had been recently received by the *Baring;* a double fount of Greek, and a small one of Hebrew; twelve founts of types in the different languages in India, among which were, a fount of Persian, worth 3000 rupees, a valuable fount of Arabic, and a double fount of Nagree, containing twenty maunds, or 1600 pounds weight; all the cases, frames, and other printing utensils, which accompanied them; books, in various languages, to the amount of 5000 rupees; manuscripts to the value of 7000 rupees, among which were, a Sungskrit Dictionary, in five folio volumes, and the materials for a Polyglot Dictionary of all the languages derived from the Sungskrit; lastly, the building itself (200 feet by 40), with the fixtures, the former of which was estimated at 8000 rupees.

On examining the rubbish the next day, there were found the steel punches of all the Indian languages uninjured by the flames, to have replaced which, besides the expense, would have occasioned a delay of six years; also the metal of which the types were composed, melted into large flakes, to the amount of nearly 100 maunds, or about three tons and a half.

The presses, which had been removed into a separate room only a few weeks, were preserved; as well as all the matrices of all the founts of types. The contents of an iron chest, also, consisting of bank notes and rupees, were saved. Five forms on the presses were saved; one of the Calcutta Bible Society's First Report; one of the Historical Books in Sungskrit; one of the Tamul New Testament, and two of a second edition of Confucius. There were burnt more than 55,000 sheets printed off but not folded, among which were seven sheets, of 1000 copies each, of Mr. Martyn's Hindoostanee New Testament in the Persian character; five sheets, 5000 each, of the Tamul New Testament; four sheets of the Calcutta Bible Society's Report; six of Mr. Ward's second edition of Hindoo Manners, &c. &c. The other sheets of these works, however, and all the copies of the Scriptures printed off or printing, were in a warehouse on the other side of the garden, and were of course preserved. A paper-mill, also, and two standing presses, with the matrices, moulds, and apparatus for letter-casting, were in the place adjoining the printing-office, appropriated to paper-making, which the fire did not enter. This was a happy circumstance; as it contained unfinished paper, and materials to a considerable amount.

The loss amounted to nearly £10,000: but they were consoled by the grateful fact that no life was injured, although Mr. Ward exposed himself to imminent hazard on the roof. Dr. Carey was absent at Calcutta.

Among other providential circumstances, it was observable that the keys

of a building larger than the printing-office, which they had let for years as a warehouse, were given up only on the previous Saturday. This at once furnished them with a place in which to resume their labors; and,—mark the character of the men!—the second day after the fire, they laid their plan for future operations, and, with the materials that had been rescued, and those which had escaped the flames, they began to recast the types. Dr. Carey writes on the 25th of the same month, "In another fortnight, we hope to begin printing again in one language; another month will enable us to begin in another; and I trust that in six months our loss in oriental types will be repaired." On the same day, Marshman says, "To cause us to desist from our work, even in the least degree, was evidently not the design of this providence. The saving of the presses and the matrices, and the recovery of the punches and melted metal, with a building being ready for use, seem to bid us go forward, and this we are doing with all diligence. We have nearly finished casting the Tamul already, and shall be able to cast a fount, or nearly so, every fortnight. The printing of the Scriptures, therefore, will not suffer a month's interruption, the joy of which makes us almost overlook every thing else." "In a few more weeks," says Mr. Ward, "I hope our presses will be going again night and day." With great propriety, then, did the writer in a Calcutta newspaper thus express himself:—"Zeal and perseverance are qualities that happily distinguish the character of the missionaries; their ardor, instead of being repressed, derives a new impulse from difficulties and misfortunes; they practically embody the advice of the Mantuan bard, '*Ne cede malis; sed contra audentior ito;*' and we confidently trust that their printing establishment at Serampore, lately destroyed by fire, will, like the phœnix of antiquity, rise from its ashes winged with new strength, and destined, in a lofty and long enduring flight, widely to diffuse the benefits of knowledge throughout the east."

Strong suspicions were excited in their minds that the fire must have been the result of design, and that some idolater among the servants, "turning pale with envy at the sight of the Bible printing in so many languages," contrived this attempt to overthrow the work. But though this was merely conjecture, Mr. Fuller, with his usual sagacity, remarked that the premises were not insured, not only because no such thing was ever thought of in India, but because "the buildings used by Europeans are so constructed, that they will not burn without great pains taken to set them on fire; which not only accounts for their non-insurance, but strengthens the conjecture of the place having been set on fire."

But whether this calamity originated in accident or design, it bore distinguishing marks of the overruling providence of God, and was rendered subservient to much ultimate good. One is ready at first to think that it was a severe and unaccountable dispensation, to permit a work of such magnitude and importance, in the very midst of its progress to be so obstructed, and to allow a society so comparatively feeble in its resources, to be so impoverished and crippled. But the thoughts of the supreme Ruler are not as our thoughts, nor are his ways our ways. He has never promised, and therefore we are not entitled to expect, exemption from private sorrow, as Christians, or from public calamity; neither do the annals of his church show that it is any part of his wise and perfect system of government to remove every impediment at once out of the way of those who labor in his cause; but both his promises and his proceedings prove that he will bring all things into subserviency to the great purpose of securing the final triumph of his cause; and this neither the warring elements of nature, nor the hostile efforts of human or infernal powers shall prevent.

With regard to the fire at Serampore, some circumstances truly providential, have been already stated; there were others, however, of a more general nature, which demand especial notice. Among these it may be observed, that if the *translations* were destroyed or suspended, it was but a means of their improvement in the reproduction. Every one must be aware of the necessary imperfection of first attempts in foreign languages. It may also be remarked that there is a tenacity of adherence to primary efforts, and sometimes even to

errors, which is natural to discoverers in language, or translators for the first time of hitherto unknown idioms of speech, from which they are not always or easily to be driven. Careful and continual revision, therefore, is important; but still more so, after accumulating knowledge and experience, to recommence and recast translations of the Scriptures. On this occasion, our missionaries were brought under this advantageous necessity. "In the late fire," they say, "the manuscripts of two or three of the translations were consumed. This at first made us feel somewhat dejected; but on more thoroughly examining things, we found Providence had still left us the means of repairing this loss, and that to some advantage. The pundits who had assisted us in translating, were still with us; and we found, on making the trial, that the *advantages in going orer the same ground a second time were so great that they fully counterbalanced the time requisite to be devoted thereto in a second translation.*

No sooner did the mournful intelligence arrive in England, than the Christian public hastened to repair the loss by an unexampled liberality of contribution. "A strong sensation," says Mr. Fuller, writing in the name of the committee, "was felt throughout the kingdom, not only in our own denomination, but amongst Christians of every name, each vieing with the other to repair the loss. Great, it is true, have been the difficulties of the country in respect of commerce; yet amidst them all, the contributions of Christians have increased beyond all former examples. In the past year, we had, as you know, great pecuniary difficulties; but our wants have been generously supplied, and our hands strengthened. In respect of the recent calamity, we doubt not but the loss will be amply repaired." This was written about three weeks after the intelligence had reached the committee. They had then issued a statement on the subject; and their humble faith and dependence on God were speedily rewarded. The author of these volumes well remembers Mr. Fuller entering the room in which the committee had been convened, exclaiming with an eye sparkling with joy and gratitude, in his own characteristic manner,—"Well, brethren, the money is all raised, the loss by the Serampore fire is all repaired; and so constantly are the contributions pouring in from all parties, in and out of the denomination, that I think we must in honesty publish an intimation that the whole deficiency for which we appealed to them, is removed. They are of so ready a mind that we must even stop the contributions."

The entire sum required on account of the fire, was raised in the short space of *fifty days*. But the greatest advantage was the powerful impulse given to the mission, by rendering it more generally known, and producing a simultaneous feeling of interest in all denominations. This did not subside after the immediate effort; but multitudes who had scarcely heard of it before, continued to subscribe to its funds, to plead its cause, and to pray for its success. It is impossible to calculate the extent of the impression; and it may, in this point of view, be regarded as one of those remarkable manifestations of Providence by which an all-controlling wisdom directs, restrains, and combines events, so as to educe good from apparent evil, and to make calamity itself the instrument of the church's prosperity.

One of the measures to which the committee now turned their attention, was the increase of the executive body by an addition to their number of "some of the brethren," as they express it, "from different parts of the kingdom, who appeared best suited for the work, and who had their hearts most interested in it."* A letter was also addressed to the missionaries, signed by the whole committee, abounding in wise counsel

* The existing committee were:—William Burls, London; Joseph Dent, Milton; J. Fawcett, D. D., Hebdenbridge; Andrew Fuller, Kettering; Thos. Goodacre, Northampton; Robert Hall, A. M., Leicester; James Hinton, A. M., Oxford; James Hobson, Kettering; Reynold Hogg, Ryegate, Surrey; John Jarman, Nottingham; Thomas King, Birmingham; James Lomax, Nottingham; Robert Mills, Sheepshead; William Nicholls, Collingham; John Ryland, D. D., Bristol; John Sutcliff, A. M., Olney; William Wilson, Olney; John Yates, Leicester.

Andrew Fuller, Kettering, *Secretary.*
Thomas King, Birmingham, *Treasurer.*

The names added at the general meeting held at Kettering, Sept. 29, 1812, were:—Christ. Anderson, Edinburgh; George Barclay, Kilwinning; Isaiah Birt, Plymouth-dock; Thos. Blundel, Northampton; Wm. Coles, Bourton; F. A. Cox, Hackney; James Deakin, Glasgow; John Dyer, Plymouth; Joseph Ivimey, London; Thomas Morgan, Birmingham; William Newman, Bow; Henry Page, Bristol; John Palmer, Salop; Wm. Ragsdel, Thrapstone; Thomas Roberts, Bristol; John Saffery, Salisbury; Wm. Steadman, Bradford; Micah Thomas, Abergavenny; Mark Wilks, Norwich.

and affectionate expressions. Some passages are striking, and show the pen of the venerable secretary. "It must afford great satisfaction to you, who have borne the heat and burden of the day, as well as to us, to see young men rising up amongst you, who are now co-workers with you, and some of whom may be your successors in the work. You can hardly conceive how intimately we are acquainted not only with you, who went out from us, and with your female companions; but with your younger Careys, your invaluable Fernandez, your Aratoons, and Peters, and Leonards, and Forders, and Peacocks, and Krishnos, and Sebukrams, and Kangalees. Our thoughts rove with delight from station to station. We seem to be present with you in all your domestic circles, rising seminaries, and religious assemblies; at Serampore or Calcutta, in the village of Jessore, at Rangoon, at Goamalty, at Dinagepore or Saddamahl, at Balasore or Cuttack, at Cutwa or Lakrakoonda, at Patna or at Agra. We rejoice in your little groups of Christian soldiers, in your modest, but zealous native preachers, and in all your fellow-helpers throughout the country; to each and all we say, from the fulness of our hearts, Grace be unto you, and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

* * * * *

"Very dear brethren. You did not think, till of late, that the religion of Jesus Christ was so interesting; that it not only makes known salvation, but unites the saved in bonds of tender affection. You now perceive that it is a religion adapted for the whole world, and which, if truly embraced, would heal it of all its maladies; you feel that men of divers nations, and languages, and castes, and complexions, and manners, are one in Christ Jesus. So we feel to you, and you to us. It was the hope of your salvation, founded on the numerous prophecies in the holy Scriptures, that, twenty years ago, induced us to send our beloved Carey and Thomas, men whom, if we had felt only for ourselves, we could ill have spared; but your salvation outweighed all other considerations. It was this induced them, and after them, your Wards, and Marshmans, and Chamberlains, and others of their fellow-laborers and female companions, to quit their native shores, and all that was dear to them on earth; to cast in their lot with you; and this while you were enemies of God by wicked works. We rejoice that God has blessed them, and made them blessings to many of you. If you continue grounded and established in the faith, and adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour, by a becoming conversation, this shall be our reward."

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE FIRE AT SERAMPORE, TO THE DEATH OF MR. FULLER.

The indefatigable zeal and perseverance of the missionaries was never more strikingly exemplified than after the fire at Serampore. Dr. Carey states in a letter to Mr. Fuller, dated October of the same year, that though his manuscript of the Sungskrit translation had been destroyed, yet he had re-translated the whole of it, and had advanced in the general work. New translations were also begun in the Nepalese; the Pushtoo, or that of the Affghans; the Bilochee, which was spoken on the west shore of the Indus towards Persia; and the Maldivo Islands. Chamberlain had translated the gospels into Brij Bhasha.

At the end of March, 1812, the brethren Leonard and Thompson were appointed to the work of the ministry; the latter, his wife and mother, with two others, being formed into a separate church, to be planted at Patna.

In the month of May, Mr. Mardon was suddenly removed by death. His disease was what they term *sonneepat*, and it was a case of the most malignant kind. This excellent man was born in 1776, of pious parents; and he joined the church at Plymouth Dock (now called Devonport), under the care of the Rev. Isaiah Birt. At the age of twenty-seven, his mind received a decided bias towards missionary labor,

and after some preparatory instructions given at Olney by Mr. Sutcliff, he sailed from Bristol, in company with Biss, Moore, and Rowe, in January, 1804. After arriving at Serampore, in February, 1805, he soon endeared himself to the missionaries, by his humility, ardent love of souls, and diligence in the acquisition of languages. At the end of about ten months, he went with Mr. Chater to Rangoon; but the state of his health preventing his prosecution of that work, he was engaged to aid Mr. Ellerton, who had succeeded Creighton and Grant in cultivating the field about Malda, whither he repaired in February, 1808.

Amidst severe domestic sufferings, he had displayed such a spirit of resignation to the Divine will, as filled his brethren with astonishment. He was very assiduous in the establishment of schools, as well as in proclaiming the gospel; but the whole character of his life, public and private, was that of unobtrusive merit, unostentatious zeal, and patient perseverance. He had no boldness of character, but was fitted to inspire love and confidence. On his tombstone, might have been inscribed, "a man of modest worth and missionary spirit."

Mr. Johns and Mr. Lawson, with their respective families, accompanied by Miss Chaffin, arrived at Calcutta on the 10th of August. They had left England in order to strengthen the hands of the mission, in the beginning of 1811, and proceeded by way of America, where they remained some time, devoting themselves to public labor. Mr. Johns was eminently successful in collecting for the translations. Transatlantic Christians had, indeed, for years, from time to time, evinced their readiness to assist in the great work; and the value of their liberality was enhanced, at this period, by the depressed state of public affairs. Boston and Salem were especially distinguished in this labor of love. Two little circumstances are worthy of lasting record. Dr. Morse gave notice from his pulpit of two objects for which he requested pecuniary aid,—the one, the Serampore translations, the other, the support of foreign missions. The next day, a poor little boy brought a quarter of a dollar to him. "What is this for, my child?" inquired the Doctor. "Sir, it is for what you asked subscriptions for yesterday." He was reminded that two objects had been named, and requested to specify which he meant. "Which you please, Sir." The question was repeated, and he was desired to make his choice. "For the printing of the Bible, Sir;" and he burst into tears. Another pleasing fact was mentioned by R. Ralston, Esq., of Philadelphia, whose zeal for the cause has acquired for him an imperishable name. A little boy presented him with a leathern bag, saying, "Here are two dollars which I have for a length of time been accumulating, to aid in the translation of the Scriptures." A considerable portion of it was in cents, which, instead of being expended in the usual way of children, for which purpose they had been given, had been deposited in the little bag, until the boy thought the amount was worthy of notice. While specimens of this kind are admired, they should also be improved, by teaching all donors to Christian objects the value of a proportionate benevolence, which must necessarily draw largely upon large resources.

Soon after their arrival, Mr. Johns received the sanction of the governor-general in council, to occupy the medical department at Serampore, during the absence of Dr. Wallich.

Mr. Lawson possessed singular qualifications for serving the mission in that branch of its operations which at the time peculiarly demanded his services. He was the first to suggest to Mr. Sutcliff, when at Olney, the plan of cutting types in India for the native languages, rather than sending to England; and he devoted himself to this work with untiring assiduity.

In a letter to Mr. Skinner, of Bristol, Krishno furnishes an interesting account of the state of things at this period in Jessore. Petruse had succeeded Carapeit Aratoon, who was appointed on a mission to Bombay. He and the other native preachers labored with great success. He mentions that the class of religious mendicants called Utithis and Muhuntas had long been in search of the true religion, but knew not where to find it; but on hearing the gospel of Jesus Christ, they began to think, What can we do?—How shall

we abide in the commands of this Saviour? They frequently went to the missionaries with inquiries respecting the gospel; a few of them were baptized. "Among these leaders of sects," says Petruse, "are Ram-doolala, who is said to have 100,000 disciples: they have no reverence for the gods. The name of a second leader is Neela-dasa, who may have 500 disciples. These eat with us; but they say, 'If Christ has died for sinners, then there is no more sin in the world: why then do you go about teaching men that they are sinners?' To this I answer, 'If the debtor apply not to his surety, how can he be set free; and if men do not believe in Christ, how should their sins be taken away?' Another leader is Shivarama-dasa, who has about 5000 disciples: for a considerable time back we have been preaching to them, and a few have been baptized. A fourth leader is Rusa-raja, whose disciples amount to about 1000 persons: our brethren, Chamberlain and W. Carey, jun., have had conversations with this man; and some of his disciples have been baptized. A fifth leader is Huridasa, who has about 500 disciples, several of whom have been baptized, and there are hopes of the leader himself.

"In a late journey to Jessore by brother Carapeit and myself, we advised the deacons to spread the word through the villages around their own dwellings, and send their journals to brother Petruse, at Chougacha. They readily agreed to this. From Chougacha we went to Koola-gachee, and remained two days, preaching, and then proceeded to Vusi-poora, to the house of Prem-dasa, another leader of a sect, who was once under instruction at Serampore, and then advised some of his disciples to be baptized, namely, Shivadasa, Doolala-dasa, Duyal-dasa, Gouradasa, and Nurottuma. After their baptism, Prem-dasa himself sought to be baptized, but was refused, because the woman he lived with was not his wife. Lately, however, brother Petruse has married these persons, and they have both been baptized. The people of those parts have been struck with astonishment at the conversion of this man, adding, 'Our caste must now go; he whom we regarded as a wise man, has embraced this new way: what shall we now do?' "

This part of the mission sustained a considerable loss in September, by the death of Seetaram, who was distinguished by his simplicity and holy zeal. His last moments displayed the real Christian, firm in faith, and giving glory to God. Goura-dasa was unanimously chosen by the church at Jessore to succeed him at Vishoo-huri.

Mr. Moore of Digah refers with great interest to the assistance he derived from Vrinda-vuna. He says that he never enjoyed the society of a native brother so much before. He was talking and reading with his countrymen the whole day, and a considerable spirit of inquiry was excited. Mr. Rowe gives a similar account. The native free school prospered.

The mission to Bootan having been relinquished, Mr. Robinson, who had lately married the daughter of Mr. Gordon, deacon of the church at Calcutta, resolved on proceeding to Java. Three of the most spiritual members of the Calcutta church, belonging to the 14th regiment, had united with five others at Samarang, to form a small church under the care of Baird and Russell; and at Welkvreden, near Batavia, another member of the same church, of the name of Brown, having opened his house for worship, fourteen or fifteen of the 59th regiment had joined him, and formed themselves into a society.

At Agra, both Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain had not only suffered much from personal illness, but lost their third child. Soon afterwards, the missionaries were prohibited by a military order from preaching in the fort. Mr. Chamberlain addressed a note on the subject to the government by the commanding officer, which seems to have given great offence, for he was ordered down to the presidency; but on his arriving at Calcutta, and presenting himself at the police, nothing was said, and he was *set at liberty!* Such was the vexatious and persecuting treatment to which the servants of the Most High were subjected by magistrates and military authorities. Mr. Peacock remained at Agra, and Mr. Mackintosh, a member of the church in Calcutta, was sent to assist him, while Mr. Chamberlain felt it his duty to listen to an application which had been made to him a little before his departure from Agra, by a minister of

one of the country governments farther north; but stipulated that if he settled there, it must be "as a missionary, without any restraint on his work."

The Burman mission had been in some peril. Mr. F. Carey was laboring alone, Mrs. Chater's ill health having caused her removal and that of her husband. For six or seven weeks, the embroiled state of affairs between the English and Burman governments had compelled him to take refuge on board an English ship, with his family; but tranquillity being restored, he was able to renew his work.

The general state of the mission was encouraging, at the close of 1812. A great work was proceeding silently in the 24th regiment, then in the fort at Calcutta, from which eleven had made a public profession of religion during the year. Dr. Carey had recovered from a bilious fever, and all were well and active. Mr. Lawson made great progress in the language, and was cutting a fount of Chinese types. Nearly seventy had been added to the church at Serampore and Calcutta during the year, and all seemed to be actuated by the spirit of the gospel and of missions. Nearly every native capable of speaking itinerated on the Sabbath through the neighboring towns. Four new stations had been established. At Patna, Thompson was laboring to the utmost. At Columbo, Chater had found an abundant entrance for the word. At Chittagong, 300 miles east of Serampore, on the borders of the Burman empire, De Bruyn was employed. Soon after his arrival, a respectable woman brought twenty to hear him, and offered a piece of ground for the erection of a place of worship. Carapeit Aratoon had arrived at Bombay, breathing the spirit of devoted zeal. Besides the churches in the army, and scattered efforts made in Mahratta, Java, and the Isle of France, of fourteen stations, only three were occupied by missionaries from England, namely, Serampore, Digah, and Columbo; the rest were filled by individuals raised up in India. This was surely a very healthful state of things. The multiplication of native agency was a token for good, and a source of exceeding encouragement.

Soon after this period, Dr. Carey writes to Mr. Fuller, that there was a general spirit of inquiry about the gospel throughout the country, and Christians, either Europeans or natives, were to be found in every direction. He refers to five natives of high caste, near Serampore, who had recently been baptized, but who had come to the knowledge of the truth without any communication with the missionaries. The Bibles and tracts with which they had met, had been the instruments of their conversion.

The establishment of *schools* proved a successful method of diffusing religious knowledge. By the Lancasterian plan, the word of life could be conveyed to the minds of children, even by idolatrous schoolmasters, without in the least degree shocking their prejudices. Sentences, conveying ideas of the most important nature, might be written as well as single words; and thus a whole gospel be written out, and not only read, but almost engraved on the mind, in a very moderate space of time. In the course of four or five years, heathen youth could thus be informed, not only respecting the doctrines and precepts of inspiration, but of all the important facts both of the Old and New Testaments. A heathen could dictate a few verses or sentences at a time as well as a Christian; and any person who undertook the superintendence of such a school, once a week, or even once a month, would have only to direct that certain chapters should be written out from dictation, in his absence; and on his return, a few questions proposed on that portion of Scripture which he had selected, would enable him to discover whether it had been written or not. Other branches of knowledge, it is obvious, might be communicated in a similar manner, such as geography and general history. To this plan the missionaries devoted much attention; and they had established eight schools during this year, which exceeded in number that of any preceding one. The Benevolent Institution at Calcutta had been begun nearly three years; the object of which was to instruct children in the Scriptures, both in the Bengalee and English languages, as well as in writing and accounts; and it was found that many of the natives who were nominally Roman Catholics, but in reality as ignorant of the Scriptures as their idolatrous ancestors, by means of the instruc-

tion given to their children, acquired evangelical knowledge themselves. Their children would frequently carry home Testaments, and talk of passages which they had committed to memory.

A small school of the same kind had been instituted at Serampore, which was sustained by the youths of the mission family and of the school itself, one of the eldest among them conducting it from month to month. Others were also formed at Taldanga, ten miles west of Serampore; at Viduvatee, at about half that distance and between the two; four around Cutwa; four set up by Mardon, and superintended by De Cruz; one supported by Fernandez; another at Digah, another at Patna, and another at Agra, supported by a Christian friend; making in all sixteen, in which were nearly one thousand children.

The commencement of 1813 was characterized by an unexpected though momentary interruption of the peace of the mission. Inquiries were made, under authority, into the reasons why Messrs. Robinson, Lawson, and Johns had gone to India by way of America, instead of proceeding at once with the permission of the court of directors. This had all the character of a pretence to justify an oppressive measure, for the reasons had never been concealed, namely, that they considered obedience to the prohibitions issued under the charter as framed at that time, to be inconsistent with their duty, as Christians, in disseminating the gospel. Some correspondence ensued; but on the 12th of March, the secretary, in the name of the governor in council, issued an order for the three individuals mentioned to return to Europe by the fleet then under dispatch. Another order came from the police magistrate at Calcutta, on the same day, requiring their appearance; and he insisted on Mr. Lawson's signing an engagement positively to embark. The shortness of the notice was pleaded, and the intention they had of making a respectful appeal to government on the subject. This, however, was unavailable, and on his hesitating to sign, he was instantly committed to prison under an escort of sepoys. After a few hours, however, on an application to the secretary from Dr. Marshman, he was released. The petition to government on behalf of Mr. Johns was ineffectual, who was required immediately to depart. He and Mrs. Johns, with their child, therefore left at once for Europe. Permission was obtained for Mr. Lawson to remain, it having been represented to the governor-general that it was important he should complete a fount of Chinese types which he had just begun. Mr. Robinson escaped, by having previously gone on a mission to Java, but not without the threat that he should be sent home from that island. After the experience of so many years, the proofs of so much public usefulness, and the enjoyment of so much general protection, the conduct of government on this occasion will perhaps excite astonishment; but it can only be in forgetfulness of the Saviour's language—"Marvel not if *the world* hate you."

But the scene of *Christian* persecution continued to be the place of spiritual prosperity. Calcutta and its vicinity blossomed like the garden of the Lord. Mr. Leonard reported that the fort was becoming a most pleasant place, without the shadow of opposition, with a congregation of about 120 attentive hearers. Thirty had already joined the church, and many more were about to do so, from his Majesty's 24th regiment, of whom not an individual had given the slightest occasion of anxiety or pain. There were, of boys, 353, and girls, 117; making a total of 470 on the school books.

Five native brethren were employed in Calcutta and the vicinity; all supported by different friends of the gospel there and in England. Sebukram's labors were very acceptable and useful; Bhagvat preached in several new places; Kaunta's scene of labor was at the jail, and its very populous neighborhood. Neeloo, at the desire of several friends not in immediate connection with the Serampore missionaries, had given up his secular employment at Calcutta, and was liberally supported by them in teaching their families, and in preaching at the houses of inquirers. He was zealous and well acquainted with the Scriptures. Manika was chiefly employed at Bhaliya-ghaut, one of the creeks of the Ganges, to which place many boats from the southeast parts of Bengal resorted for trade.

Carey, Marshman, and Ward had long deplored their inability to itinerate

as missionaries, on account of their domestic labors in translating, printing, and the superintendence of the schools; but they resolved at length to employ a country-born brother, who, in conjunction with Mr. William Thomas, should go from village to village with the sacred word in hand. A friend presented them with a boat to be used in this service; and it was remarkable that the same boat once belonged to a decoit, or public robber, who employed it in the work of plunder, and at last suffered for his crimes. May not this remind us pleasingly of the prediction, "they shall beat their *swords* into *plough-shares*, and their *spears* into *pruning-hooks;*" or of the declaration, "In that day there shall be upon the bells of the horses, *holiness to the Lord?*"

For six months the heart of Krishno had been set on an itineracy to the eastern part of Bengal, and having provided a temporary supply for Calcutta, he was sent thither with Gorachund. He accordingly proceeded to Silhet, within about a hundred leagues of the province of Yunnan, in China. Here he found a people without caste, and of good character for probity. He found, also, two European residents, who encouraged his efforts. In a short time he baptized seven persons, and resolved to settle at Pandora, a few miles nearer China than Silhet, where one of the European gentlemen built him a house and a school-room. It was determined to send two native brethren to strengthen his hands. These were Boodheesa and Prankrishna.

At the request of the begum, or native princess, Mr. Chamberlain went, in May, to Sirdhana, an independent state to the north of Hindoostan. His chief business was to superintend the education of the adopted son of the begum, which employed the morning; the rest of the day being devoted to the education of two scholars at home, and the translation of the Scriptures into the Hindee language. He had, also, two or three native schools for the instruction of children, and some facilities for preaching the gospel; but the station did not appear to be of a very important or promising description.

In the Mahratta country, much good was accomplished by a correspondent of the missionaries and a faithful coadjutor, who married a niece of Dr. Carey, by instituting worship, opening a school, and distributing the Scriptures in the language.

On the second of March, Mr. and Mrs. Robinson left Calcutta for Java, accompanied by Charles Leonard. Dr. Marshman justly represents this circumstance as a remarkable triumph of grace over nature. Mr. Robinson's intention was to establish a school there; for which purpose, a lad was eagerly inquired after among the charity children. No one was to be found, among *forty* that offered, whose parents would allow them to venture to go to that "land of death." At last, Mr. Leonard said, "Take my son;" a boy of about thirteen years of age. He showed an instant willingness to obey, and in three days was on board the ship. On their arrival they took up their residence at Welkvreden. The soldiers having greatly welcomed them, Mr. Robinson soon began to preach in the cantonments, with every encouragement. Several were already pious, and he baptized six, of whom one had been accustomed to exhort at their meetings. Others followed from his Majesty's 59th regiment; one the barrack sergeant, and another the quarter-master sergeant of the company's European regiment. The officers made no objection to the public meetings. Mr. Robinson was well received by the governor, to whom he submitted his plans, which embraced the study of the Malay language, the Dutch, and the Javanese,—the latter with a view to translation; the institution of an English school for support, and preaching to the English soldiers. He felt, however, some discouragement, on being informed that it would be impossible to learn the Javanese without going into the interior.

The accounts from Mr. Chater, in Columbo, were pleasing. The governor and chief justice were friendly. There was an increasing school; and he had obtained permission to preach in English, as well as Cingalese, as soon as he acquired the language. He found that a previous knowledge of the Burman facilitated this object.

Painful events, however, still accompanied those of a gratifying description. In six days, five members of the Calcutta and Serampore church were re-

moved by death, among whom was Mr. Rolt. Two others were useful itinerants, Krishna Dass and Deep Chund. Another young man was on the eve of being engaged in the ministry; his name was Feras or Ferrao.

Krishna Dass was an itinerant in Orissa; but a few months previously to his death, he left Balasore, the scene of his labors, and after lingering some time at Serampore, removed to his house near Calcutta, where he departed in the Lord. He had an understanding, superior to many of his countrymen of the same rank. He was a genuine Christian, a fervent and impressive preacher, and had a peculiar skill in exposing the follies of the different sects of Hindoos. During his affliction, he displayed much simplicity and tenderness of spirit; much fervor of devotion, and strength of adherence to the doctrines of the gospel, and earnestly exhorted all around him to cleave to the Lord with full purpose of heart. He had not attained more than forty years of age.

Deep, or Dweep Chund was supported by Mr. Gordon of Calcutta, who employed him in missionary services in the jail and the neighborhood. He was a native of Pejiya in Jessore, and belonged to the writer caste. He died at twenty-eight. Kureem, in a conversation with Mr. Ward, related a circumstance respecting him, which was strongly illustrative of his character, and is worthy of remembrance. He accompanied him to one of the villages to preach. On their arrival, they found a Portuguese sitting at his door, with whom they conversed, offering to smoke out of his hookah. Astonished at this, he asked what they meant, as they were Bengalees. They said they were Christians, and that they despised no man, as all were children of one Father. The Portuguese man, pleased with their frankness, and with finding Christians among the natives, gave them his hookah, and ordered three chairs to be brought for them; which, however, they declined, and sat on the ground. By this time, several of the villagers had arrived on the spot, and began to listen to the conversation; when these brethren sang a hymn in Bengalee, "Eternal salvation by the death of Christ," which drew numbers around them; and at the close of the hymn and of prayer, Deep Chund got up, and with the Testament in his hand, addressed them in a manner which astonished Kureem and the other native brother, and excited the wonder of the listening strangers. Such words from such a quarter! A brahmin amongst the crowd, however, interrupted the speaker, and made use of some opprobrious language; and being enraged at the reply, he began beating Deep Chund, who received his blows without resistance. One, however, who was less patient, was provoked to use threatening language; when Deep Chund restrained him by saying, "Brother, we are the disciples of Him who was as a lamb led to the slaughter; who, in the midst of his murderers, looked stedfastly towards heaven, praying that they might be forgiven, when one look of anger on them would have reduced them to ashes." The Portuguese man at this was ready to take Deep Chund into his arms; and all appeared to be much struck with this new thing in the land,—men praying for their persecutors!

During his long-continued affliction, Deep Chund unceasingly testified his rejection of every refuge but Jesus; and in his last moments, he appeared to be eminently supported by his hope in Christ.

The president of the island of Amboyna having written to Dr. Carey to send some missionaries thither, stating that there were twenty thousand professing Christians, with places of worship and schools, but without a minister, he transmitted the request to the committee at home; but in the mean time was highly gratified by his third son's ready consecration of himself to that new field of Christian operation. The government, in consequence of a representation from Mr. Martin, the resident, applied in December to the missionaries, for persons to superintend their schools. They were greatly distressed at having none prepared for the service, when Jabez Carey proposed himself. About eighteen months before, he had been articled to an attorney, but his apparent dislike of religion had extremely pained his venerable father. Six months afterwards, however, he became a converted person; and with the finest prospects before him in relation to the present life, Dr. Carey having received the promise of the second judge of the supreme

court to promote his interests, he thus voluntarily devoted himself to the self-denying work of the mission.

In connection with this fact, the author cannot help relating one of the most impressive circumstances he ever witnessed. At the first annual meeting of the Society held in London, Mr. Fuller and Dr. Ryland preached in the Dutch Church, Austin Friars. In his discourse, the latter adverted to the happiness of Dr. Carey, in having two of his sons, Felix and William, devoted to the mission; "but," said he, "there is a third who gives him pain, he is not yet turned to the Lord;"—then making a solemn and lengthened pause, during which tears flowed abundantly from his eyes, he exclaimed, in a shrill and vociferous voice, which seemed to exhaust a whole soul of feeling, "Brethren, let us send up a united, universal, and fervent prayer to God, in solemn silence, for the conversion of Jabez Carey!" The appeal was like a sudden clap of thunder, and the pause afterwards as intensely solemn as silence and prayer could make it. Two minutes, at least, of the most profound devotional feeling pervaded an assembly of perhaps two thousand persons. The result was striking. Among the first letters afterwards received, was the announcement of that conversion which had been so earnestly sought; nearly or quite synchronous with the season of fervent supplication.

The offer of Jabez Carey was accepted, and the government assigned him a passage in the *Streatham*, Indiaman, at their expense. His employer, Mr. Thomas, generously set him at liberty, and gave him the highest testimonials for diligence and ability. On the 26th of January, 1814, he was set apart to the work, and proceeded at once from the chapel to the boat by which he was to join the ship. A very pleasing coincidence took place on this occasion. Felix Carey arrived from Burmah just previously to the commencement of the designation. Thus Dr. Carey, with two of his sons, Felix and William, united in laying hands on the third. "I trust," said the good father, "this will be a matter of everlasting praise. O praise the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together! To me the Lord has been very, very gracious. I trust all my children love the Lord, and three out of four are actually engaged in the important work of publishing his gospel among the heathen; two of them in new countries."

The visit of Felix Carey arose out of the following circumstances. He had been sent for to Ava to vaccinate some of the younger branches of the royal family, where he was received with extraordinary honor. He had none of the vaccine virus, but a ship was engaged to send him to Bengal to procure it. The king had bestowed upon him a title of distinction; and soon after, he went down to Rangoon in what they termed a golden (that is, gilded) boat, with orders to proceed by ship to Calcutta, and return in five or six months. He had requested leave of the emperor to set up a printing press, which was granted; and he was required to make the capital his place of residence. Thus was the Burman mission fixed in the heart of the empire. Mr. and Mrs. Judson were at Rangoon, from which place Mr. Kerr had departed on account of ill health; and was transferred to Allahabad, situated between Patna and Agra, at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. Kureem was appointed as his native assistant.

A plan was proposed by Mr. John Marshman, of reducing all the Indian founts susceptible of it, to a size small enough to admit of the whole Bible being brought into one volume of a thousand pages. The Bengalee Bible had hitherto extended to five volumes. By this means it would become portable, and the expense of printing it exceedingly diminished. Mr. Lawson immediately caught the idea, and employed his distinguished skill in type-cutting upon this valuable suggestion. It involved the labor of several years; but he viewed it as furnishing a clue to the apparently extraordinary means by which he was brought to learn the art of punch-cutting.

The missionaries published this year another important and extended memoir of the translations, the general progress of which is thus summarily given by Dr. Carey:—"We are at this time engaged in translating the Bible into twenty-one languages, including the Bengalee, which is finished. This week, we obtained a person to assist in the translation of the Scriptures into the Kassai

language. This is an independent nation of mountaineers, lying between the eastern border of Bengal and the northern border of the Burman dominions. About a fortnight ago we obtained help for the Sindh and Wuch languages. The country of Sindh lies on the east bank of the Indus, about five hundred miles from the sea; and Wuch then continues along the same shore, till it joins the Punjab. I believe we have now all the languages in that part, except that of Kutch, which I hope will soon be within our reach. We have not yet been able to secure the languages of Nepala, Bootan, Munipoora, and Siam, and about five or six tribes of mountaineers; besides these, I am not acquainted with any language on the continent of India, into which the word of God is not under translation."

At the public disputation of the students of the college of Fort William, before the Right Honorable Lord Minto, governor-general of Bengal, and visitor of the college, held on the 20th of September, 1813, his lordship, after stating the recent literary labors of the Serampore missionaries, thus concludes:—

"I profess a very sincere pleasure in bringing the literary merits of Mr. Marshman and the other reverend members of the Serampore mission, to the notice of the public, and in bearing my testimony to the great and extraordinary labors which constancy and energy in their numerous and various occupations have enabled this modest and respectable community to accomplish. I am not less gratified by the opportunity which their literary achievements afford, of expressing my regard for the exemplary worth of their lives, and the beneficent principle which distinguishes and presides in the various useful establishments which they have formed, and which are conducted by themselves."

The mission in India now comprehended ten stations in Bengal; three in the northern part,—Goamalty, or rather Malda, Dinagepore, and Silhet; five in the middle,—Berhampore, Cutwa, Vansvariya, Serampore, and Calcutta; two in the southeast,—Jessore and Chittagong.

Krishno resided between Goamalty and Malda, having been transferred thither from Silhet, as successor to De Cruz, recently recalled. He was aided by Manika, who had been a preacher for several years. Dinagepore was wholly dependent on the labors of Mr. Fernandez, who was the fruit of the early efforts at Mudnabatty. His church now consisted of twenty-nine members. Silhet was in an unpromising state. The few who professed Christianity were much persecuted; and the place itself was disadvantageously situated, being generally almost inaccessible, excepting by a boat or an elephant. A Portuguese convert at Calcutta, however, John de Silva, wishing to revisit it, as his native place, went with Bhagvat, appointed to accompany him, to collect the disciples and endeavor to form a permanent settlement. It was at length, however, abandoned.

At Berhampore, three or four individuals belonging to the 24th regiment having professed religion at Calcutta, had been instrumental of considerable accessions from among their comrades, so that twenty-one had been added; and though the regiment had been removed to Nepaul, the station was not abandoned; but it was very small. Nor was Cutwa in itself of much importance; but its value was enhanced by the indefatigable itineracy of Kangalee, Kaunta, and other natives, to Lakrakoonda, and various parts of the country, as far as the district of Beerbhoom. At Vans-veriya, about twenty miles from Serampore, Tarachund, while supporting himself as a writer, disseminated the gospel among a number of pupils, and others, who were attracted to him by his superior knowledge and high character. He was assisted by his brother Mut'hoora, who taught a school for his maintenance. It was in contemplation to form a separate church, with the latter as pastor, which would present the first specimen of a Hindoo church standing alone, with a pastor raised up from among themselves. Serampore and Calcutta were always regarded as one church. The former consisted of about sixty members; but the numbers fluctuated, in consequence of the continual dispersion of the native converts, to settle at itinerating stations. The sphere of action was enlarged in 1814, by an opportunity for preaching at Barrackpore, the country residence of the governor-general. An invitation was given by a few non-commissioned officers and their

families, to institute weekly services, and the effort was attended with success. Calcutta presented the appearance of a field which the Lord had blessed, blooming in moral verdure, and branching forth as a tree in vegetative strength and glory. Besides continual labors with their results in the city and neighboring country, the fort and the jail were productive of spiritual fruit, and many of the soldiers became soldiers of the cross. "The labors of the native preachers," says Mr. Leonard, in a letter to Mr. Ward, "are indefatigable. It would take a whole day to do justice to a week's work of these men. Sebukram preaches in twenty different places during the week, some of which are seven miles distant. He crosses and recrosses the river every day. Bhagvat preaches at eleven, in and about the town; Neeloo at about ten; and Manik at six. The brethren Jahans, Cart'hano, and Petruse speak occasionally in other quarters of the city. The first four brethren preach regularly, during the week, in forty-seven different houses; and are invited to many more, but their time does not admit of their accepting these invitations." He further adds,—"To take a general view of Calcutta at the present day, and look back merely to the short period of two years, who can help wondering at the vast progress which the gospel has made amongst all ranks, from the very highest to the lowest orders. It is no novelty now, to see a Bible upon a European's table, or for a Hindoo or Mussulman to read and admire that blessed book; or for the praises of God to be sung, and the voice of prayer to be heard, in the families of the great."

A pleasing fact is mentioned in the united correspondence of the missionaries at this period. "In the last year," say they, "the gospel had to appear in quite a new light, upon a peculiar occasion, melancholy in its nature. Certain Hindoos had committed a robbery in the mint to a very considerable amount. The evidence was so clear against them, that their condemnation and execution were inevitable. While confined in the cells previously to their execution, however, Kaunta, at the request of Mr. Gordon, visited them repeatedly, read to them the news of pardoning mercy through a crucified Redeemer, and occasionally prayed with them. By one or two of them this was deemed an act of love; they became attentive, and it is possible that the news of mercy may have reached their hearts, as it did that of the thief on the cross. On this, however, it is not ours to decide; but two of them requested Kaunta to attend them to execution, with which request he cheerfully complied. This was quite a novel spectacle to the crowds of Hindoos who were present; and the conduct of a Christian Hindoo thus attending a dying criminal with the anxious wish of saving his soul, contrasted with that of a brahmin attending a hapless mother to the funeral pile for the sake of securing her death, we have reason to hope was not wholly lost on those Hindoos in Calcutta who begin to reflect on the nature of the gospel; which number seems gradually increasing."

Among other baptisms at Serampore, in the summer of 1814, were those of Muhummud Seyd, a native of Bussorah, on the Euphrates, who was acquainted both with the Arabic and Persian languages; and Muhummud Bakur, a native of Shiraz, in Persia. The circumstances attending the latter were singular. He was born at Shiraz, where his mother still lived, and was about twenty-one years of age. At the age of twelve, he went to Bengal with his father, who died at Dacca. Being at Dacca in 1813, a gentleman conversed with him respecting the gospel, and spoke in opposition to Mahomet. At first, the young man was prejudiced against the truth, but in a short time perceived that he was wrong; and from reading the gospels, he became convinced of his errors. From Dacca he removed to Calcutta, where, becoming acquainted with Petruse, he was introduced to Mr. Carey. A short time after this, to avoid the persecution raised against him by his Mussulman acquaintance, he went to Serampore, and remained two or three months under instruction. Having occasion to go to Calcutta, to recover a trifling sum owing to him, he was obliged to call at the house of a Mussulman of property, who treated him with great outward respect, but, in the tobacco which was prepared, gave him some intoxicating drug, by which he became completely insensible. In this

state they cut his clothes in pieces, and conveyed him on board a ship lying off Calcutta, then on the point of sailing to Muscat. After being on board some time, he recovered his senses, and found himself in the hold of this ship. He then attempted to come on deck, and complain to the pilot, that the captain was carrying him away without his consent; but he was beaten on the head, and in other parts of the body, in the most violent manner, the scars of which were visible on the day of his baptism. They also tied his hands and feet, and kept him in this state till the pilot had left the vessel, and they were out at sea; he was then brought on deck, and made to work in the ship, on a daily allowance of three biscuits and some water. He was three times tied up by the arms in the blazing sun, and ordered, under pain of worse tortures, to renounce Christ. He defied their threats, declaring he was no longer a Mussulman, but a Christian. After they had sailed sixteen days, a violent storm came on, and continued some days, obliging them to put in at Goa. Here Bakur, in the darkness of the night, let himself down into a small boat, and got to land, where he prevailed on a Portuguese man to conceal him till the ship departed, which was seven days. He then had a passage given him to Bombay, by a European who wished to be instructed in Persian. From Bombay to Madras he obtained his passage by working on board a ship proceeding thither. At Madras, he happily heard of Mr. Loveless, who treated him with the greatest kindness, and introduced him to the "Friend-in-need Society" at that place, which paid his passage to Calcutta, whence he hastened to Serampore, to communicate the joyful news of his deliverance from "so great a death." Subsequently, he proceeded to Digah, where the brethren had long been wishing for one who could speak the Hindoostanee.

Mr. Eustace Carey, nephew of Dr. Carey, having been sent out by the Society, arrived about the beginning of August. He had been designated to the missionary service at a public meeting in the previous January, at Northampton; on which occasion, the Rev. Robert Hall delivered an address to him on the nature and importance of the undertaking, which was published, and appears among his works. After residing six months at Serampore, he was requested to continue there. The missionaries had been lately cheered by the restoration to church fellowship of three natives,—Bhyrub and Jugumohun, brahmins, and Punchanun, of the writer caste, after years of exclusion.

The district of Jessore, sixty miles east of Calcutta, was the sphere in which Mr. Thomas, residing at Chougacha, labored, with the assistance of several natives. Some exclusions had been injurious, of late, to the church, but there were also encouraging circumstances. The gospel had been planted here, as we have seen, many years, and several had been sent forth as itinerants to other places. It appears from the journals of the native itinerants, that Manika-sha, in June and July, visited and preached at thirty-four places; that Nurottuma, in July, went to fourteen places, where all heard with the greatest pleasure; and that Booddhi-sha, in July, visited thirty-four villages, where a number of people heard the word with joy, and some of them gave great hopes of their conversion. In the journals, are the names of eighty-two places; and this appears to be a fair specimen of the usual labors of these three itinerants.

Mr. De Bruyn had been now laboring nearly two years at Chittagong. This was, comparatively, an insignificant station, and the increase small; nevertheless, people frequently resorted to De Bruyn for instruction; among whom the Mugs and even Mug priests solicited those parts of the Scripture which were printed in the Burman language. He one day received information that the Mug rajah of Rossahn had thrown his idols into the fire.

The stations in HINDOOSTAN were Patna, Digah, Allahabad, Agra, and Sirdhana. The first of these was the sphere of Mr. Thomson's very diligent labors; but the result, hitherto, had not been great. Still the Scriptures, in various languages, had been received with gladness. The brethren Moore and Rowe occupied Digah; but with no recent additions. Vrindavuna had required the exercise of church discipline, which was discouraging to inquirers; but it had produced the desired

fruit of repentance. Their efforts in the English language appeared to be beneficial. A small church had been constituted at Allahabad, to which were added two Hindoos. In 1814, Mr. Mackintosh proceeded to Agra to assist Mr. Peacock. Diligent in studying the language, they were sufficiently advanced to converse with the heathen; and Mrs. Mackintosh was assiduous in reading the Scriptures to the poor native women. Mr. Chamberlain had devoted his energies to Sirdhana, two hundred miles northeast from Agra, during the last two years. Although more especially devoted to the family of the begum, yet he neglected not every practicable means of diffusing the knowledge of the gospel. He had instituted three schools; and represents the neighborhood as a fine field for action in favorable circumstances.

Of stations in other provinces of India, Carapeit Aratoon occupied Surat, the chief city of the province of Guzarat. During the two years of his residence, various opportunities had arisen of proclaiming the gospel among different nations. His comparative ignorance of the Mahratta, the Gujuratee, and the Kurkuna, had, however, been a great obstruction; yet he held continual and useful conversations with Jews, fire and river worshippers, Hindoos, Mussulmans, Roman Catholics, English soldiers, Armenians, and others. Ram Mohun had lately been sent to Nagpore, the capital of a part of the Mahratta dominions, where some prospect appeared of forming a small church. John Peter had labored diligently in Orissa for many years, where evangelical light was gradually dispelling the darkness of superstition and heathenism.

In the Burman empire, Mr. and Mrs. Judson had fixed their residence at Rangoon, and were assiduously preparing for future efforts. Felix Carey had been securing a footing at Ava, and obtained permission for a printing press.

Four islands had become more or less scenes of missionary exertion. The 22d regiment was still in the Isle of France, and the brethren Forder and Blatch, with some others, persevered in their Christian zeal. Mr. Chater was at Columbo, had nearly finished a grammar of the Cingalese, and was able to preach in Portuguese, through which language he had access to a large body of people. He and his wife were engaged in the instruction of youth, and thus contributed toward the expenses of the mission. Mr. Robinson continued his efforts in Java; but the removal of the regiment from which he obtained the greatest part of his European auditory, had precluded many additions to the church; and the cession of the island to the Dutch had nearly annihilated his school, by diminishing the wish of the inhabitants to learn English. He preached, however, in the Malay church twice a week, where people of all ranks attended. The arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Trowt at Batavia on the 16th of September, 1814, was hailed as an auspicious event. They were sent out by the Society. Jabez Carey had undertaken the charge of the native schools, to the amount of forty-two, at Amboyna, a small island on the southwest coast of Ceram, in the eastern seas, captured from the Dutch in 1810. The government of Amboyna comprises several islands, situated almost all within sight of each other, the inhabitants of which are partly Christians and partly Mahometans, who live in distinct villages. These villages are governed by hereditary chiefs, as the inhabitants of Europe were, not many hundred years ago; that is, the people are fixed to the village in which they happen to be born; and the males are liable to be called to work for the sovereign, that is, the honorable company. The Mahometans have the Koran and other religious books in manuscript in the Arabic character, and they make use of this character in all their transactions. The Christians have the Bible and other books printed in the Malay language, with the Roman character, and they make use of this character only in all their transactions. Every Christian village has a church, in which the congregation, not only on Sundays, but once or twice in the week, assemble. The government maintains, in every Christian village, a schoolmaster. This person was formerly appointed upon the recommendation of the clergy only, who were responsible for his conduct and qualifications, as he is not only charged with the education of the children, but has to perform all the duties of a minister to the church, except administering the sacrament, and

performing the ceremonies of marriage and baptism; for which purposes a regular clergyman would formerly make, from time to time, a tour to the different islands, and visit the churches on them.

The town of Amboyna is inhabited by Christians, Mahometans, and Chinese, who are considered as burghers, and have their respective captains and officers. They enjoy full liberty in the exercise of their respective religions.

In the various stations, of which there were ten in Bengal, ten among other nations on continental India, and four on the islands, twelve missionaries had been sent from Europe; including those who were Europeans by birth, there were twenty-four; and comprehending those raised up in India, descendants of Europeans and others who conversed in English, there were thirty-seven; and if to these be added the natives who desired to assist in the work of the Lord, the aggregate number was sixty-three. They preached in ten languages, and were preparing the Scriptures in many more, as most of them were acquainted with two, and some with three or four.

Of the number of churches exceeding twenty members, there were eight in the mission; of the smaller churches thirteen. The missionaries thus express themselves with regard to their means and expenditure. "If we take into consideration the whole sum now expended in the three departments of the mission already enumerated, missionary stations, translations, and schools, it will somewhat exceed £14,000 sterling annually. At the largeness of this sum you will cease to wonder, when you consider that by it in the last year, fifty-three missionaries of various nations were supported with their families, nineteen translations of the Scriptures carried forward, six thousand volumes printed, together with nearly twenty thousand copies of the Gospels, and twenty-five thousand smaller books, and above a thousand children of various nations instructed in useful knowledge. We say fifty-three missionaries, instead of sixty-three; for there are no less than ten who devote themselves to the work of God, without terming themselves missionaries, or receiving the least support; but whose worth you will easily appreciate, when we point to our friends Fernandez, Moxon, Leonard, &c., and the pastors of our churches in the various regiments. Of these £14,000, £7000 arise from the personal labor of the various missionary and other brethren throughout India, £1000 are subscribed in India to the Benevolent Institution, and in general, £1000 voted us annually for the translations by the corresponding committee, at the express direction of the parent Society in England. Thus we receive £9000 of this sum in India, and the other £5000 from you and the friends of religion with you in Britain, America, &c., including the sums remitted for both missions and translations."

Whilst affairs were thus proceeding in the East, the period approached when the question of the renewal of the charter of the East India Company was to be determined at home; and the friends of Christianity became naturally solicitous for the insertion of a clause to authorize the peaceable dissemination of the gospel in India. In February and March, 1813, Mr. Fuller renewed his visits to London to promote this object; and in company with two or three distinguished friends of the cause, obtained repeated interviews with several persons of rank, and members of his majesty's government. Petitions were also presented to the legislature from the general body of dissenters, and other friends to the mission, signed by more than fifty thousand persons. Among others a very important meeting was held at the London Tavern, when the Right Hon. Lord Gambier was in the chair, and persons of most of the religious denominations consented to act together as a committee, and prepare petitions. An interesting document on the state of India was issued by that committee, in which the following statement is given.*

"Although the exemplary conduct of those missionaries who were settled at Serampore, conciliated at an early period, the favor of the local British government, and the extent of their acquirements in oriental literature, with the striking utility of their labors in that line, procured for them, but in a more restricted way, the toleration of the succeeding governments; yet it has clearly

*Being connected with this association, the author fortunately preserved a copy or two of this paper, which may, probably, have otherwise entirely disappeared as an ephemeral circular.

appeared that there was no disposition to allow of an increase of their numbers, which was originally small, and had been reduced by death. For it has happened that persons sent from England, by the way of America, to reinforce their numbers, have been obliged by the government to quit the country. In no case, however, even where it has been thought proper to employ the strong hand of power in expelling such persons from India, has there, it is believed, been the slightest impeachment of the propriety of their conduct, or the purity of their intentions; or any proof produced to show that evil had ensued, or was likely to ensue, from their labors.

"It ought not to be omitted, in this brief view of the state of religion in India, that Christianity has been liable to this peculiar discouragement, that without any formal law having been passed on the subject, native converts to Christianity have, in practice, been generally excluded from official situations under the government of the East India Company; even from those situations which are freely bestowed on Mohammedans and Hindoos."

The circumstances called into action the powerful pen of Robert Hall, who wrote an address to the public on the subject of the renewal of their charter. After stating that for want of a provision tolerating missionaries, they had been under the necessity of going to India by the circuitous route of America, besides meeting with considerable obstructions in their attempts to settle, he adds, "It must surely be considered as an extraordinary fact, that in a country under the government of a people professing Christianity, *that* religion should be the only one that is discountenanced and discouraged."

In urging the claims of the friends of religion, he says, "All that is desired on this occasion is simply that the word of God may be permitted to have free course. Whether it is consistent with sound policy for the British government to employ any part of its resources in aid of the cause of Christianity in India, is a question it is not necessary to discuss, while its friends confine their views to a simple toleration, and request merely that its teachers may not be harassed or impeded in their attempts to communicate instruction to the natives. Before such a liberty can be withheld, the principles of toleration must be abandoned; nor will it be practicable to withhold it, without exciting a sanguinary persecution, while men are to be found who will eagerly embrace the crown of martyrdom, rather than relinquish the performance of what appears to them a high and awful duty. And what a spectacle will it exhibit, for a Christian government to employ force in the support of idolatry, and the suppression of the true religion!"

Mr. Hall pleaded with equal earnestness and propriety, that "every individual of the immense population subjected to our sway, has claims on our justice and benevolence, which we cannot with impunity neglect. The wants and sufferings of every individual utter a voice which goes to the heart of humanity. In return for their allegiance, we owe them protection and instruction, together with every effort to ameliorate their condition and improve their character. It is but fair to acknowledge that we have not been wholly insensible to these claims, and that the extension of our power has been hitherto highly beneficial. But why, in the series of improvements, has Christianity been neglected? Why has the communication of the greatest good we have to bestow, been hitherto fettered and restrained; and while every modification of idolatry, not excepting the bloody and obscene orgies of Juggernaut, has received support, has every attempt to instruct the natives in the things which belong to their peace been suppressed or discountenanced? It will surely appear surprising to posterity, that a nation, glorying in the purity of its faith as one of its highest distinctions, should suffer its transactions in the East to be characterized by the spirit of infidelity, as though they imagined the foundations of empire could only be laid in apostasy and impiety; at a moment too, when Europe, convulsed to its centre, beholds these frantic nations swept with the besom of destruction."

The efforts of Mr. Fuller, Mr. Hall, and the friends of religious liberty were at length successful, so far as to obtain, in the act which passed in 1813, "for continuing in the East India Company, for a farther term, the possession of the British territories in India," the inser-

tion of four clauses relating to "persons desirous of going to India, for the purpose of promoting the religious and moral improvement of the natives," beneficial in their results, though not such as to preclude absolutely the oppressions of a resolved infidelity and despotism.*

On the 22d of June, 1814, the church of Christ, but especially the Baptist denomination, experienced a great affliction in the lamented death of SUTCLIFF. The feeling of personal attachment subsisting between him, Dr. Ryland, and Mr. Fuller, proved as such a sympathy of souls has ever proved, in the history of the church, conducive to the greatest good; for it seems to be a general law, both of matter and mind, that union is strength. In illustration of this sentiment, the following instances may be appropriately adduced. The strong affection which subsisted between Moses and Joshua, between David and Jonathan, between Zerubbabel and Joshua the high priest, among the ancients; between Peter and James and John, among the apostles; between Paul and Timothy and Titus, in the primitive church; between Luther and Melancthon, among the nonconformists. Paul, in addressing the church at Rome, writes, "Mark them which cause divisions and offences;" and in harmony with the purpose of that admonition, we may say, observe those who by their patient spirit, as well as by their intelligent combination, have ever promoted the cause of religion, more especially that of Christian missions.

Mr. Sutcliff was born of pious parents, near Halifax, in Yorkshire, on the 9th of August, 1752; became a member of the church at Hebden Bridge, under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Fawcett, May 28th, 1769; entered as a student at the academy in Bristol, in January, 1772, then superintended by the Rev. Hugh and Caleb Evans; and in July, 1775, was ordained as pastor of the church at Olney, Buckinghamshire, where he continued till his death, which occurred in the sixty-second year of his age.

Sutcliff was the very personification of fatherly kindness. His manners bespoke extreme gentleness of disposition; his voice was full of soft modulations; his eye beamed with benignity; he at once gained attention, and conciliated esteem. The amenities of a natural disposition the most affectionate that could be, were perfected by the influence of religion, which, in its sincerity of principle and unobtrusiveness of character, has been seldom, if ever surpassed. His was not, however, a feminine softness, bordering on imbecility, for he possessed much decision and holy fortitude. Still it was the might of patience and perseverance, rather than the energy of action. He would counsel, but not control; carrying caution and prudence to the utmost. In the exercise of sound judgment, he was probably not excelled by any of his coadjutors. Mr. Fuller was accustomed to say, that when he received a packet from India, which confused him by the variety of its contents, he rode over to Olney to lay them before Sutcliff, who would unravel and explain all with perfect ease; determining what it would be best to suppress, and what to publish. He was not only considerate in all his movements, but would frequently soften down and conciliate those to whom Mr. Fuller's sternness had given some offence. Had a painter sketched him in an emblematical picture, he might have represented wisdom surrounded by the graces.

To his other excellent qualities of the head and the heart, were added a portion of humor. One specimen may be given in illustration. Mr. Fuller had written to ask him whether they should summon a meeting of the committee on a particular occasion; to which he answered,—"Call a committee meeting! No: the matter is self-evident. If you do call one, appoint some proper place on the turnpike road, at such a milestone; fix the hour and minute; let us meet, and set our horses' heads together, pass a vote, and part again in two minutes."

Mr. Fuller says of him,—he possessed

* The following is a brief official abstract of clauses 33, 34, 35, 36:—"If the court of directors think fit to refuse the applications for permission made in behalf of such persons, they are to transmit the applications to the board of commissioners, who, if they see no valid objection to granting the permission, may authorize the said persons to proceed to any of the company's principal settlements, provided with a certificate of sanction from the directors. The court of directors, however, may make representation concerning such persons to the board of commissioners; and those persons, on arriving in the East Indies, are to be subject to the regulations of the local governments. Further, the governments in India may declare the certificates and licenses of such persons to be void, if they shall appear, by their conduct, to have forfeited their claims to protection."

the three cardinal virtues, *integrity, benevolence,* and *prudence,* in no ordinary degree. He further states, with great truth, that he particularly excelled in *practical judgment,* and that his talents were less splendid than useful. "I have heard him," says he, "sigh under troubles; but never remember to have seen him weep but for joy, or from sympathy. On his reading or hearing the communications from the East, containing accounts of the success of the gospel, the tears would flow freely from his eyes. * * * There was a gentleness in his reproofs that distinguished them. He would rather put the question for consideration than make a direct attack upon a principle or practice. I have heard him repeat Mr. Henry's note on Prov. 25: 15, with approbation. We say, 'Hard words break no bones; but it seems that soft ones do.' A flint may be broken on a cushion, when no impression could be made on it upon an unyielding substance. A young man who came to be under his care, discovering a considerable portion of self-sufficiency, he gave him a book to read on self-knowledge. He is said never to have hastily formed his friendships and acquaintances, and, therefore, rarely had reason to repent of his connections; while every year's continued intimacy drew them nearer to him; so that he seldom lost his friends; but his friends have lost him!"

The last words soon became applicable to him who wrote them; so that Fuller and Sutcliff, who were "lovely and pleasant in their lives," were in their deaths scarcely divided.

Andrew Fuller was born at Wicken, in Cambridgeshire, Feb. 6th, 1754. His father was a farmer. He received the rudiments of education in the free school at Soham. Subsequently, in 1770, he joined the Baptist church assembling there; was called to the work of the ministry in January, 1774; and became pastor of the same church in May, 1775. The year following, his acquaintance with Ryland and Sutcliff commenced. In October, 1783, he was set apart to the pastoral office over the church at Kettering. In 1792, at the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society, he became secretary, and continued to the close of his career, the 7th of May, 1815, those severe labors and eminent services for which he has been so justly celebrated. His unabating exertions to the last are sufficiently indicated in a brief letter addressed to Mr. Burls, whose name ought to be for ever associated with these missionary annals, as having rendered essential aid to the undertaking; whose house was the metropolitan home of its leading promoters; and who, after having for many years managed its details in London, became treasurer to the Society.

"*Kettering, May* 11, 1814.

"I have much journeying before me; first, to Olney and Bedford, next week; then to the association, at Leicester, in Whitsun week; then into Essex, on June the 6th, where I must be at a missionary meeting of that county, at Bocking, on June the 8th, and collect what I can between that and our London annual meeting, which I suppose is on Wednesday, the 22d of June; then I must return, and be at Kettering by the 26th, which is our Lord's supper day. Then I must set off, and be out all July, in the north of England; viz., the first Sabbath at Liverpool, second at Manchester, third at Leeds, fourth at Newcastle, and fifth at Hull. May the Lord strengthen me for these labors! Affectionately yours,

A. F."

Fuller was a kind of oak of the forest,—sturdy, unbending, athletic, both in body and mind. His general aspect and manner were forbidding; and throughout life he was rather dominant than attractive.* His perceptions were

* The author had an early and very striking specimen of the contrast of character between Fuller and Sutcliff, which, from its personal connection with himself, he has felt some hesitation in recording; but his scruples have been overcome by the consideration of its being so exceedingly illustrative of the eminent individuals in question. Having been engaged in a double lecture with Mr. Fuller, at Walgrave, the ministers were taking their places at dinner afterwards, when it was usual for those who had preached to sit at the top of the table. Being then very young, and somewhat overawed by the seniors present, this position was timidly declined. Mr. Fuller knitted his brows, and said, in a manner no one would wish to tempt a second time, "Come, Sir, I like every man to take his proper place; what do you hesitate for?" At the end of the repast, Mr. Sutcliff, with a gentle tap on the shoulder, whispered, "I want to speak to you." We accordingly retired; when, in his softest manner, he said, "My dear young brother Cox, I see that my brother Fuller has somewhat hurt your mind." It was admitted. "Well," said he, "don't be disconcerted or discouraged. It is his manner; he does not mean any thing unkind; he really loves you. My brother Fuller sometimes serves me just the same: he speaks, on a sudden, perhaps very harshly; but I know him, and let it pass; and he will soon be as confiding and affectionate as ever." Here were the men;—*Fuller,* severe, prone to *command,* little disposed to make even proper allowances, yet capable of strong attachment; *Sutcliff,* kind, peaceful, humble, generous-hearted, and wise.

clear; his conduct decided. He was a man of whom advice would naturally be asked in the ordinary affairs of life; but especially so on great occasions. The value of his opinions would never fail to compensate for the repulsiveness of his manner; and yet that repulsiveness was exceedingly ameliorated in the free intercourse of friendship; when, indeed, he would sometimes appear to have changed his nature, exhibiting extreme sensibility and softness. The author has repeatedly seen him melted down into kindness, so that he could be as gentle as a lamb; but whenever truth required it, his unyielding integrity, uniting with the harsher elements of his spirit, made him bold as a lion.

He had not, like Carey, to use a favorite phrase of his own, a *turn* for languages; but, notwithstanding the deficiencies of his education, he applied to them with some success, so as to be able to understand the Greek Testament, and form a good idea of the merits of a criticism; but he was not attracted by the study, and had he even possessed leisure, probably would never have pursued it to any great extent. Yet he had a mind and a heart to appreciate the literary efforts of others; entering into their design with much acuteness and discrimination.

He was less qualified for the missionary field than for the missionary cabinet. He seemed to be made for the niche he occupied. His forte was to maintain important points by deliberate inquiry and discussion, and he gained support to the mission no less by the celebrity of his name than by the force of his appeals. He was slow in coming to a conclusion, chiefly because judgment rather than imagination or passion predominated; nor, till he had frequently revised his thoughts, did he sufficiently feel his competency to give an opinion, or undertake a course of action; but having once decided, he was the most immoveable of men. Give him time and space, he was an admirable controversialist; but he was not *ready* as a reasoner, and therefore would not have been able, with the best advantage, to encounter the dexterous evasions and extemporaneous plausibilities of the more learned or witty of the oriental disputants. The author was present at a vehement discussion between him and Robert Hall. The latter, with his characteristic acuteness and volubility fairly perplexed, and not a little displeased his antagonist. Fuller's replies were slowly conceived, as well as slowly uttered, and stood little chance before the never-ceasing torrent of powerful reasoning, or confusing eloquence, rapid words, and pungent satire of his friend. He was at length compelled, in his own emphatic manner, to exclaim,—"Well, brother Hall, I cannot answer you offhand; but put it down on paper and I will meet you."

Fuller was an extraordinary preacher; plain, practical, judicious, full of rich scriptural illustrations; in manner slow and solemn. The influence which he acquired by his talents in the pulpit, and by his clear illustrations of divine truth through the press, fitted him to take a lead in the conduct of the mission. He was exactly adapted to remove objections, to afford lucid statements, to urge the important claims of the object upon a yet inactive community, to raise contributions at home, and to give counsel abroad. He was just the man to direct the minds of a committee to appreciate and examine candidates for foreign labor, to take a comprehensive view of what might be accomplished, and to plead the cause, when needful, before friends and foes. Having once embarked and taken the helm, he was ever at his post, watchful, firm, and persevering, at all seasons; joyous, but never careless, when skies were bright; fearless amidst storms. As a man, a minister, a theological writer, an acute controversialist, as one of the founders, but especially as secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, his name will be transmitted with distinguished honor to admiring generations.

PART II.

FROM THE DEATH OF MR. FULLER TO THE YEAR 1837.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE AFTER THE DEATH OF MR. FULLER, AND OF THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MISSIONARIES IN INDIA, WHICH TERMINATED IN AN AGREEMENT TO ACT SEPARATELY.

The question respecting the future conduct of the mission necessarily occupied the thoughts of its principal friends, immediately upon the removal of the secretary. He had been its first officer, its best advocate, its main pillar, during upwards of twenty-two years; his personal character and public exertions had gathered round it a sympathy which, as respected the Christian world of all denominations, might be justly characterized as universal, and which at once heightened the celebrity of his name, and widened the sphere of its own moral influence. England, Scotland, America, India mourned. Death had abstracted from the church of Christ on earth a man whose mighty energies were exactly fitted to sustain a great cause in the struggles of its infancy and early years. His own denomination, in particular, had suffered what seemed an irreparable loss; and the inquiry, "What can be done?" was again and again reiterated, when the committee assembled at Northampton, on the 10th and 11th of October, 1815.

In the interval between the decease of Mr. Fuller and the time of this meeting, Dr. Ryland had acceded to the request of the committee who met at Luton, in May, to discharge the duties of the secretary, *ad interim;* the period being thus limited, from the general conviction that his numerous avocations and increasing infirmities would preclude his permanent and sole occupation of the office.

It was to be expected that diversity of opinion should prevail with regard to the choice of a successor to Mr. Fuller. In ordinary circumstances, it was likely to exist; but the eminence of the individual to be followed, increased the difficulty. Still farther, his own views were known by many who concurred in them; while others were either ignorant of his wishes, or averse to his plan. On the first assembling of the committee on the evening of the 10th, much conversation arose of a desultory kind; but the universal feeling of the necessity of seeking Divine direction in that critical emergency, determined the appointment of a special meeting for prayer at an early hour of the ensuing morning.

It had occurred to some of the leading members of the committee, who were very apprehensive that the divided state of opinion would be productive of mischief, that if the Rev. James Hinton, of Oxford, could be induced to supply the vacancy, at least for a time, it might tend to prevent contention; and this suggestion was made to him privately. He was not strong in health, his pastoral duties were onerous, and his time was much occupied with a school. Adverting to these circumstances in a conversation with the author, as they paced the streets of Northampton, he said that notwithstanding these obstacles, his love to the mission would impel him, were it the unanimous desire of his brethren, to accept of the proposal as a temporary arrangement. In the general committee accordingly, after Dr. Ryland was appointed to the secretaryship for the year ensuing, he moved Mr. Hinton's appointment as joint-secretary, which

was voted unanimously, and with strong feelings of mutual congratulation. It was also resolved, on the same occasion, that the general meetings of the Society be held in future in various parts of the kingdom, at such places in succession as should be fixed by the committee at each annual meeting.

Mr. Hinton possessed qualifications for the office assigned him of a high order. He was extremely courteous and conciliating; attractive in the social circle, and popular as a preacher. He possessed a considerable variety of talents; and they were such as led one often to fancy him treading on the verge of genius, without actually entering that elevated region of intellectual grandeur. Were we in search of one word that should, more accurately than any other, designate his mental endowments, we should call him a *clever* man. His devoted attachment to the mission had been long evinced, and he had displayed much active zeal in its service. With the single exception of Robert Hall, he was probably on the whole the most eminent individual upon the committee at the time. "He did not accept this office," as his son and biographer remarks, "for the sake of honor. He intended to apply himself to its labors; and he knew that he would both add oppressively to his existing duties, and require many sacrifices of personal interest. But he loved the cause too well to stand by and see it sink, while any thing was possible for him to do. He was most sedulously attentive to the interests of the Society at home and abroad. He addressed himself particularly to the existing evils of its internal state, and labored most assiduously to cherish unity of spirit, and maintain unity of action, amidst multiplied diversities of opinion and collisions of interest. With this view, he entered on a very extensive home correspondence; in order that, being in possession of the wishes of all, he might the more effectually devise measures in which all should unite, or soothe the feelings which could not be indulged."

The next annual meeting was held at Birmingham, on the 9th, 10th and 11th of October, 1816. It was there resolved that the committee should choose a sub-committee of nine, to be selected from the different vicinities in which the general committee resided; and they were appointed to meet in December and March. It was also resolved that the general committee should consider the propriety of forming a corresponding one in India. This was the suggestion of a committee convened in January, in London, consisting of Messrs. Burls, Cox, Hughes, Ivimey, Newman, and Hinton, upon a question, whether the three senior brethren at Serampore were empowered to give *orders* on behalf of the Society in India, if their *requests* should in any case be insufficient. A long and important document was laid before the committee at Birmingham, consisting of a letter from Mr. Ward, dated March, 1816; but written avowedly in the name of the other two brethren at Serampore. In this paper it was stated that, being sensible of the uncertainty of life, and, at the same time, of the great importance and necessity of providing for the future carrying on of the mission station at Serampore, and securing the immense property in land and moveables there, they had agreed upon certain "principles of the last importance to the preservation of the cause." Among these, the proprietorship of the Society was recognized; but as the plan had not been fully matured, it was to be hereafter revised, and sent to the Society for their approval and ratification.

Subsequently, a letter arrived, with the signatures of Carey, Marshman, and Ward, dated April 2, 1816, in which they advised the Society "to take upon themselves the direction and support of the missionaries sent out from Britain; and proposed to support from their own funds, as long as they should possess the means, the native and Asiatic brethren which should be raised up there."

The sub-committee met at Oxford, Dec. 31, 1816, when this proposal was acceded to, and Carey, Marshman, and Ward constituted a corresponding committee, to assist the committee at home. It was also determined, upon the recommendation of a professional gentleman from Calcutta,—Mr. Thomas, son of the Rev. T. Thomas of Peckham,—that the Society's property in India should be vested in trustees, partly resident there, and partly in England; and the names of eight individuals were selected, who

might become trustees, subject to the approval of the general committee, and be summoned to consider the revised plan, whenever it should arrive.

The next general meeting was convened at Oxford, September 30, and October 1, 1817; but the expected communication on this subject had not then arrived. It was, however, a meeting which led to an official change of importance. Mr. Hinton resigned his office of co-secretary, assuring the committee that, with undiminished attachment to the cause, he found the retention of office incompatible with his other duties, and with his health. This was followed by a proposal that the Rev. John Dyer, of Reading, should become assistant secretary to Dr. Ryland for the ensuing year,—a proposal to which he at once acceded.

At a meeting of the committee, at Salisbury, in the month of March, 1818, the brethren Roberts, of Bristol, and Potts, of Birmingham, were appointed to visit Holland, as a deputation from the Society, for the purpose of endeavoring to procure full liberty of conscience, and security of residence, for the missionaries in Java. This mission was promptly and successfully fulfilled.

About the end of May, a long letter, dated September 4, 1817, arrived from Serampore, on the subject of the property accumulated there, which the committee had been so anxious to settle upon a basis of mutual satisfaction, by the suggestion already referred to, not, however actually adopted, respecting the appointment of trustees. It appeared, from this communication, that the proposal to invest the premises at Serampore in the hands of trustees nominated by the Society, was deemed to be indicative of a distrustful and unfriendly spirit, and in itself unjustifiable. The property, though devoted to the cause of God, was said never to have been given to the Society; and to prevent future misapprehension, the missionaries executed a legal instrument to exclude persons belonging to the Baptist Missionary Society from any title to the property or administration of the premises, unless elected as trustees, by the Serampore missionaries themselves. The words are very express and exclusive,—"The said premises shall be for ever attached to the Baptist Mission at Serampore, and be for ever held in trust by William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward, and such persons, and such only, as they shall hereafter appoint or associate with themselves in the trust; in trust for propagating the gospel in India, agreeably to the original design and institution of the said Baptist Missionary Society; and that the rents, dues, net proceeds, and revenues, arising from the said premises, shall be for ever applied to this object, and to no other whatever, at the will, and under the exclusive direction of the said William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward, and their successors lawfully appointed by them to the trust. And they further hereby declare, that it is their will, design, meaning and intention, that no other person or persons, either in England or in India, belonging to the said Baptist Missionary Society for propagating the gospel among the heathen, shall have the least right or title to the property or the administration of the said premises, unless lawfully appointed thereto by them as trustees for that purpose." This was accompanied by an "explanatory declaration," made at the mission house, Serampore, on the 26th of September, 1817.

The letter in question was presented to a committee held in London after the annual meeting, in June; present,—Ryland, Newman, Dyer, Burls, Saffery, Winterbotham, Ivimey, Cox, Coles, Edmonds, T. Thomas, Hughes, Kinghorn, and Jos. Hall, who were "filled with astonishment and concern." The reason of this surprising and distrustful communication, as Dr. Carey and Dr. Marshman afterwards intimated, was the alarm they had felt at the proceedings of the sub-committee at Oxford, from which they inferred, assuredly without any ground, that a spirit of domination had arisen, threatening their comfort and usefulness.

In extreme perplexity, the committee meeting resolved, that it was desirable that one of their members should go to India, for the purpose of personal communication with the missionaries; but at another meeting, in August, the proposal was relinquished. The reason assigned was, that some circumstances had arisen which were presumed to render such a measure unnecessary. The author well recollects that Mr. Dyer

had been fixed upon to undertake this voyage; it is to be regretted that the idea was so promptly abandoned. The object was conciliation, and a thorough understanding for the future. Jealousies had sprung up which it was scarcely possible to allay by mere correspondence; and, it was becoming every day more and more evident, were tending to produce alienation. The fine flowing feeling of unlimited confidence and love was materially checked by the death of Mr. Fuller; the missionaries already began to fill their minds with suspicions respecting the new committee, that "knew not Joseph." It cannot, therefore be questioned, that the free and friendly communications which would have ensued upon a visit of the assistant secretary, would have been productive of beneficial consequences. Whether, as we more than half suspect, it might have prevented the vehement bickerings which afterwards led to so much exasperation, cannot now be determined; but in the incipient state of the controversy, Mr. Dyer's judgment, piety, and urbanity, must have been as oil upon the troubled waters. Personal intercourse might have effected, what seemed afterwards impossible, namely, the conviction in their minds, that the proposal of eight trustees in England for the property, was not dictated by a want of confidence in their principles, but by a supposed necessity of fulfilling a public duty, to provide by this, as they thought at the time, the best means of securing the property at Serampore to its proper claimants and uses.

Instead of a visit, however, a letter, dated June 26, 1818, was transmitted, declarative of entire reliance on the wisdom and integrity of their missionaries; but assuring them, in substance, that as the question was not one of personal but public right, the committee felt unable to concur in their measures, and thus surrender the interests of the Society. At a larger committee meeting, held at Birmingham, on the 20th of August, several resolutions were passed confirmatory of these views; and a circular letter was addressed to the friends of the Society, an extract from which, will evince the spirit which animated the committee.

"It is a fact with which you must be well acquainted, that, for many years past, our three senior brethren, Carey, Marshman, and Ward, have been enabled, by the blessing of Divine Providence upon their labors, not only to support themselves and their families, but to expend large sums in the promotion of the gospel around them. So strictly have they acted upon the generous principle laid down by them at the formation of their family union in 1799, that, though their receipts, as individuals, have far exceeded in amount the contributions for the mission which had been sent from this country, their families have derived no pecuniary advantage from this income. All has been devoted to the cause which they have felt to be dear to them as life itself.

"A considerable part of the funds derived from the personal labors of the missionaries already mentioned, has been employed in the purchase and enlargement of the premises at Serampore on which they reside; and as these brethren, the youngest of whom is now forty-nine years of age, begin to anticipate a period in which they must rest from their labors, they have been extremely desirous to devise the best plan of securing these valuable premises, so that they may be permanently devoted to the purpose for which the Society was formed,—viz., the propagation of the gospel among the heathen.

"On this subject, a correspondence has been carried on for some time past, between the Serampore brethren and the committee at home, in the course of which it appeared that some misunderstanding had existed. Not that the great principle, that the premises were sacredly devoted to the cause of God, was ever called in question. This was always most fully recognized on both sides; the only ground of difference respected the best means of securing this end. This point, however, has been very fully considered by the committee assembled in this place, yesterday and to-day; and we are happy to state, that the greatest harmony of sentiment prevailed, and a line of conduct unanimously adopted, which, we trust, will prove perfectly agreeable to all parties."

The annual meeting of the Society was convened at Bristol, September 23 and 24, 1818. This was earlier than usual; and marked as a special but

justifiable deviation, probably, on account of the desirableness of communicating more fully, and as extensively as possible, information respecting the painful discussions that had arisen.

At this time, the necessity of associating with Dr. Ryland a secretary wholly devoted to the service of the mission, was resolved, and Mr. Dyer was chosen to that office. A few months afterwards, measures were adopted to remove the seat of the mission to the metropolis. Circumstances plainly indicated the propriety of this proceeding, though it had been resisted by the original promoters of the mission, partly from a natural attachment to the almost consecrated place of its origin, and partly from the jealous sensitiveness of Mr. Fuller on the subject of London management.

In January, 1819, a meeting of the metropolitan friends of the mission, was convened at Devonshire Square, to form an auxiliary society. This, however, after some discussion, was not deemed expedient; but, instead of it, a committee of five were chosen, to correspond with Dr. Ryland on the subject. The names were those of Newman, Cox, Ivimey, Gutteridge, and Shaw. Dr. Ryland suggested, in reply to a communication from these gentlemen, that the next committee should be held in London, and a few friends meet them as a deputation. On the 30th of March, such a meeting was accordingly held, and proposals were adopted respecting an alteration in the management of the Society, which were to be submitted to a general meeting at Cambridge, on the sixth of October. The main recommendation was, that a central committee of seventeen, besides the treasurer and secretaries, should be formed out of the general committee, who should meet monthly in London, and of whom twelve should be resident in London, and five in the country.

Mr. Ward arrived in England in May. He had left Serampore in the previous December, and was not, therefore, cognizant of the letter from the committee, which reached Serampore a month after his departure. His diplomatic functions were rather implied and understood than formally authenticated. In fact, the avowed objects of his visiting Europe, were the restoration of his health, and the obtaining of pecuniary aid for the college at Serampore. Notwithstanding certain misgivings on the subject, the committee recommended the liberal attention of the British public to the college. He collected, accordingly, in England, £2,600, which was invested in government securities.

The arrangements which had been made with a view to the final adjustment of the disputes with the missionaries, were by no means satisfactory to Mr. Ward. The committee, therefore, solicitous of bringing the affair to a friendly decision, had repeated conferences with him; and having embodied their views in a series of resolutions, dated December 31, 1819, which re-affirmed more explicitly the sentiments previously adopted, Mr. Ward intimated his own concurrence, without pledging his brethren at Serampore. In these resolutions, it was declared, "that the property at Serampore belongs, clearly and unequivocally, to the Society in England, and that it has hitherto been held by the resident missionaries, as trustees for the Society. It is perfectly well known, that on this ground the late revered secretary of the mission, Mr. Fuller, rested his powerful appeals to the British public, and that on the same basis have been principally founded the several applications made at various times, to the British legislature, to his majesty's ministers, and to the East India Company. The committee cannot, therefore, but feel, that, were they to consent to the alienation of the property from the Society, they would violate the confidence reposed in them by the public, and be guilty of a gross dereliction of their duty."

In addition, it was proposed, with a view of securing the appropriation of the Serampore premises to their original object, that all the trusts should be consolidated into one; the existing trustees to unite others with themselves, resident in England. All thought of interference with the *management* of the property at Serampore, was again disclaimed, as well as any sinister purpose which had been suspected in sending out new missionaries.

Dr. Ryland addressed a letter to Dr. Carey and Dr. Marshman, in January, 1820, in which he stated Mr. Ward's concurrence in the resolutions that had

been adopted, the perfect unanimity of the committee, and his hope that they would now be convinced that their suspicions of any unfriendly desire to risk the injury of their domestic comforts were groundless; assuring them that the only anxiety was to preserve their honor and their consistency, and to promote the glory of God. At the same time, as it afterwards appeared, they had adopted what were termed "Articles of Union," at Serampore, but in reality a declaration of independence, with the reservation, that if their union should be reduced to one, who neglected to choose two others, or to write to the Society with that view, for three years and six months, the union should be regarded as dissolved; that to preserve the unity of the Baptist mission, the publication of the intelligence respecting their stations should be committed to the Society; and that the members of the Union, and the Baptist Missionary Society in England, should ever co-operate as brethren in planting and extending the gospel in India. This communication was handed to the committee by Mr. Ward. At a special general meeting, April 25, 1821, it was resolved, after a full discussion, to forward a letter of remonstrance and explanation to Serampore.

The last interview with Mr. Ward took place March 16, 1821, when, after much conversation, particularly on some parts of the letter of April, he appeared to be satisfied with the explanation given, and said that the independence he claimed for Serampore was not the being a distinct society, but such a connection as would secure affectionate co-operation, without interference or control; in which the committee acquiesced.

The answer of the Serampore missionaries to the letter of Dr. Ryland, dated March 11, 1821, contained resolutions which they had adopted July 14, 1820; but which were not transmitted till that period. This document was satisfactory. They reiterated the declaration in the Articles of Union, January 14, 1820, and in their public statement of the 20th, that they purchased the premises at Serampore, with the view of their being perpetually applied to the cause of God in India; and to prevent their becoming private property in their own families, or their being sold by their successors, declared them, in the title deeds, to be purchased in trust for the Society, while, to secure the occupation of them to themselves, and those whom they might choose as their successors, they appointed themselves and certain others trustees, and renewed the assurance that it was their original intention and present wish, that the right of *property* in them should remain for ever vested in the Society. They expressed a doubt whether they could legally alter the deeds on which the three houses were separately purchased; but if they found, upon consulting counsel in India, it was practicable, they would at once select, and associate in trust with themselves, some of the committee at home; so as to secure the right of property to the Society, and the right of occupation and management to the brethren of the Serampore union. This was signed by Carey, Marshman, and John Marshman. It only remained, therefore, that such alterations should be made in the deeds, as would render them unexceptionable; by the property being secured, and the appropriation or use of it definitely fixed. With this expectation, it was to have been hoped that the unquiet elements would have subsided, and peace, harmony, and a confiding co-operation ensue. It was otherwise; subsequent letters showed that while they never carried into execution the proposal to settle the property on a firm and unexceptionable basis, they continued to cherish dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the committee. The lull in the tempest was of short duration; and perhaps strict justice would decide, that at home they were too vehemently, and in too unqualified terms, charged with ambition and cupidity; while the missionaries too severely reflected on the committee as influenced by a spirit of distrust and domination. As a mitigating circumstance, it must be allowed that the sentiments of the body, in either case, were not perfectly expressive of those of every individual member; at least as to the degree of disapprobation.

During these proceedings, a new source of anxiety had arisen. The senior and junior brethren were not agreed; the former imagining that the latter came to them from the Society in somewhat of an assuming spirit, which issued in what they deemed an unwar-

ranted degree of insubordination; the latter thought that the conduct of the seniors was often severe and oppressive. Mutual complaints ensued; but the committee adopted certain resolutions on the 25th of January, 1820, which they regarded as likely to heal the differences between the senior missionaries at Serampore, and the junior missionaries who were associated at Calcutta. Dr. Carey afterwards wrote to Dr. Ryland, "It will afford you pleasure to hear that a termination has been put to the disputes between us and our younger brethren."

In August, 1822, Mr. John Marshman arrived in England, as the accredited representative of the Serampore Union. He submitted to the committee, in writing, his views of the nature of the connection which might be in future considered as subsisting between the Society at home and the missionaries at Serampore; and after frequent conferences, several resolutions were agreed to as the basis of future relationship. The funds originated by the Serampore missionaries, and contributed to their objects, were to be under their exclusive management and control, with an understanding that a portion of the funds for translations be appropriated to the translations conducted by the missionaries of the Society at other stations, in languages distinct from those in which the Serampore missionaries were engaged. The Society was not to interfere with the appointment of successors to the Union at Serampore; and the bonds of union between the Society and the Serampore missionaries were to be,—"1st. In the circumstance of the Serampore missionaries being affiliated to the Society from which they spring. 2d. In active and affectionate co-operation, in regular correspondence, in suggestions for the promotion of the cause, and in mutual assistance when necessary. 3d. In confiding the collections for the institutions connected with Serampore, to the members of the committee, and to their auxiliaries in the country, according to the plan hitherto pursued. 4th. In the Baptist Missionary Society embodying in its annual report the missionary proceedings of their brethren at Serampore, so that the view of all missionary exertions in connection with the Society, be annually laid before the public in an undivided form. 5th. In the freehold property at Serampore being vested in the Society, and ultimately reverting to them for the purposes of the mission, in the event of these purposes ceasing to be carried into execution by the missionaries for the time being at Serampore."

Mr. John Marshman introduced to the notice of the committee the pecuniary necessities of the college; but as the committee were never consulted on its institution, and could not regard the literary department as coming within the scope of a missionary undertaking, he solicited aid on its behalf as a nursery for native missionaries. In order to conciliate their brethren, and comply with their wishes as far as possible, the committee agreed to defray, to the utmost of their power, whatever expenses might be incurred in the preparation of pious natives for the Christian ministry. Six months afterwards, he applied for pecuniary aid towards the stations which the Serampore brethren had taken upon themselves, but which, from the absorbing demands of the college, they were unable to sustain. The committee, however, determined to take such part of the said stations and missionaries on themselves, as they were able, on being furnished with a specification of them; but without waiting for a formal reply, they at once voted £1000, and subsequently transmitted similar sums and other unsolicited contributions.

At this crisis of the negotiations, the Society suffered a severe loss by the death of the Rev. John Saffery, of Salisbury, who had manifested the deepest interest in the mission nearly from its commencement, and had never ceased to render his valuable aid in advocating its claims. He was a native of Hythe, and originally united as a member with the church at Portsea, under the care of the Rev. Joseph Horsey. Soon after being called to the ministry, he was invited to settle at Salisbury, and continued as pastor of the church during a period of thirty-five years, amidst growing usefulness and the undiminished attachment of the people of his charge. The proximate cause of his death was an accident by which he was thrown from a gig, while travelling to collect for the mission in Dorsetshire. He afterwards repaired to Bath, under the advice of a physician; and though evidently in a state of pro-

gressive debility, he continued to exert himself for the mission by making applications to its opulent inhabitants and visitors for its support. As life advanced to its termination, he suffered much pain; but his agonies were endured with the utmost patience. His mind was stayed on God, and he left the world, in the midst of his sorrowing friends and family, with heavenly composure of spirit. He was a plain but powerful advocate of the mission in the pulpit, but still more so in those private appeals by which he induced many to afford their assistance who were before ignorant or averse from its claims. As a member of the committee, his counsels were highly estimated, being the dictate of a judicious mind and a deeply interested heart. He died on the 9th of March, 1825.

Within less than three months after Mr. Saffery's decease, the Society was deprived of a still more important individual,—its early, steady, and distinguished friend, Dr. Ryland. His growing infirmities had for a considerable time furnished but too evident indications of the approach of an event which could not be anticipated without painful emotions by those with whom he had been so long and so harmoniously associated. His death was felt to be the removal of one of those important links that bound Europe and Asia together in Christian fellowship and missionary co-operation, which would require much time, much effort, and much prayer, to replace. In this, however, as in every other instance, the providence of God evidently favored the mission, both by prolonging his valuable life after the decease of Sutcliff and Fuller, and by qualifying others for carrying on its operations.

Dr. Ryland descended from a family distinguished through several generations for their piety. He was born on the 29th of January, 1753, at Warwick, where his father exercised his ministry several years, till he removed to Northampton. He was celebrated for genius and ministerial energy. In 1786, he resigned the pastorship of the church to his son, who had been for some time associated with him, and who not unfrequently exhibited similar peculiarities of mind. At about fourteen years of age, he made a profession of religion; became co-pastor with his father in 1781; and five years afterwards sole pastor. On the death of Dr. Caleb Evans, pastor of the church in Broadmead, and president of the Baptist academy at Bristol, he was invited to become his successor, and removed to that situation in 1793,—the year after he had united with Carey, Fuller, and Sutcliff, in the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society. From this period to the last hour of life, he took a prominent part in its concerns; even more so, in general, than after his appointment as secretary, on account of his then advancing years. He was identified with every movement; and, notwithstanding his various engagements, undertook the task of copying most of the letters he received from India, to be transmitted from time to time to Mr. Fuller and Mr. Sutcliff, for their perusal. These still remain in possession of the Society, as monuments of his untiring zeal in the cause; accompanied by marginal notes, indicative of his opinions on particular facts or persons.

His last illness began in December, 1824. He preached to his young people on the evening of the first Sabbath of the ensuing January, and but little afterwards; his strength gradually declining, till on the 25th of May, at the age of seventy-two, at the close of about fifty-five years of public service, and amidst the universal love of those who knew him, his own frequently expressed desire was fulfilled, "that the Lord would grant him an easy and gentle dismission into his heavenly kingdom."

When the decease of Dr. Ryland was officially announced to the committee, the following record was entered on their minutes. It contains a correct and most appropriate delineation of his useful influence in connection with the Society. "*Resolved*, That the committee, while recording their unfeigned sorrow for the loss they have sustained, by the removal of their late beloved and revered friend and coadjutor, desire also to bless God for the part he was so long permitted to take in the affairs of this institution, which, in a great degree, may be said to have originated in his faith and zeal. They gratefully remember that he intimately shared in all the difficulties and anxieties of the

undertaking, from its very commencement; proved its consistent, affectionate, and successful advocate to his dying day; and, since the decease of the venerable Fuller, has materially promoted its interests in the arduous and responsible post of secretary to the Society. They reflect with pleasing interest on the missionaries who, under his paternal instructions, have been trained for honorable service abroad; and on the greater number of ministering brethren, who, taught by his holy example to feel for the general interests of the Saviour's kingdom, have become the zealous and efficient supporters of the cause at home. But while, by all these considerations, they are reminded of the greatness of their loss, they desire to exercise unshaken faith in Him who raised up their departed friend and his first associates in the work, for the continued supply of those gifts and graces which are necessary to carry forward those operations so happily begun."

Dr. Marshman came to England in June, 1826. The reason of his voyage he states to have been that the brethren at Serampore, not having received a second thousand pounds for the stations, according to a request they had preferred, in acknowledging the former remittance, nor any intimation on the subject, he returned to Europe, under the advice of Dr. Carey, "to lay open to the friends of religion in Britain the state of their missionary affairs, and the prospects opening before them of extending their operations with advantage to the cause, if due aid were obtained." This aid it was proposed to secure, either through the committee, or through friends who might "fully approve of attempting to evangelize India by means of Asiatic and native laborers." On the 11th of July, he met the committee, and found, by a letter then read, which had been sent to Serampore the preceding October, that another thousand pounds had been voted in aid of the stations. With this letter he was dissatisfied, and thought it would disconcert and agitate his aged friend Dr. Carey. This apprehension was founded on the request it contained, with, as he regarded it, an implied threat of discontinuing the supply, were it not conceded, that an account should be given of the expenditure of the money. This request proceeded from no personal feelings of distrust, but from a consideration thus expressed: "In order to meet inquiry, and justify the confidence reposed in us by the body of our subscribers, we feel ourselves compelled to entreat that an account may be rendered of the application of the sums voted for your disposal, from the funds for general purposes."

At a second meeting with Dr. Marshman, August 3, 1826, he proposed that a tenth of the whole income of the Society for general purposes, should be granted annually to the Serampore Union. This was conceded on the condition that regular information be given of the mode in which the money so voted should be expended. A few months afterwards, Dr. Marshman desired to meet the committee again; the members of which were accordingly convened on the 11th of October. He then intimated that the stations connected with Serampore had exceeded the former estimate of £1200 by nearly £300; and it would consequently require a sixth part of what was given for the general purposes of the mission. This demand occasioned some hesitation; and it was determined to call together the whole general committee, which was fixed for March 15, 1827. When they assembled, a paper was read, called a "confidential statement," which had been circulated by Dr. Marshman, representing that £1400 annually would be insufficient to supply the stations; and that £1000 more than this would be required, should he take out with him two Europeans, as he intended, and should six young men now engaged in preparatory studies be employed. If the committee felt themselves incompetent to provide this amount, he suggested that they should take what part they chose, and leave the rest to be furnished by those who felt a peculiar interest in Serampore operations.

A letter had been received from Dr. Carey and John Marshman, before they heard of the grant of a tenth, stating that they had placed upon the funds of the Society four of the stations hitherto supplied by Serampore. This was disapproved by Dr. Marshman, who requested the committee to adhere to his

proposals. After much consideration, it was at length agreed that "the Society should take upon itself to provide for the whole of the stations connected with Serampore, by which the friends there would be relieved, and their union with the Society at home perpetuated." It was also resolved, "that for the management of the out-stations now to be connected with the Society, the whole of our missionary brethren in Calcutta, Serampore, and other stations in Bengal, be requested to act as a corresponding committee; and that it would highly gratify this committee for Dr. Carey to act as president of such corresponding committee."

On the following morning, these proposals were refused by Dr. Marshman, who assigned two reasons: "first, that the distance between Serampore and Calcutta was such as not to allow of a committee to meet so often as the case would require; and secondly, that the ideas entertained by the missionaries at these two stations, on the subjects which would come under discussion, differed so widely as to render their combination most undesirable." This statement was received with profound and universal regret.

As it appeared to the committee that Dr. Marshman's principal objection to the resolutions arose from the proposal to associate the Calcutta missionaries with those at Serampore in the management, it was suggested, on the part of the committee, that the direction might be left in the hands of Drs. Carey and Marshman, during their lives, it being left to the Society to nominate their successors; and such was the anxiety to prevent a separation, that at the close of the day, it was unanimously resolved to appoint a sub-committee of seven, with the chairman and secretary, to confer with Dr. Marshman the next morning, "with a view to devise some plan, if possible, which may preserve perfect union and co-operation between the Serampore friends and the committee."

The sub-committee consisted of Mr. Gutteridge (the chairman); the Rev. Dr. Cox, of Hackney; the Rev. Messrs. Anderson, of Edinburgh; Edmonds, of Cambridge; Hinton, of Reading; Hoby, of Weymouth; Roberts, of Bristol; Mr. Hanson, and the secretary.

The result of the conference with the sub-committee was, that nothing remained, after Dr. Marshman had declared it to be impossible to transfer the stations, but to refer this to the general committee. It was immediately felt that the union between the Society and the Serampore brethren was dissolved; and in a private circular the matter was stated very clearly in the following words,—"The fact is precisely this: deeply sensible of their own responsibility for the proper disposal of public contributions, the committee could not feel themselves justified in appropriating their funds to the maintenance of stations beyond their control, and wholly under the superintendence of a college, the council of which is wholly an irresponsible body, and which is in part only a missionary establishment; especially as any grant of money would not preclude a further application from our brethren, in their separate capacity as a distinct and independent body, to that very public who had previously contributed."

The agreement for a separation was thus publicly announced:—

"*Fen Court, March* 23, 1827.

"Several years ago, it was officially announced, that as the missionaries at Serampore had been enabled so far to exceed the expectations of their first supporters, as largely to promote the propagation of the gospel, by funds which they had themselves originated, a material change had resulted in relation to the Society from which they sprang; in consequence of which, the brethren of that station acted independently in the management of their concerns.

"Subsequent experience has shown that the continued operation of the cause alluded to in the preceding statement, has occasioned considerable embarrassment in the practical arrangements of the Society and their brethren at Serampore. The means of obviating this difficulty, have been seriously considered in a special meeting of the committee assembled to confer with Dr. Marshman on the subject, which has terminated in the full conviction that, under present circumstances, it is most expedient that the Society at home, and the missionaries at Serampore, should be publicly understood to constitute two distinct and independent missionary bodies.

"Under these circumstances, they wish their mutual friends to understand that they feel united, of course, respecting the general advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, and only desire that their respective efforts may be so conducted, as that the blessing of God may rest upon them.

"Signed,

"On behalf of the Baptist Missionary Society, JOHN DYER.

"On behalf of the Serampore brethren, JOSHUA MARSHMAN."

The preceding details will show that the true cause of the separation between the Society and the missionaries at Serampore, was the refusal of Dr. Marshman, acting on behalf of the latter, to render accounts of the distribution of moneys, and his tenacity in retaining the stations under their separate control, in connection with the irresponsible body constituting the College Council. Surely it is a correct principle, from which they, in this instance, departed, that those who originate and continue to contribute to the support of missionary stations, should not only be informed of the objects to which their pecuniary supplies are appropriated, but should also possess a proportionate share of influence, either directly or indirectly, through an acknowledged agency; and that agents, that is, in this case, missionaries, primarily sent out by the funds of the Christian public, are not entitled to act independently while deriving support from the parent institution. The committee, therefore, had no alternative but to yield to the painful necessity of separation.

CHAPTER II.

PROGRESS OF THE MISSION IN INDIA, FROM 1815 TO 1827.

DURING the years 1815, 1816, and 1817, upwards of four hundred were introduced into the churches in India. Adding these to previous accessions, the number of baptized individuals of different nations in seventeen years amounted to nearly twelve hundred. These were diffused through small communities of Christian fellowship; churches indeed in their essential character, though many of them were insignificant in magnitude; but presenting scenes of attractive verdure in the moral wilderness.—"Let no man, then, glory in men; let no flesh glory in His presence; let him that glorieth, glory in the Lord alone. But it is no part of this duty to be blind to what the Lord hath done for his cause, particularly when it bears an aspect towards future blessings; for 'all his works are perfect.' Thus, his continuing his word here; his blessing it so far that more than 1000 of various nations have come forward openly to profess his name; his sending it forth into no less than twenty-five different places in India and the isles, in most of which some degree of fruit has already appeared; his raising up gifts suited to the country (though so much beneath those found in the churches at home), in such a degree that twenty of these stations should spring as it were out of nothing, being formed by those called in India, who, a few years ago, were all unknown to his church; his opening the way for schools to be established, which convey not merely the elements of learning, but ideas which may enable the mind to judge between truth and falsehood, and to burst those adamantine fetters in which it has been so long held; together with his blessing them in such a manner already, that throughout the whole mission, there are scarcely less than 10,000 children of every description, brought, in some way or other, under instruction, and this hitherto done chiefly by means furnished on the spot; surely when we consider what aspect all this bears towards a future harvest of enlightened converts,—of gifts that may spread light and knowledge to the utmost boundary of India, we cannot but feel grateful. But if we also turn to the translations, which already lay open the path of divine knowledge to so many millions; and glance at those in preparation, which will open the way to nearly every

nation from China to the borders of Persia,—nations that, with the Indian Isles, can scarcely include a less number than two hundred millions, besides the hundred and fifty millions China is allowed by all to contain, and with these a full half of mankind, the whole will surely furnish matter for gratitude and encouragement."*

The missionary staff was strengthened in April, 1815, by the arrival of Mr. William Yates. He had been a student at Bristol, and was publicly designated to the service of the mission, at Leicester, on the 31st of August, 1814. An application having been made at that time to the directors of the East India Company for permitting him to proceed to India, it was peremptorily refused, notwithstanding some provisions in a recent act of parliament, of a favorable nature; but an appeal to his majesty's government was at once successful; and he left England in the *Earl Moira*, belonging to Captain Kemp, a member of the church at Serampore, who generously gave him a free passage. Being invited to assist in the station at Serampore, he immediately began to apply himself to the Sungskrit and Bengalee languages, in order to prepare for the important work of translation. He had already made considerable progress in classical literature, while a student at Bristol; and Dr. Carey expressly requested his aid, alleging that he preferred him to any other as his coadjutor. The association was reciprocally pleasing. Mr. Yates thus expressed himself a few months afterwards,—"It affords me the greatest pleasure of an earthly kind that I can enjoy, that I am enabled to please him (Dr. Carey) in what I do."

In the month of August, Manika died suddenly, at Goamalty. Krishna succeeded to his labors in this vicinity; and in a letter addressed to Mr. Skinner, of Bristol, gives a lively description of some of his excursions.—"The writing of Shree-Krishna-Pala: you will know my supplicating letter. Through the love of God, the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the gift of the Holy Spirit, we are all well: you will be informed of this. More particularly: at the festival held at Sadoolla-poora, I read the fifteenth chapter of the 1st Corinthians, and explained it in order. But the brahmins disputed about the doctrine of the resurrection; and asked, 'Are our shasters, then, false?' To this I answered, 'Oh, brahmins, hear this comparison: the corn which you sow is not quickened, except it die; and that seed which is sown, the same springs up: how then can you imagine, that after eighty lacks of transmigration, you will be again born in the human shape; and that during these births you will be jackals, dogs, &c. How can this be? Therefore your own observation devours your shasters. The doctrine of the resurrection is not found amongst you; but now it is for the first time made known; and the resurrection through our Lord Jesus Christ is now published through the four quarters of the world. If you believe in the death and resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, you will obtain salvation; but if you do not, in no other way, in no other refuge, can salvation be obtained. This which I have told you is the true method of redemption.' Before many other people I proclaimed the doctrine of the death of Christ, and gave away many tracts and books.

"Secondly. At the festival of the new moon in Jishta,* at Rama-kela, about ten thousand people were assembled. I proclaimed in the midst of them the news of the death of the Lord Jesus, and gave away books; but being fatigued, I sat down under a very large tree, where many people came and inquired what the books were, which I was giving away. I said, 'Oh, brethren, permit me to quote a verse which is current amongst you—

> The vedas, the sages, the sects, the law books,
> Are all full of contradictions—
> The way of the Great One, that must be followed.

Therefore, brethren, who is this Great One? Amongst you there are three sects—the Shaktas, the Shivyas, and the Vishnuvus; but in these three sects, not a person is to be found, of boundless truth, compassion and mercy. Yet, in our Lord Jesus Christ, these three qualities are complete; he is the Great One; and therefore I confess him, and despising caste, family, and honor, him I follow. He who believes in him shall inherit everlasting life; but he who believes not must endure everlasting misery.' After I had said these words,

* Marshman.

* Part of May, and part of June.

some persons objected; but the Mussulmans defended me. Others said, 'His words are right; for without perfect truth, compassion, and mercy, no one can be a Saviour.' But I cannot, in a letter, write every thing. I have written this for your information. This: date, 21st June."

On the 11th of January, 1816, Messrs. Lawson and Eustace Carey were set apart to the pastoral office in Calcutta. After the laying on of hands by the three elder pastors, Dr. Carey addressed them on their solemn undertaking, and Dr. Marshman counselled the church.

In September, Mr. and Mrs. Randall arrived from England in the *Moira*, accompanied by several missionaries belonging to other societies. This fellowship by the way seemed to be prognostic of their subsequent union of heart amidst diversity of operations.

On the 1st of the ensuing February, Mr. and Mrs. Penney arrived; the former having been trained to the Lancasterian system, was sent by the Society to take charge of the Benevolent Institution.

Mr. J. W. Ricketts, secretary to the English resident at Amboyna, and afterwards to the Bible Society, converted under the ministry of Jabez Carey, considering it his duty to return to Bengal and exert himself for the salvation of his countrymen, went to Moorshudabad, the ancient metropolis of Bengal, opened a native school, and engaged in useful conversation with the natives. His plan was to pay weekly visits to Berhampore. He found some encouragement, but was at length compelled by ill health to retire to Serampore; and as nearly all the members of the church had removed, the station was discontinued. As a compensation, the station at Dacca was renewed by Mr. Leonard's assiduity in watching over the schools.

About eight miles from Serampore, Tarachund was diligently and successfully employed in missionary labors at Gundulpara. He had gathered around him a number of intelligent young men, of whom some were brahmins, who eagerly sought instruction, and continually held long conversations with him at appointed meetings. On these occasions, they often sung hymns which he had composed. He also wrote several pamphlets recommending the gospel; one of which the missionaries mention as containing a candid and judicious examination of the chief parts of Hindooism. They employed him further in translating some practical works, such as Baxter's Call, into Bengalee. On one occasion, he wrote in the following strain to Mr. Ward, which may afford a specimen of happy combination in him of ardent piety and oriental imagination: "The Lord's garden is filled with singing birds, which sing so joyfully the praises of the God of the spring, that the hearts of the hearers are charmed. On this and the last Lord's day, a boy, of the weaver caste, sung hymns to Christ with us in the presence of his father, who seemed pleased, and listened to the word of God with attention. The same boy, with several others, inwardly renounced idolatry. Their conduct, both in my presence and absence, makes me thankful unto the Lord, who works wonderfully among the heathen."

About eight miles northwest of Calcutta, and ten northeast of Serampore, was the military station of Dum Dum. A neat place of worship was erected; some European preached every week, and, at the request of Hale, Kymer, and Flatman, who were stationed there, Ram Mohun preached in Bengalee and Hindee. Success attended this effort; and in the course of 1817, nine were baptized, six natives and three English soldiers in the artillery, and added to the little church, then amounting to fourteen members.

Seventeen evangelical laborers from Europe, including three pious clergymen, were at that time devoting themselves to the important district of Serampore, Calcutta, and its neighborhood. Of the Baptist denomination, Carey, Marshman, Ward, Randall, and Pearce, were at Serampore; Lawson, E. Carey, Yates, and Penney, were at Calcutta. These missionaries, and the agents of the London Missionary Society, and the Church Missionary Society, lived in perfect harmony. Party feelings appeared to melt away beneath the genial glow of Christian sentiment. A similar result has since been frequently observed; arising, probably, in part from the subduing effect of distance from home upon most minds, and in part from an increased impression of the difficul-

ties attendant upon the propagation of the gospel in the dark regions of a wide-spread heathenism.

At the distant and somewhat desolate station of Agra, Mr. Peacock mentioned a happy change that had rewarded his assiduity, in a family brought out of popery into the kingdom of Christ. His general prospects, however, were far from flattering, and he had no aid from itinerants, though he frequently repaired to the ghauts to speak to the people. In April, 1816, he left this situation, to take charge of the school connected with the Benevolent Institution at Calcutta. Mr. Chamberlain early succeeded him; thus returning to his labors in that vicinity.

The instructions of Mr. Moore, at Digah, in the 66th regiment, were highly estimated by them, and very useful. The three pastors, Widderburn, Nicholas, and Archer, expressed their sense of his paternal care and successful efforts, in an affectionate letter to him, dated from the Grass Tabernacle, Dinapore, &c. Twelve appear to have been made converts by his ministry. He speaks with great satisfaction of the aid afforded him by Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain; the latter assisted in the school. The 24th, 14th, 66th, and for a short period the 87th, regiments were successively with them. In the three former, churches were formed. The appearances, both among natives, and a considerable number of persons whose mothers were natives, belonging to the regiments that had been there, and non-commissioned officers in native battalions, and also among Europeans, were of the most gratifying description.

At Guya, or Gayah, about sixty miles south-west of Patna, comprising a district of ten miles in length, and one in breadth, Mr. Fowles resided on his own estate, which, as a native of India, he was entitled to hold. He spoke almost every day to the natives and others, in his own bungalow, and visited several surrounding villages, to make known the word of life. Many appeared to be convinced of their errors, and were much impressed by the gospel. He was afterwards assisted by Rughro, a native reader.

De Bruyn zealously persevered in his work at Chittagong, till being removed by death, he was succeeded by Reveilo. In March, 1816, he says that there were seven whom he should have baptized, had they not been deterred by the rich Mugs, who threatened to cut them in pieces, and then bribe the native judge, on whom they knew well how to calculate, to screen them. Khasso relates that the word was every where received with joy, and that one of the head priests at Hurbang declared his belief in the Scriptures, and cut down the trees that he had formerly worshipped, to make seats for the people to sit upon and hear the preaching of the gospel. The converted Mugs talked freely with their countrymen; and several of them had obtained a small boat to go from village to village to carry the tidings of salvation. Many unconverted Mugs of their own accord visited the Christian Mugs upon the mountains, to inquire after the new way. De Bruyn, one day, after addressing about three hundred at a market, heard them saying, as they retired, "we believe all this;" and on another occasion, "if we do not become Christians, our grandchildren will." By the month of June, 1816, he had baptized thirty-three Mugs.

The system of itinerating was conducted at Cutwa upon a large scale. Fourteen natives were employed; some to preach, and others to read and distribute the Scriptures. Their journals, which were regularly transmitted to Serampore, displayed their persevering diligence. In addition to his various modes of instruction, Mr. Carey set up a weaver's shop, to teach the art of weaving to the children of native Christians,—an excellent device to attach civilization to the train of Christianity. In the autumn of 1817, Mr. Hart was sent to aid him in his labors, and more especially, to be prepared by him for the occupancy of a separate station.

The efforts of Mr. Thomas in Jessore, in connection with the labors of several native brethren, were attended with a Divine blessing, though the general progress of Christianity was not rapid. Pleasing instances occurred of the happy deaths of converted natives, who evinced the stability of their Christian character amidst the final triumphs of their faith. Mr. Thomas found it at length expedient to move from Chougacha, which was only a small village,

to Saheb-gunj, the central town of the district, where he met with success, and gathered round him four native itinerants.

About a hundred miles to the east, at Dacca, a native, Ram Prisaud, was usefully occupied. A flourishing school was established for the instruction of indigent children bearing the Christian name; five others were opened in the Bengalee language; and one for teaching the Persian, which was chiefly filled with Mohammedan youth. Two Jews were converted, and publicly professed Christianity; and several villages visited, consisting of Roman Catholic Hindoos. The priests, however, successfully opposed the establishment of schools for scriptural instruction.

A letter was addressed to Mr. Eustace Carey, by Alexander Wedderburn, dated January 5, 1816, which furnishes pleasing evidence of the state of religion in the army churches of the 66th and 18th regiments. They were accustomed to assemble in the quarter-master-serjeant's tent of the latter. Eighteen were in communion, and many attended their worship. "We have joined in communion with the 24th once, and should nothing prevent, intend assembling with them for that purpose next Lord's day. We receive the ordinance in the open air, with the heavens for a canopy, and surrounded on all sides with a waste howling wilderness. Thus administered, it has a peculiarly solemn tendency; here it is that we are led to feel the preciousness of a Saviour, and to bear the troubles of this life with patience and fortitude, counting them as nothing, so that we may win Christ, and be found in him. Yes: Jesus is to us, as the prophet expresses it, 'a hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest, as rivers of water in a dry place, and as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.' We have to lament the fall of some; of three of these we have no hope, fearing they never were partakers of divine grace; others, we trust, will be restored. Two hopeful young men of the artillery are in communion with us, who joined the church at Digah, before we left Dinapore. Thus the Lord is accomplishing his will, and we are led to say, great and wonderful are his ways."

In Amboyna, Jabez Carey was appointed second member of the College of Justice; an office which he said he could scarcely decline; but as little was to be done, it would be no impediment to the discharge of his more important duties.

In March, 1817, the island was delivered over to the Dutch government, who, however, accepted Mr. Carey's services, allowing him to retain both his situations of superintendent of schools, and member of the College of Justice. He wrote to his father that he had saved a thousand Spanish dollars to be returned to the mission; and, with laudable disinterestedness, declared that as long as he had health and strength, he was resolved never to cease working for his own support, persuaded that this was the duty of a minister whenever it was practicable.

At the moment when the mission in Java appeared to be strengthened by the arrival of a young man of great promise, Thomas Trowt, his career was suddenly arrested by the hand of death. He was a native of Kingsbridge, in Devon; but having removed to Plymouth, where his intellectual endowments, as well as his religious character, attracted attention, he joined the church in How's Lane, then under the pastoral care of Mr. Dyer. He took a deep interest in the welfare of the church, and chiefly through his efforts, a Sunday school of considerable extent was established; but at length, after much self-examination and fervent prayer, he devoted himself to the mission, and was accepted as a probationer in October, 1812. In August, 1813, he went as a student to Bristol, where his progress was highly respectable; and in 1814, a member of the society of Friends having generously offered a free passage in a ship proceeding to Java, he proceeded to that destination. During his stay in Batavia, he preached as frequently as health would permit, to the British soldiers stationed there, and had the satisfaction of believing that some were converted to God. He baptized three about a fortnight before his departure for Samarang, where he arrived in May, 1815, and preached to an increasing congregation, with evidences of success. He was also well received in the villages.

It was not long, however, before his health became precarious. "Every thing," he remarked, "around me invites and urges me to labor. My heart is set on it; my indisposition is not such as to deprive me of all power to engage in it; but the required attention tends immediately to make me worse. O, for the moment when I shall be liberated, and enabled to serve the Lord without fear!"

In January, 1816, he solicited permission of the governor to remove to Salatiga, should his health require it. He also proposed to him the idea of some plan for the general education of the Javanese, to which he appeared to assent; and afterwards expressed his opinion that Salatiga would be suitable for such an establishment, on account of its salubrity and central situation, spoke of assigning him the government house, and directed a person to assist him in preparing a prospectus. After waiting repeatedly on this gentleman in vain, he addressed the Hon. T. S. Raffles, the lieutenant-governor of the island and its dependencies. In this memorial, he referred to the Rev. Mr. Bruckner, as having offered to instruct any Javanese youths who might desire it, in the Dutch language. On the 9th of March, he received a reply from the governor. In consequence of his illness, and the appointment of a successor in the government, he had left the affair to the consideration of the new council. Thus terminated his expectations. About the same time, Mr. Bruckner joined the Baptist community.

Mr. Trowt continued to visit Serandole, for the purpose of preaching; and though he speaks of his disorder as rather increasing, it did not prevent his public services. After having changed his residence for a house belonging to Mr. Bruckner, at Bujong, in August, he determined, under medical advice, to remove for a short time to Salatiga, to try a colder climate. Finding no benefit by this change, he returned, in September, to Samarang,—a change which appeared for a season to be favorable; but all hopes were speedily disappointed, and on the 25th of October, he quietly, and at an early hour, slept in Jesus. Throughout the whole of his illness, he manifested the utmost degree of calmness and resignation. During his whole life, he was much addicted to self-examination, and frequently indulged in solemn realizations of judgment and eternity. He was thus eminently prepared for the transition from the labors of earth to the rest of heaven.

On his return from Ava, Felix Carey found the boat in which he had been wrecked, and recovered some articles, particularly the manuscript of a dictionary he had been engaged in preparing. The press, also, was preserved, but the types had disappeared. A copy of the translation of the gospels had been left with Mr. Judson. When the Rangoon government showered its honors on Mr. Carey, his father gave vent to his feelings in writing to Dr. Ryland, in these remarkable words, "my son is shrivelled from a missionary into an ambassador;" language which every right thinking person will know how to appreciate; but which probably very few, even Christian parents, would have employed.

On the 30th of April, 1816, Mr. Judson states that he had finished the first draft of a tract in Burman. About this time, Mr. and Mrs. Hough, with their two children, and Mrs. White, appointed by the Baptist Board for Foreign Missions, of the United States, arrived at Calcutta, on their way to assist Mr. Judson. After the lapse of a few months, Mr. Judson and Mr. Hough, in a joint letter to Serampore, say, that though in many respects their situation was dismal and solitary, yet they hoped to remain in Burmah, where, notwithstanding some abortive efforts, they considered the mission as established. They were particularly gratified by the possession of a press, and hoped to turn it to good account. In June, 1817, the translating and printing of the gospel by Matthew, which had cost four months' labor, was completed; and, stimulated by Mr. Hough, Mr. Judson began a Burman Dictionary from materials he had been long accumulating. They were daily cheered with the expectation of good effects produced by their translations. Henceforth the Burman mission may be regarded as transferred to the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions.

Mr. Chater was stedfast and persevering in his efforts in Ceylon, aided materially by the co-operation of Mr. Siers and his Cingalese teacher. He

and his wife suffered a severe affliction in 1815, by the loss of two sons sent to Europe for education, in the ship *Armiston*, which struck on a rock in Black Bay, near the Cape, when nearly all on board perished. This trial was borne with an exemplary resignation; and while it distressed his mind, it did not impede his pious efforts. He greatly deplored his inability to produce any effect in Columbo, by preaching in Cingalese; he could not even collect ten persons, though he found some opening at a village called Jael. But in Portuguese in the Pettah, and in English in the fort, he had some encouragement. He particularly refers to the distribution of a tract of scripture extracts. He says the people were ready to devour him for them; and the Catholics sought them as well as the Protestants. He prepared a grammar in Cingalese, which was much approved, and was enabled at length to carry forward the translation of the Scriptures, after the lamented death of Mr. Tolfrey, his associate in the work.

A new station was begun at Hangwell, twenty miles from Columbo, on the road to Kandy, whither Mr. Siers went to introduce the gospel; and in July, 1820, a small church was formed, over which he presided. Mr. Griffiths resided at Point de Galle, eighty miles from Columbo, where he engaged in preaching, and establishing schools; but his health could not sustain the climate.

The labors of Carapeit Aratoon at *Surat* were continued with incessant zeal, but little visible success. Hope, however, and faith sustained him. The following extract of a letter evinces his spirit: "I see that the difficulties at Surat are almost gone; I hope we shall rejoice hereafter in seeing the good seed sown in this dry and thirsty land spring up. Many copies of the New Testament and various tracts have been distributed; and though I do not see present fruit, yea, should I die without seeing the fruit, yet surely the brother who succeeds me will rejoice in the harvest which shall be gathered in here. Therefore I hope that my brethren, when they are on their knees, will address the throne of the great King of Israel that he may pour down his Spirit on this people, and direct them how to come out of the thick wilderness, and that I may have some success such as I had when stationed at my old and dearer place, Jessore. I am very glad to inform you that here is a young Hindoo who wishes to embrace the gospel." On another occasion he writes, "I am daily out among the natives of Surat, proclaiming the tidings of our Lord Jesus. Sometimes I have a whole crowd to hear me quietly, sometimes but few, sometimes can get none to attend, and sometimes they all set themselves against me. At times a few come to our house. Thus thousands have heard the word of life, and many have received the gospels and religious tracts in their own language; some seem to hear with joy, and many have sent the gospels to their own country. Surely all shall not be in vain. Let us keep all our hopes fixed on the Lord."

The city of *Benares*, the seat of Hindoo learning and superstition, had long been an object of solicitude; and Mr. William Smith, who had been converted by John Peter, was sent thither in the latter end of 1817, from Orissa; on his way, he distributed the Scriptures in various languages, and many appeared to be roused to serious thought. He soon reaped the first-fruits of his early labors, in the public profession of Christianity by a brahmin, Rama Dass, who afterwards continued to display much anxiety for the conversion of his countrymen. In the establishment of schools he was assisted by a wealthy native; and the boys in them are said to have manifested great pleasure in reading the Scriptures. The enemy, however, came in like a flood; and some persons were so intimidated by the threats of their former companions, as to abandon their attendance upon Christian instruction. Still the station was well maintained.

In consequence of various impediments to the exercise of his missionary functions in *Amboyna*, Jabez Carey left the island, and returned to Bengal. Soon afterwards an extensive sphere of usefulness presented itself in the provinces which had been recently added to the British territory, under the name of Rajpoothana. The relinquishment of this insular station, however, was succeeded by the occupation of another. Nathaniel Ward, nephew of Mr. Ward, of Serampore, went with a printing-press

to Sumatra, a central spot for the diffusion of the gospel in the islands of the eastern Archipelago.

Versions of the whole Scriptures were now printed in five different languages, viz., the Bengalee, Sungskrit, Orissa, Mahratta, and Hindee. Copies of the New Testament in the Telinga, Pushtoo, and Kunkuna, had been presented to the committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and editions in fourteen other languages were passing through the press, under the immediate inspection of Dr. Carey. Thirteen presses were engaged in this mighty enterprise of sending the streams of life through the eastern nations.

In the native schools, besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, the elements of useful knowledge were given, in grammar, astronomy, natural philosophy, geography, history, and other sciences. They were as follows:—

	Schools.	Children.
Calcutta Benevolent Institution,	1	220
" other schools,	2	50
Serampore and neighborhood,	92	7188
Cutwa,	11	854
Moorshudubad,	3	200
Dacca,	7	507
Dinagepore,	1	50
Digah and neighborhood,	3	100
Chittagong,	1	30
Ceylon,	3	150
	126	9349

In contemplating the events which occurred from 1819 to 1827 inclusive, it will not be necessary to dwell upon details belonging to subordinate stations; those only of greater importance being sufficient to show the general progress of the Indian mission.

During Mr. Ward's absence in England, the station at SERAMPORE was deprived of the valuable services of Mr. Randall, by his death. He was extremely well qualified for that department he had filled,—the manufacture of paper; besides that, his pious zeal induced him frequently to embrace opportunities of recommending the gospel to the natives. The erection of the college upon a scale of great magnificence, engaged much attention at Serampore. It was begun in 1818. The entire premises on which it was built comprised about eight acres. The buildings were estimated to cost at least ten thousand pounds. In referring to the differences between the missionaries and the committee, it has already been intimated that to the latter it appeared an objectionable scheme; and its subsequent failure justified their apprehensions. In the splendid idea of a literary institution, which, however, was but very partially applicable to missionary purposes, the cost was not sufficiently considered, nor the probability of rival projects being undertaken, which might prove detrimental to its interests. But if there were a tincture of ambition in the scheme, which piety might deplore, allowances ought to be made for human weakness, and the force of the temptations with which individuals so circumstanced and so honored must have been assailed. It appears at first not unnaturally to have arisen out of the success of the schools, in which more than ten thousand native children were educated,—the assurance that they either possessed, or were able to command suitable persons for the undertaking,—and the glowing anticipations they would naturally indulge respecting a vast enterprise of their own origination. The committee were willing to afford all the aid they legitimately could, by appropriating sums for the native department, as has been seen; nevertheless, their prognostications, at the time, of empty halls of science, were too literally and deplorably realized. But although it were a magnificent failure, a veil of Christian candor ought to be cast over both the men and the measures.

In order to counteract the spirit of thoughtless improvidence, a Savings' Bank was established at Serampore, which was universally approved. Dr. Carey also formed an Agricultural and Horticultural Society, which was patronized by the governor-general. Several of the most opulent natives joined it. "I hope," says Dr. Carey, "it will ultimately be of great benefit to the country, and contribute to prepare its inhabitants for the time when they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks."

In the early part of 1823, the united band of missionary confederates at Serampore were visited with deep affliction in the almost sudden death of their beloved and long tried associate, Mr. Ward. He had returned from Europe a comparatively short time, to resume his work; but it was at an end, or rather it was transferred to a nobler sphere of activity,—for in heaven "His servants shall serve Him."

William Ward was born at Derby, October 20th, 1769, and was apprenticed to a printer at Hull, where he united with the church in George street. Upon giving some indications of ministerial talents, he was sent to receive suitable instruction from Dr. Fawcett of Ewood Hall. His missionary spirit soon evinced itself, and he determined to devote his energies exclusively to the welfare of the heathen world. He is mentioned in the early records of the Society as the first person whose qualifications appeared to be unexceptionable, after the choice of Mr. Carey, with whom he obtained some acquaintance previously to his quitting England; and who said to him, "if the Lord bless us, we shall want a person of your business to print the Scriptures; I hope you will come after us." This hint remained upon his mind, and influenced his future determinations. On the 7th of May, 1799, he and Mr. Brunsdon were solemnly designated to the work of the mission in India, at Olney. In reply to the questions proposed on the occasion by Mr. Fuller, he stated that he was constrained by the command of Christ to go into all the world and preach his gospel, and encouraged by the promise of his gracious presence. "While I was at Ewood Hall," said he, "I received an invitation to carry the gospel and a printing-press to India, where brother Carey and others have erected the standard of the cross. I prayed to God and advised with my friends. In complying with this request, I gave up all other prospects, and devoted myself to that of attempting to bless a nation of heathens. Since that time, my peace and joy in God have more and more abounded. Duty and pleasure have in my employment gone hand in hand. Sometimes I have been enabled to say,

'No joy can be compared to this,
To serve and please the Lord.'

In his strength, therefore, I would go forth, borne up by your prayers, hoping that two or three stones at least may be laid of the foundation of Christ's kingdom in India, nothing doubting but that the fair fabric will rise from age to age, till time shall be no more."

On his arrival at Calcutta, in October, 1799, he proceeded to Serampore, and thence to Mudnabatty, where Mr. Carey resided, whom he induced to remove, for the purpose of consolidating the mission at Serampore. Mr. Ward married Mrs. Fountain in May, 1802. In July of the following year he was appointed deacon; and on the 6th of October, 1805, he and Mr. Marshman were called to associate with Mr. Carey as pastors of the church.

He devoted many years to the compilation of a work of considerable magnitude on "the Religion and Manners of the Hindoos," which appeared in 1811, in four quarto volumes. It was afterwards much improved, and published in England in two octavos, where it has ever been esteemed a standard work upon the subject.

During his visit to England, in 1819, he travelled much and preached often for the mission. He also made collections for the Serampore college, and went to Holland and America for the purpose. He left on the 28th of May, 1821, for Bengal, which he reached in company with Mrs. Marshman and other missionaries on the 24th of September. A few months after this he died of cholera, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. It is remarkable that the same ship which conveyed a letter from him, stating that he, with all the family, were in health, communicated to Europe also the tidings of his sudden departure, on the 7th of March, 1823.

Mr. Ward was distinguished by fidelity and zeal in his Master's cause; by warmth of affection and general affability. In the various relations in which he stood to the missionary cause, as a pastor, printer, journalist, occasional itinerant, and author of the "Religion and Manners of the Hindoos," and "Farewell Letters," he acquired high reputation. The work for which God pre-eminently qualified and providentially devoted him was, the *printing* of the Scriptures in India. In his own diary he entered, during his voyage out, the words, "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should *print* among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ;" and on him was conferred the honor of doing this to an unparalleled extent; for, at the time of his decease, he had advanced to the printing of the *twentieth* version of the New Testament in the languages of India, under his own immediate inspection. In the preparation of the founts of

types which they required, his singular competency in the knowledge of his art, and his nice discernment, were associated with a love of souls that inspired indefatigable diligence and perseverance.

Though Mr. Ward was by no means eminent as a preacher, yet he was capable of producing a powerful impression by the simplicity of his details, and a certain degree of pathos in his appeals. His public discourses showed the heart of a missionary; but his private intercourse had the air of reserve, which, during his appearance in England, might have been superinduced, or at least considerably increased by the peculiar circumstances under which he came, and the difficulty of the negotiations he had to conduct with the committee, as the representative of the Serampore body. He possessed much good sense, however, but it was somewhat deteriorated by a tendency to tenacious adherence to preconceived opinions.

His devotional character was of a high order; and it is due to his memory to record that during the whole period of his visit to this country, he enforced, with reiterated appeal and successful urgency, the duty of earnest prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. This was his great,—it might be almost said to have been the only theme in his public ministrations; and by the constancy, as well as the diversity of his representations on this subject, he was instrumental in awakening an extraordinary ardor of devotion in the British churches. This final development of excellence as a Christian missionary will contribute greatly to enhance the well-earned reputation which will transmit his name to distant times. The intense anxiety which thus modified and elevated his character, appeared to acquire increasing power as he approached, though without apprehending it, the confines of eternity. It accompanied him to India, and to his dying hour. One of the last, if not the last letter he ever wrote, was addressed to the brethren Peggs and Bampton, at Cuttack, and contains these sentences,—"How do you feel in your desires after the Holy Spirit? We can have no hope of success, but as we are brought to a believing dependence on his influences, and an earnest solicitude to obtain them." Thus lived Ward; thus he died; and be his memory honored!

The junior missionaries at Calcutta labored with indefatigable zeal and success. In the report of 1819, it is stated that fifty thousand tracts, in English, Bengalee, Sungskrit, and Hindee, had been put into circulation by means of the press conducted by Mr. Pearce; and a Sungskrit grammar was about to be issued by Mr. Yates. The schools had proceeded favorably, and a small beginning had been made in female instruction by the formation of two schools for that purpose. These became increasingly attended, and no fewer than six were established by the close of the ensuing year. Impressed, also, with the great importance of preaching the word, they increased the number of their places of native worship. In particular, a new station was formed at Doorgapore, about four miles north of the city, occupied at first by Mr. Adam, and afterwards by Mr. Eustace Carey. The native Paunchoo frequently preached there. In a letter to the Society, signed by Lawson, Eustace Carey, Yates, Penney, W. H. Pearce, and W. Adam, they say, with reference to Doorgapore: "This place, in point of situation, is very advantageous for missionary purposes. It is so far out of the city, as to possess all the quiet of the country, and yet so contiguous, that in ten minutes we can get into the thickest of the population. The front of the ground borders on an excellent road, that serves as a great thoroughfare between Calcutta and a number of very populous villages. On this road numerous congregations are collected every day, and no interruption has at all been offered, and tracts are distributed in considerable numbers. We are now constructing a chapel for Bengalee worship, on the edge of this road, where we hope worship will be conducted once or twice a day; and an additional house for inquirers is also nearly finished."

The missionaries express themselves in terms of lamentation over the general state of the city. Many indeed heard their addresses, assented to their doctrines, received and perused their tracts and Scriptures; but remained in a state of moral insensibility, although

a new chapel for English worship was constructed two miles from that in the Lol Bazar, and opened in March, 1821; and in several of the regiments belonging to the army, auxiliary societies for missionary purposes were formed. About this period, the missionaries were much afflicted by Mr. William Adam having embraced sentiments which necessarily led to the dissolution of his connection with the Society; while, on the other hand, Mr. Statham was added to the missionary union. They had also been joined by Mr. Harle, a young missionary of great promise, but he died after an illness of about three months' duration, in August, 1822. This bereavement was followed by another loss in Arunda, a Christian brahmin; and yet a third in Krishno; thus, as they observed, "the first and last of the native converts in this country finished their course nearly together. Both died in full hope of eternal life."

In his "Indian Recollection," Mr. Statham has furnished an interesting account of his settlement at Howrah, a populous village on the western bank of the Hoogly. No place of worship existed there; so that few of the inhabitants could enjoy the privileges of the Sabbath, as it was hazardous to cross the river, especially during the rainy season. Mr. E. Carey had frequently visited the place, and preached in a small bungalow belonging to a Protestant Portuguese, as well as to the natives in the bazar. Sebukram had also been actively engaged for some years in proclaiming the gospel at Sudpore and the neighborhood; but no plan had been followed to supply the inhabitants of Sulkea and Howrah, till it was arranged for Mr. Statham to preach there regularly. Many were the dangers which he encountered in traversing the Hoogly at all seasons; but these did not prevent his perseverance, or in any degree check his zeal.

The bungalow in which they met for worship being soon found too small, a large puckah house was rented, and paid for by the congregation. Soon after this, a part of the old orphan house was fitted up by government as a chapel, so that Howrah was now supplied with two places of Protestant worship. As the congregation of Mr. Statham rapidly increased, a commodious sanctuary was soon erected by subscription; and two bungalows were built for native worship, together with school houses in all the neighboring villages. Mr. Statham formed an institution for the children of European and Indo-British families; and very soon fifty or sixty boarders resorted to it from all parts of Bengal. He commenced an Auxiliary Missionary Society, and was for some years secretary to the Calcutta Bible Association, and to the Calcutta Bethel Society; the duties connected with which, as well as some other institutions, he was enabled to perform, owing to the vigor of a constitution which enabled him to cross and recross the river continually in the intensest heat of an Indian sun. Having been, however, attacked by a malignant fever, he was necessitated to leave for England.

The missionaries at Calcutta were frequently interrupted in their labors by severe illness. At length, in 1824, Mr. E. Carey was compelled to quit his station, and seek the renovation of his health by a return to Europe. His labors and observations will be best given in his own words;*—

"I went out as a missionary to India early in the year 1814, being the first who was sent forth by our Society after the renewal of the East India charter in the preceding year. The various and vexatious annoyances to which our mission had been exposed from the presiding authorities had ceased, never to be revived. Much favor at this time was also shown to the mission by the influential and wealthy classes of the British community, whose opinions had been modified, and their feelings conciliated to the characters, if not to the primary objects of the missionaries, from the general utility of their labors to the social interests of society,—by the literary reputation they had acquired, and by the honorable and responsible appointment to which the senior among them† had now been preferred in the College of Fort William. Several oriental translations were in a state of forwardness; and many infant missionary stations, some under European superintendence, and others conducted by country-born and native brethren, had been commenced.

* Communicated in a letter to the author

† Dr. Carey.

"In Calcutta also, the metropolis of British India, a variety of useful labors were in progress. Amongst these was a school established by the efforts of the senior missionaries for the children of all the humbler classes of society, comprehended between the English on the one side and the aboriginal inhabitants on the other, not excluding, however, any from either of these extremes, who might be desirous of securing its advantages. It was formed upon the monitorial and popular system. In both departments, boys and girls, it has averaged three hundred pupils. It has now been thirty years in successful operation; and thousands have been the young people who have proceeded from its forms, qualified by good elementary and religious training to discharge respectably the duties of life. It has always been a favorite institution with the British public, and was liberally supported for more than twenty years by their free contributions. Of late it has been sustained by the supreme government, who apportion to it a measure of the funds recently set apart by them for educational purposes. For many years it was under the superintendence of our beloved brother and fellow-laborer, Mr. James Penney, an early and very esteemed pupil of the celebrated Joseph Lancaster. He was very competent to his charge. Thoroughly knowing the system, and fervently admiring it, as he did also its honored founder, he was determinately persistent in all its essential details; and yet too much a man of common sense, and too generous and independent in his mental character, to be holden in servile subjection to a prescribed routine, when varying of forms and multiplying useful and grateful pursuits would stimulate and inform his pupils. He therefore introduced many refreshing and elevating studies in natural history, science, and religion. In the duties of this station, and in the many useful labors in which he took a part, he was as regular in his habits as the very clock-work system into which he had been drilled; and exemplarily punctual in all his engagements, he disappointed no one's expectations, disturbed no one's convenience, irritated no one's feelings, drew upon no one's forbearance; yet was he perfectly free from all the figetiness and teasing of almost all exact time-keeping men, for he kindly bore in others with the want of what he highly appreciated and exemplified himself: a dear companion, never to be forgotten by those who shared his friendship. Full of love, his boys lived in his heart. He, in consequence, lived in theirs. Fragrant is his name to thousands, and long and grateful will be the esteem in which his labors will be holden in India.

"In 1816, I and my brother, Mr. John Lawson, at the recommendation of the senior missionaries, came to reside in Calcutta. We were united in the pastorate of the church in the Bow Bazar, whilst it was my duty to acquire also the Bengalee language, attend to native converts and inquirers, and to preach the gospel to the heathen. I was the first missionary of our denomination or of any other, as far as I am aware, who was resident in that city as a missionary devoted to the heathen, a city containing in itself and with a circle of a few miles a population of nearly 1,000,000 souls. The members of the church and congregation were scattered over a wide surface; and we devoted one day in every week to visiting them, holding a religious service with each family. We had one or two meetings in commodious houses each week, for prayer and exposition of the Scripture, at which many friends besides those of our denomination were present. Two or three services a week we held in Fort William, which were well attended by the soldiers, many of whom were brought into church fellowship, and were truly devout and exemplary Christians: some of them yet live, and to this day 'show forth the praises of Him who called them out of darkness into his marvellous light.'

"About a year afterwards, I was compelled through severe indisposition to proceed up the country for change of air, when Mr. Yates, who was assisting Dr. Carey in the important work of translation at Serampore, kindly supplied the necessary services in Calcutta. During this time, painful economical differences arose between ourselves and the senior members of our missionary body; but neither party, while maintaining their respective views of the subjects at issue, abated their zeal, or diminished their labors in the special

and great work to which they were devoted.

"Upon my return from the upper provinces, Mr. Lawson, myself, Yates, and Penney, united our counsels and our several incomes, for the greater unity and efficiency of our labors. In a short time we were joined by Mr. William Adam, who subsequently retired from us. Mr. William Hopkins Pearce was also soon added to our circle. We were now strong in number and united in purpose. An auxiliary missionary society was soon formed for supplying funds to assist us in our missionary work, which was liberally encouraged by the Calcutta public. It has since provided for the support of our native preachers, and furnished the means for publishing hundreds of thousands of religious tracts in various languages. By the resources thus afforded, we procured ground, and erected several native chapels in which to hold worship, to dispute with the natives, and promulge the gospel to the utmost of our power. In these small sanctuaries we spent most of our Sabbath mornings, and visited one or other of them each day in the week. Here we gave away many thousands of tracts and copies of the gospels; and great were the numbers of the natives, Hindoo, Mohammedan, and Portuguese, who obtained by these labors some knowledge of the way of life. Here, too, and in this manner, we obtained some degree of boldness and ease in speaking the language.

Thus began our native work in Calcutta. Our first efforts were doubtless weak and imperfect, so much so as to induce deep humility and self-renunciation as often as the mind recurs to them; but some degree of sincerity and zeal was mingled with them, and God's gracious blessing was not altogether withholden. Our independent brethren followed in the same line of labor.

"Soon after Mr. William Pearce had united himself to our mission in Calcutta, at the united request of his brethren he commenced a printing-office. At first we anticipated no more from its establishment, than the printing the tracts we might compose or translate, to assist us in our work among the native population; but such was his assiduity in business, and his desire for pressing forward in this and in every branch of our undertaking, that his designs and his labors quickly enlarged and multiplied; and such was the style in which he executed work, that the members of other religious communities, and also secular authors, issued their work through his medium. The manner of commencing this work was humble and unpretending. A single press, a very few types purchased at second-hand, with the smallest amount of paper procured from another printer, and an office made of mats and bamboo, and thatched with straw, constituted our first establishment. During these twenty years it has poured forth upon the teeming myriads of India hundreds of thousands of books in various languages. From the first day of its operations, moreover, until now, it has never drawn a fraction from the parent Society for its support, but has contributed some thousands of pounds to the furtherance of its objects.

"About the same time, a second English chapel was erected in Calcutta, in the Circular Road, nearly half a mile distant from the one above noticed. As an instance of that liberality for which the public, in that city and in most other parts where British settlers were to be met with in India, have been so justly extolled, it may be remarked, that for the building of this chapel and the one in Dhurramtollah by our independent brethren, fifty thousand rupees were contributed in little more than one year. Of the church and congregation meeting in this chapel, our brother Lawson became the pastor; Mr. Yates, of whose important labors and valuable life I need here say nothing, and myself, taking part of the public services there and in Fort William, alternately with him. We received great assistance in different branches of our work by the accession to our number of Mr. John Statham. He rendered material help in a boarding school for young gentlemen, which we continued for several years to aid our resources for missionary purposes. He subsequently removed to Howrah, where he labored with diligence and success for several years, and was variously a blessing, by his benevolence and great activity, to all classes of the community."

"Each of the brethren had distinct and special engagements, whilst other labors received the attention of all. As,

for instance, while Mr. Yates was deeply engaged in the study of languages, the preparation of elementary books, and in translation,—Mr. Penney in the Benevolent Institution,—Mr. Pearce in the printing department;—and myself occupying a station a few miles out of the city, receiving and attending to inquirers, and preparing tracts, and preaching in English,—we all engaged in proclaiming the gospel to the heathen. Mr. Lawson, again, while attending to the duties of the English pastorate, taught drawing and other accomplishments in the ladies' school conducted by Mrs. Lawson and Mrs. Pearce, the assets arising from which, with those from other of our engagements, were month by month carried to the credit of the mission; all accounts being at regular periods transmitted to the committee of the parent Society.

"I may not omit to mention, that the first society in India for native female education was one formed by the young ladies composing the school to which reference has been made; and the exertions made in this growingly interesting department of missionary labor, and since taken up and sustained with such laudable zeal and liberality, and promising so felicitously for the future destinies of India, are traceable to this simple origin.

"I am painfully sensible that the spiritual results of the various operations in this particular sphere, and in many others sedulously occupied in Bengal and Hindoostan by other of our brethren, and those likewise acting under the patronage of the various kindred societies, will be deemed discouragingly small. They are so comparatively,—not in every sense. There are in other regions of the globe, fields of missionary labor that yield to the first and most simple processes of spiritual culture, and which, from stark sterility, become verdant, and teem with the fruits of righteousness, as by seeming miracle. In India it is far otherwise. There the husbandman must wait and long have patience. No one who philosophically or christianly considers the unparalleled obstructions which arise to the progress of divine truth and evangelical designs, from the literary, religious, and social perversions of the Hindoo population,—and who considers, too, that these perversions, incredibly absurd and even puerile as they indisputably are, have been handed down from periods so remote as to defy calculation, and confirmed and corroborated by the all but unbroken adhesion of two hundred millions of persons,—will wonder at the tardiness with which the work of conversion proceeds, nor ought to falter in his expectation of the final issue."

In 1824, Mr. Robinson removed from Sumatra, to take charge of the church in the Lol Bazar; and the congregation gradually increased under his administration. The advancing years of Dr. Carey rendered this measure both desirable in itself and welcome to him. Mr. Robinson had been compelled, by some apopleptic tendencies of constitution, to desist from all application, and undertook the voyage to Bengal with his family, under medical advice, it being intimated to him that it was improbable he could ever resume his efforts in Sumatra.

Mr. Lawson closed his career on the 22d of October, 1825. He expired at his house in the Circular Road, Calcutta, leaving a widow and eight children. "Yes," said Mr. Yates, "he is gone; gone to glory; gone to Him whom his soul loved; gone to his fellow missionaries,—to Grant, Biss, Mardon, Trowt, Ward, Rowe, Chamberlain, &c.;—gone to the place where there is fulness of joy and pleasures for evermore."*

As a minister, the services of Mr. Lawson were acceptable and useful; primarily in his co-pastorship with Mr. E. Carey, in the first formed Baptist church in Calcutta, where he labored for three years, and next as pastor of the second Baptist church, which assembled in the neighborhood of the Circular Road. In addition to his pastoral duties, he frequently preached in the fort, and was rendered instrumental in reclaiming many of the soldiers from a life of profligacy, who in their dispersion throughout various parts of India, retained the liveliest recollections of him, and were amongst the most sorrowing mourners at his death.

In connection with his ministerial engagements, he spent a considerable portion of his time in the work of education. About fifty young ladies in the school conducted by Mrs. Lawson and

* Letter to Dr. Hoby.

Mrs. Pearce, already referred to by Mr. E. Carey, constantly received from him instruction in writing, grammar, composition, geography, and drawing. He possessed great taste in music, and composed many excellent tunes. He also wrote several poems, which, if they do not possess the highest stamp of originality, are nevertheless far superior to the ordinary standard. He was occasionally led to turn this delightful recreation into a principal employment; and though he knew not how to avoid it at the time, he afterwards felt sorry for such aberrations from the more direct and obvious course of duty. This he humbly confessed in his last affliction. He had a good acquaintance with natural history, and particularly with botany. In the last class of botany, which treats of cryptogamous plants, he carried his researches to a great extent; perhaps no one in India excelled him in this department. But unquestionably his greatest work was the reduction of the types used in the Eastern languages, particularly the Bengalee and Chinese, by which, though his name might be forgotten, his works will live in imperishable continuance. He died in the morning of his useful studies and unobtrusive labors. "I sat up with him," says Mr. Statham, "two nights just before his decease, and was, I hope, much edified by his pious counsel and dying charge. His mind was perfectly happy in the prospect of death, and he seemed anxious for the hour of departure to arrive."*

Lawson was a man of the most diffident and self-subdued character; silent and retiring, preferring others to himself; inoffensive, and patient of injuries; of too tender a spirit, and too sentimental to encounter, without much cost, the rough inconsiderateness of the world. His discernment of difficulties was too quick and distinct to allow him ever to have excelled in the active enterprise of a missionary life; but in following out his clear convictions of duty, whether they involved action or suffering, no one surpassed him.

Few, if any, of the out-stations wore so pleasing an aspect for several years as MOORSHUDUBAD. Soon after Mr. Sutton took up his abode there, he formed a school society, which was liberally supported by the European residents. Several dependent institutions were formed, in one of which more than a hundred native children received instruction. His ministrations at Berhampore, six miles distant, were very useful, particularly among the soldiers. To this place he repaired on the Sabbath, after incessant engagements during the week among the natives. In the course of two or three years, a new brick chapel was erected to accommodate an increasing auditory, the expense of which was defrayed on the spot; and a promising little Christian church was formed among the military. At Daudpore, also, twenty-two miles from Moorshudubad, he formed a branch society, in connection with his station. His two native assistants, Kureem and Bhovudgar, were extremely diligent in their evangelical efforts at markets, and in the streets of the villages. One of Mr. Sutton's members removing to Tumlook, in the vicinity of the Sunderbunds, took with him Pran Krishna. Their united efforts gained a small congregation, and thus the gospel obtained a wide diffusion. It is true, in such instances the result was comparatively insignificant; and yet were there, in this manner, both moral and spiritual influences extended, which none but the miscalculating despiser of the day of small things will contemn. Mr. Sutton availed himself of every opportunity to itinerate through the country, and to distribute tracts—those little messengers of mercy which all the missionaries eagerly sent forth,—as well as portions of Scripture, which would whisper in many an ear, and speak to many a heart, in remote places and solitudes unattainable by the Christian missionary.

In 1822, Mr. Sutton was compelled by illness to suspend his labors for three months; and though, after a visit to Serampore, he seemed to have perfectly recovered, yet it is probable disease had worked its insidious way; so that in another year he was necessitated to return to Europe. The station was also deprived of some of its efficiency by the death of Kureem, who closed his zealous and unblameable career in peace.

One of the most successful stations for a long period was CUTWA. In October, 1820, that is, at the end of about

* Statham's Indian Recollections.

ten years, Jabez Carey stated that he had seen about seventy added to the church; and though some had at times given trouble, yet the majority evinced their persevering sincerity and religion. He had large congregations, both at Cutwa and Dewangunj; but the residence of a great part of the church at the distance of Beerbhoom (sixty miles) was a great disadvantage; but a separate station was at length established, which was occupied by Mr. Hampton, from Tumlook. Afterwards, however, he gave up his connection with the Society, and Mr. Williamson went thither from Serampore. He was assisted by four native itinerants; the church numbered between thirty and forty; and his wife aided his own active labors by attention to the female part of his flock. Their residence was at Sewry, where the native church was formed. Several native itinerants were employed by Mr. Carey, who distributed tracts in every direction, and were assiduous in their labors at fairs and festivities. Being entirely surrounded by natives, he became perfectly familiar with their language. Mrs. Carey also established a female school; but it was found difficult to maintain it, and she could obtain none but the children of native Christians. In 1825 and 1826, this station relapsed into a somewhat declining state.

Dinagepore continued to exhibit appearances calculated to awaken gratitude and joy. The zeal and perseverance of Mr. Fernandez were richly repaid. A number of natives there openly renounced idolatry, and joined the Christian church. In 1821, a hundred and sixty-seven had renounced caste. Heathenism seemed on the wane; and many large temples built by former rajahs were hastening to ruin. Mr. Fernandez established a manufactory of paper, with a view of giving employment to the seceders from heathenism, and an excellent school for the instruction of their children, whence several youths went for education to the college at Serampore.

Dacca became an increasingly interesting station, from the progress of the Bengalee and Persian schools. The desire of the boys for information was great; nor was it confined to these youths, for Mr. Leonard mentions on one occasion, that at the celebration of a Hindoo festival, some of the members of his family began for the first time to distribute tracts. No sooner was this known than thousands came to the gate, filled the garden and house, and would not depart till each person had received a book. The distribution occupied *five successive days*, on the first of which alone more than three thousand individuals were supplied. The schools into which the Bengalee Scriptures were introduced, received the liberal support of native gentlemen as well as Europeans. In 1824, there were fifteen schools, and one thousand three hundred pupils.

Native education also advanced considerably at Digah, under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Rowe. The ignorance, however, and mercenary character of the parents presented great obstacles. In one instance, a female school was entirely deserted, from a report that all the pupils were sent to England; and in another, because it was found, after a time, that they were not paid for their trouble!

The death of Mr. Rowe at this station, in consequence of a cold caught in returning at night from a village service at Bankipore, deprived the Society of an able and diligent missionary. He was only forty-two years of age, twenty of which had been spent in India. Although Providence had not assigned him an extensive sphere, yet he manifested the holy zeal and diligence of a true missionary, while his beloved companion who survived him, was eminently useful in the school department.

Mr. Burton succeeded Mr. Rowe in 1826, where he was soon called to the severe trial of the loss of his wife. Many of the poor Batak women had received the gospel from her lips; and her last strength was devoted to teaching a day school of both sexes, belonging to invalided European troops. Several members of the native church having left the neighborhood, it was at this period in a very low state.

Monghyr. The indefatigable Chamberlain had removed from this place, being driven to Sirdhana by the jealous apprehensions of the government. The begum had interfered to prevent this, but unsuccessfully. It appears, that after being more confined to the spot

than he desired, opportunities had occurred for some of those itinerant excursions in which he so much delighted; and he had visited Delhi and the great festival at Hurdwar. At the latter place, he had excited extraordinary attention. He read and expounded the Scriptures publicly every day during three weeks. "His knowledge of the language was that of an accomplished native; his delivery impressive, and his whole manner partook much of mildness and benignity."* Hundreds increased to thousands that composed his congregations; and every evening they cheered him home with—"May the padre (priest) live for ever!" Complaints of these proceedings were sent to Mr. Ricketts, secretary of government; who, fearing that some evil might arise from his preaching to the natives, wrote to the begum. Afterwards Mr. Chamberlain sought an interview with the governor-general, the Marquis of Hastings, who, though highly celebrated for liberality of sentiment, thought it expedient, in the then unsettled condition of the country, to yield to the representations of the enemies of Christianity.

"Having been ordered away from Sirdhana, three stations presented themselves to the attention of Mr. Chamberlain, namely, Mirzapore, Boxar, and Monghyr. But whilst uncertain whither to go, his course was rendered obvious by the following circumstance:—He met a young officer at Digah, Captain Page, who was about to proceed to Monghyr; and who, having but recently had his mind drawn to religion, felt anxious for further instruction. With the view of obtaining this, and providing for himself and others the regular institutions of public worship, he requested Mr. Chamberlain to settle at Monghyr. He complied; and accordingly took up his abode there in February, 1816. Soon afterwards he had the satisfaction of witnessing the religious decision and public profession of Captain and Mrs. Page. They were baptized in the Ganges, immediately under the fort.

"Monghyr, at that time, was a station for invalid soldiers, chiefly natives. The English were but few. The heart of Chamberlain was gladdened by the conversion of a Hindoo,—Hingham Missur, a brahmin of high caste and respectable connections. He had been convinced of the truth of Christianity for some time, but it was not till after the lapse of many months that he was brought, instrumentally through a severe attack of illness, to decide on following Christ. The baptism of Hingham Missur was witnessed by his sons and friends, and by a crowd of townsmen, with mute astonishment; but immediately on his emersion from the sacred Ganges, they rent the air with their cries and lamentations, exclaiming, 'The honor of our family is gone! the honor of our town is gone!' They had used their utmost efforts to dissuade him from an act never known before in that place; and scarcely could they credit what their eyes beheld. But no sooner was the deed done, than they looked upon him as for ever dead to them. Some time after, he had the happiness of receiving back his wife and two younger sons; but between him and his elder son there was a great gulf fixed. At his death, six or seven years after, he commended his youngest son to the care of the missionary, with whom the lad has ever since lived, and proved a valuable servant, though, alas, apparently unaffected by the faith of his father. So great is the contempt poured on him by this act of his father, that up to this day his brothers never speak to or look at him in public, and if by any chance they should meet him in any house or shop, they invariably leave immediately. Yet one or two interviews of a friendly nature have latterly taken place in the secret of the midnight hour and in a disguised dress."*

The labors of Mr. Chamberlain were frequently interrupted by ill health, but repeated visits to the coast proved eminently beneficial in prolonging, for a season, his useful life. In 1819, he had advanced in his Brij Basha translation to the end of the minor prophets, and had written with his own hand six hundred pages of this translation, besides the epistle to the Romans, and part of the second epistle to the Corinthians in the Hindee. In that year, a small auxiliary society was

* "Sketches of India." Related by an eye and ear witness.

* MS. of Mrs. Leslie, daughter of Chamberlain, sent by her to the author.

formed, a place of worship erected, and a shop procured in one of the markets, where the native assistants, Brindabun and Hingham Missur were regularly engaged in conversations with their countrymen about the gospel. Mr. Chamberlain preached four times a week to his European congregation, and seven or eight times in the native language. His valuable life, however, was now approaching its termination. For several years he had declined, till his naturally robust constitution at length sunk under the combined influences of a hot climate, and severe exertions, both bodily and mental. He was, however, preceded to the gates of mortality by BRINDABUN, whose memoirs, had he lived, he intended to compile and publish; of whom, therefore, a few particulars may here be recited.

Brindabun first heard the gospel at a festival between Cutwa and Berhampore. At night, he went to Mr. Chamberlain, and said, "I have a flower which I wish to give to some one who is worthy of it." This was the Hindoo method of referring to his own heart. "I have travelled," said he, "about the country for many years to find such a person, but in vain. I have been to Jugunnath, but there I saw only a piece of wood: *that* was not worthy of it; but to-day I have found one that is; Jesus Christ is worthy of my flower." He was a byraggee. He went to Cutwa for some time, cut off his hair, and shaved, and left off smoking gunga, which injured his sight, so that, as he expressed it, a page of Bengalee appeared to him like a jungle. He was baptized about the end of 1808, when he went to live near Berhampore, and cultivated some ground for his support. There he observed the Sabbath, and read and prayed with as many as he could induce to attend. In 1811, he proceeded to Agra, where he learned Hindee, and devoted himself to reading and conversing with the people. In 1812, he removed with Mr. Moore to Digah. There he conversed every day, and with little intermission, with inquirers, showing great faith, unaffected humility, and deep solicitude for the welfare of his countrymen. At the age of seventy he frequently walked more than twenty miles a day, holding conversations with his countrymen respecting eternal realities; and the people displayed great anxiety to hear him. In February, 1816, he went to reside at Monghyr. During the last five years of his life, he devoted himself entirely to religion, reading the Scriptures, and talking to the people whenever he could quit his house, from morning to night. Sometimes, when his apparent weakness induced his friends to urge his remaining at home, he would exclaim, "O, what do I live for?" In 1814, he went once more to see his friends in Bengal. Whenever the boat stopped, he sallied forth with his book: and upon passing the place where he first heard the gospel, he exclaimed with great feeling, "There I found Jesus Christ."

During the last two or three years of life, he had severe attacks of illness; but he was averse to medicine, frequently saying he was not afraid to die, and had no wish to live. Throughout the last month, he constantly experienced great happiness of mind, longing to depart, and be with Christ. When asked by one of his friends, who visited him the day before his death, if he would take any thing, he said, "No;" and putting his hand upon a part of the Scriptures that lay on his bed, added, "this is my meat, and drink, and medicine." After they left him, the neighbors, according to their custom, came about him. He then got up, sat at his door, and *repeated*,—for he was mighty in the Scriptures,—portions of the word of God, and prayed; though unable to utter more than a few words at a time. He entered the joy of his Lord, September 2, 1821.

Not many months after, CHAMBERLAIN followed his faithful and much loved assistant to heaven. For several years, he had complained occasionally of the severity of his colds, and of the state of his lungs, which often, he said, unfitted him for exertion. Still he persevered, and even during illness far surpassed in effort many that were in perfect health. In the summer of 1818, his disease became extremely threatening, and it was apprehended he could not survive long. Being advised to try a change of air, he went down to Calcutta, and thence to the Sand Heads at Saugur. While at the former place, he preached several times in Bengalee, but

exhibited great weakness. After this he became considerably better, and resumed, as expresses it, with much exultation, his "beloved employ." On his return to Monghyr, he recommenced, amidst continual relapses and recoveries, his usual avocations; but his irrepressible ardor led to exertions far beyond his strength, so that life was in fact a perpetual struggle against incapacity. In October, 1819, he was compelled to try another journey to the Sand Heads. On his way, he could not abstain from preaching three times to the soldiers of the 59th at Berhampore. He took, however, a severe cold; but after being distressingly ill at Calcutta, became improved in health by the sea-breezes, and the residence of a month in comparative quiet and retirement. On his return, he took another cold which destroyed the beneficial effects of his journey; but he revived a little, and eagerly pursued his work. During April, May, and June, he labored incessantly at the Hinduwee and Brij Basha translations; and in addition to other meetings, preached three times a-week in English, and three times to the natives. In July his complaint returned; but afterwards abated. In September he thus writes,—"Through the good hand of God upon me, on the 16th inst. I was enabled to *complete* the translation of the New Testament into the Hinduwee dialect; and upon this I thanked God, and took courage." In October, 1820, he commenced another trip to Calcutta, but feeling revived at Berhampore, he preached several times, and then returned home. Mr. Sutton accompanied him part of the way, and has given the following interesting statement:—"He was only the shadow of what he had once been, as it respected strength of body, and was little able to encounter the fatigue of visiting streets and bazars to converse with the natives; but notwithstanding this, whenever he saw an opportunity of preaching Christ, he embraced it, and left the consequences with God, wishing to die with his armor on, conflicting with the enemy of God and man.

"On the first day's journey he came to a group of people performing a shraddha. Lest the observance of other acts of religious worship should fail to secure happiness in a future state, the Hindoos are taught to procure relief for the wandering spirits of their relatives by making offerings of rice, &c. This ceremony is called the shraddha, and on it very frequently a rich man expends no less than three or four hundred thousand rupees. Seeing this assembly, Mr. Chamberlain immediately proceeded near them, and began to reason on the nature of death and judgment, and the impossibility of any acts of our friends influencing the sentence of a Being who is infinite in wisdom, justice, power, and truth, and who will render unto every one according to his work.

"On the second day, he arrived in the afternoon at the village of Sooky, and spent a considerable time in conversation with several of the inhabitants; on which occasion he reasoned much with them concerning the futility of all their sacrifices and ceremonies, as the means of procuring pardon and acceptance with God, and besought them to apply to the Lord Jesus Christ, as the great and only atonement for sin.

"On the third day, he walked, notwithstanding his weakness, for a considerable distance in the fields on the banks of the river; and finding a few people, he sat down, and read and conversed with them till nearly dusk. Whenever he entered into conversation about the gospel of Christ, his feelings were generally so raised, and the anxiety of his soul so great, that he forgot the state of his constitution, and proceeded so far that he was scarcely able to remove from the spot."

Before he reached Monghyr, he was seized with a violent diarrhœa, which continued with fluctuating violence to the termination of his life. This, however, was not till about a year afterwards, during which, amidst extreme debility, he preached five or six times a week, and carried on his translations. In the afternoon of the first Sabbath in September, 1821, he spoke in Hindoostanee at the grave of Brindabun, and preached a funeral sermon for him in the evening in English; at the close he administered the Lord's supper. On the following Sabbath he made another attempt to preach, but it was his last public effort. He resolved once more to try the river air, and on the 13th of September left Monghyr. His friends and medical attendant at Calcutta, were

fully convinced that no expedient remained but a visit to Europe. "At the time he was living with us at Calcutta," says Dr. Yates, "we had no idea that he was so near his end. He was indeed very weak, and greatly reduced, yet he would walk about in the hall, and converse for an hour or two together with the greatest spirit on religious subjects, which made us think that there was a great probability, when refreshed by the sea breezes, of his living to see old England once more, and after being cheered by the presence of his friends, of his returning again to this country with an invigorated constitution. He himself indulged the same ideas, and used to speak with great pleasure on what he should do, if he lived to reach his native land,—with what delight he should rove in the fields and meadows to pluck the daisies, and admire the works of God in the opening spring,—with what joy he should again behold the faces of some of his old friends,—and with what transport he should travel from village to village to preach the gospel to the poor."*

A passage to England having been secured for him in November, he was accompanied to the ship by his wife and child, and Dr. Yates. On his voyage he determined to proceed *alone*, from the noble but mistaken disinterestedness of saving expense to the Society. In about three weeks he expired, being found one morning by the young man who attended him, dead on his bed. Yes, on the 6th of January, 1822, Chamberlain died in solitude, in a small cabin, in the night, and at sea!

He was a *true missionary*,—simple in his manners, inexpensive in his habits, sanguine in his temperament, sound in his judgment, devout in his spirit, indefatigable and persevering in his labors, distinguished as a scholar and a translator of the Scriptures, but more so for his love of souls, whose salvation he sought by the pointed and powerful appeals of his eminently evangelical ministrations. Preaching was his great, his favorite work, and he pursued it to the last with unabating zeal. The skilful adaptation of his addresses, and his inventive powers in rousing attention, were often remarkable. He would sometimes draw a striking picture of probable circumstances, and make use of them to address the conscience. Thus on one occasion he produced a powerful effect by pausing suddenly in his discourse, and looking round, uttered this bold appeal, which applied exactly to an individual present. "Tom, you villain, you listed for a soldier, and broke your mother's heart,—you know you did! The last thing she did for you was to put a Bible into your knapsack; and you villain, you have sold it for grog,—you know you have!"*

At first sight, one is tempted to regret his frequent removals after leaving Cutwa, and to wish that he had either remained there to reap more fully the fruit of his earlier labors, or that he had found some sphere of wide and central influence more suited to his capacity than afterwards presented itself; but the appointments of Providence were wise. All who were acquainted with him well knew that he was formed more for separate than for associate labor. Let him alone, and he would do the work of ten men; but let him be helped, and, from a certain inaptitude to coalesce, he would disappoint expectation. In this opinion of him, once expressed by the author to Mr. Ward, when in England, he fully concurred. The sentiment, however, must not be regarded in too disparaging a sense. It was indeed a fault, but it was not the fault of weakness,—rather that of independence of mind and greatness of mental vigor; and it was overruled for good. His changes of place subserved a great purpose, in facilitating as well as extending his efforts, and in bringing into exercise his peculiar powers. He was fitted to be a translator; still more, perhaps, to be a conversational preacher to the natives amongst whom he itinerated; and an all-seeing wisdom guided him to his appropriate sphere.

Chamberlain was a *martyr;* not, indeed, that he was assassinated by ruffian hands, or fastened to the burning stake; but he was a martyr to the cause for which he labored,—for which he died! How many missionaries in similar circumstances would have changed their climate months and even years before he made the attempt; nor do we imply that it would have been a censurable conduct; rather, we blame, while

* Yates's Life of Chamberlain.

* Communicated by Mr. E. Carey.

we admire an intrepidity, a perseverance,—a tenacity, in fact, that held on to the last,—that held on too long. But why did he so often quit and return to his post? why struggle to retain his position amidst the faintings of nature, and especially during his last year, under the increasing pressure of disease? Oh, it was a sublime contest,—a fight of the indomitable spirit of an unearthly heroism against the powers of nature and the principalities of darkness! It was a self-sacrifice to a sense of paramount duty; therefore did he persist in preaching, conversing, translating; nor would he abandon the field or the weapons of his warfare, till death terminated the contest. There he lies buried in the ocean-depths, till the resurrection of the just! The smooth and yielding sea admits no monumental marble with its eulogizing epitaph; but he has a monument on the land in the works of faith and labors of love he accomplished, and an epitaph glorious and imperishable, written on the stones of the missionary temple.

The station at Monghyr enjoyed, after her husband's decease, the assiduous and effective aid of Mrs. Chamberlain. Under her superintendence, the native assistants pursued their labors, worship was maintained in the chapel, the four schools prospered, and proofs were given of good being accomplished. Mr. Leslie was sent in 1824, as successor to Mr. Chamberlain. He found, on his arrival, the general state of the church and schools encouraging; and having diligently applied himself during the voyage to the study of Hindoostanee, he was able in about six months to address the natives. In a year or two, the schools were increased to thirteen, in consequence of a request from Mohammedan parents, who permitted their children to read the Christian books, which had hitherto prevented their attendance. The character of the native population also rapidly improved; so that, instead of the vulgar abuse which had formerly attended their labors, their intinerants were heard with fixed and respectful attention.

With regard to the insular stations, it does not appear that any very great progress was made during the years in question. In Ceylon, the whole of the New Testament was published and part of the Old prepared by Mr. Chater, in connection with a Wesleyan and an Episcopalian, in 1819. In 1820, his opportunities of preaching in Cingalese and Portuguese increased, and two who had been Budhist priests made a profession of Christianity. His domestic trial was great, however, in the loss of his wife on her way to Europe. Some good also seemed to arise from the labors of Mr. Siers at Hangwell. In 1823, there were seven schools under Mr. Chater's direction, containing two hundred and fifty children. About the close of the year, the whole Bible was translated. He had also revised his Cingalese grammar, and published tracts in that language and the Portuguese, which were well received. After a long season of sterility, a little spiritual productiveness, though but little, appeared in 1824, in the addition of eight members to the small church. To these, others were added in the following year; but the schools fluctuated, from sickness and other causes. After another year, however, the congregation at Columbo had considerably increased. The employment of native Cingalese to read the Scriptures to their countrymen had awakened curiosity and attention in the villages.

Java continued to be interesting as a missionary field, though not remarkably productive. Both Mr. Robinson and Mr. Bruckner, the former at Batavia, and the latter at Samarang, persevered year after year in their work, though their efforts were repaid with few conversions. Immediate success is not the measure of duty or fidelity. The principal achievement was the translation of the New Testament by Mr. Bruckner; this would speak where the living voice was unheard, and when it would cease to be uttered.

The expectations which had been formed from the application to the king of the Netherlands not being realized in the removal of those difficulties which had obstructed the mission, Mr. Robinson changed his residence in July, 1821, for Bencoolen, whither he had been invited to proceed to join Messrs. Burton and Evans. These brethren had been sent out by the Society in the previous year, and had formed a station at Fort Marlborough in Sumatra, at the suggestion of Sir T. S. Raffles, the governor.

Subsequently, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Nathaniel Ward occupied this station; the former employing his knowledge of the Malay in preaching, and in composing a number of elementary books; the latter, in managing the press; ill health, however, compelled his return to Bengal. Mr. Evans, finding himself unequal to the combined exertion of conducting the school, and acquiring the native language, removed to Padang. Mr. Burton's attention had been excited to the state of the Battas, a tribe in the northern part of the island of Sumatra, whose moral degradation is sufficiently obvious, from the fact that they not only ate prisoners taken in war, but ate the criminal alive, as a capital punishment. It was remarkable, that just before the arrival of the missionaries, they had sent a deputation to the British governor to know of what religion they should be! After an exploratory visit, Mr. Burton went with his wife into that region of difficult and self-denying labor, fixing his residence at Sebolga, a Batta village in the bay of Tappanooli, the rajah having presented him with a piece of ground for the erection of a house. In the course of a year, Mr. Burton had made considerable progress in the language, and besides commencing a translation of the inspired volume, had issued some Scripture tracts. On one occasion, when he had been reading the commandments to a few people under a shed, the rajah, who made one of the number, uttered these remarkable words,—"Well, if the white people, and Chinese, and Hindoos, and Achinese, and Neas and Batta people should, with one heart, all adopt these commandments,—spears, swords, and guns, would be of no further use; we might throw them away, or *make hoes of them!*"

In 1825, a formidable insurrection against the Dutch government affected materially the affairs of the mission in the islands. So much success attended the padries, or insurgent reformers, that Mr. Burton and his family, with the females of an orphan institution under his care, were obliged to hasten away to Calcutta. The timid Battas had determined to become Mussulmans when the invaders possessed themselves of the country. Mr. Evans also retired from Padang, in consequence of the restrictions imposed upon the direct promulgation of the gospel; and ultimately, under medical advice, to England. The state of political affairs induced the committee also to instruct Mr. N. Ward to proceed to Bengal.

CHAPTER III.

SEPARATE OPERATIONS OF THE SERAMPORE UNION, FROM 1827 TO 1837.

The stations immediately connected with Serampore at the time of its severance from the Society, were the following:—

1. *Jessore*, occupied by Thomas.
2. *Dacca*, " O. Leonard and D'Cruz.
3. *Chittagong*, " J. Johannes.
4. *Arracan*, " J. C. Fink.
5. *Dinagepore*, " J. Fernandez.
6. *Benares*, " W. Smith.
7. *Allahabad*, " L. Mackintosh.
8. *Futtyghir*, " J. Richards.
9. *Delhi*, " J. T. Thompson.

Six Asiatic young men were studying at the college; and Messrs. Mack and Swan were professors.

The three kinds of agency employed in connection with the stations, consisted of,—1st, *natives*, through whom they doubtless rightly conceived the gospel would ultimately obtain its greatest diffusion. They could visit their countrymen in the most retired places, converse with their most learned pundits, and unfold in their own language the glory of redemption by Christ. In the infancy of Christianity in India, however, they were unable to labor unsustained and unguided by other agencies; and the Serampore brethren imagined that a system of training from their childhood in the college, where they were to be instructed both in science and Scripture, would be of essential importance in preparing them for future usefulness. 2d, *Asiatics*, or those who were born in the country, of European parents, at least on one side. These, though educated in European habits, were, from infancy, inured to the climate, and acquainted with the native language and ideas. It

was an advantage that the sum required for their support was only about one half of that which was found necessary for a missionary from England. Of this class were Thompson, Fernandez, Smith, Mackintosh, and others. 3d, *Europeans*. In addition to all the other means of usefulness, it is obvious that their knowledge and influence were of the highest importance, when exerted in connection with bands of three, four, or five Asiatic and native agents. In aid of these stations, the Society had voted £3000, in 1824, 1825, and 1826; £1000 each year.

Native schools for the instruction of boys had now been established about ten years; and recently the education of female children, hitherto supposed to be impracticable, had been introduced. In Serampore there were *thirteen* schools, composed of Hindoo girls; *four* or *five* at Dacca; and at least *three* at Chittagong. The children included the daughters of Mohammedans as well as Hindoos, who received instruction with the greatest readiness and pleasure; and in all the schools, male and female, the Scriptures were introduced. It appeared that the schools were capable of almost indefinite multiplication; and, as a means of guiding the earliest thoughts, and fixing the habits of an ignorant and degraded people, their progress was an important auxiliary to the publication of the gospel.

SERAMPORE.

Carey, Marshman, J. C. Marshman, Mack, Swan.

During 1827, eleven persons had been received into the church, some of whom resided at Barrackpore. The college funds maintained fifty-eight students at the close of the same year; of whom seven were in European habits, or those termed Anglo-Asiatics; twenty-three natives in the Sungskrit class, seven in the preparatory school in Serampore, and twenty-one in the grammar-school at Sewry in Beerbhoom. The students in European habits consisted of those who were receiving instruction, with the view of being employed as missionaries. The object of the native class was to provide for the education of native Christians, some of whom would, it was expected, carry a Christian influence with them into the different situations they might occupy in after life; while others might be selected for the Christian ministry, should they exhibit the talents and the heart for that sacred work. Dr. Carey lectured twice a week as theological professor. The report of the college in 1829 referred to several grounds of encouragement. A charter had been obtained. The progress of the students in European habits had been satisfactory; and several had entered on the work of imparting the knowledge of the Scriptures to the natives of India. A greater number of native Christian youths had been trained in the institution than in any preceding year. "Upon the first ten years of the college," they say, "the committee look back with mingled feelings of gratitude and regret,—with gratitude for the many tokens of favor which it has experienced from friends, and with pleasure at the enlarged field which is now opening to its exertions; but with regret that so many obstacles have intervened to frustrate the hopes of friends, and to retard the prosecution of those views which the committee hoped to have realized in a shorter period.

"During the last seven years, the college has, with the exception of a short period enjoyed the benefit of only one professor. Of the students who were originally received into the institution, by far the greater part, alarmed at the prescribed course of study, have gradually dropped off, leaving the committee the task of commencing anew with fresh students. These circumstances have tended to discourage the mind. Nor has the pecuniary assistance received been altogether unmingled with disappointment. * * * But amidst these discouragements and difficulties, the committee are convinced that its friends will feel a pleasure in remarking, that the first ten years of its existence have not been wholly without product. An institution of this nature, unless it opens with ample funds, must necessarily move forward in slow progression, enlarging its sphere of exertion, rather with reference to the increase of its permanent funds, than to the fluctuation of voluntary subscriptions. The funds which Mr. Ward raised in Europe and America, amounting to about 50,000 rupees, have therefore remained untouched, and a fund

has been formed for native tutors in this country, which is gradually increasing, and may, if not interrupted, in a few years, yield an interest equal to the requisite expenditure. With the exception of a part of one of the professor's houses, the buildings have been erected. A charter has been obtained, which secures the college from dissolution, and enables it to receive endowments. A library of nearly 5000 volumes has been collected. It possesses a philosophical apparatus, the largest in the country. An efficient European class has been formed, several of the students of which will have completed their term of study at the close of the next year, and be prepared to enter on active missionary labor; a large body of native Christian youth is far advanced in the study of Sungskrit, with minds prepared by the severe application it has induced, to enter on the study of the sciences and general literature; and steps have been taken to prepare other youths of Christian parentage for the exercises of the college."*

On the fifth annual examination of the native female schools, held in the college in 1828, it appeared that the progress was considerable in reading and geography. A little class of eight children, from the age of four to eight years, repeated the Lord's prayer.

When the assemblies called the Snan and Rut'h Jattras were held, the missionaries employed themselves in declaring the word of God, and distributing their religious productions. They had two stations; one permanent, being a small chapel on the road to Jugunnath's temple; the other temporary, being a shed put up on the occasion, it being impossible to labor in the open air without protection, when, as Dr. Carey remarks, "our earth is iron, our heavens brass, and our rain powder and dust." The Snan, or bathing festival, is in May; the Rut'h, or car festival, in July.

Dr. Marshman arrived from Europe on the 24th of June, 1829. On the 8th of July, Mr. James Rae was ordained to occupy the first new station at Goamalty, in Assam, about 240 miles northeast of Serampore. This station, it was presumed, would open another way of communication with the Burman empire. A second new station was formed at Barripore, thirty-one miles southward, to whose poor inhabitants Mr. Rabeholm, a country-born young man of piety in an attorney's office, readily devoted himself. A third new station was fixed at Burrishol, or Burisaul, in Backergunj, 140 miles eastward, to which Mr. John Smith, a native of India, was appointed. It is interesting to observe that not only these, but all the then existing twelve stations in connection with Serampore, were occupied by men who were brought to the knowledge of the truth in India itself.

Native female education had acquired new interest from the recent abolition of suttees, which for twenty centuries had been the deep disgrace and bane of Hindoo society. In the appeal made to the public in 1830, occurs the following passage indicative of the state of their affairs:—"The only members of the mission who have it in their power to contribute to its funds, are Dr. Carey, Dr. Marshman, and Mr. J. C. Marshman. They do contribute to the utmost of their ability; but it has pleased God greatly to curtail that ability. The British government have just abolished the professorships in the college of Fort William; and Dr. Carey, being reduced to a pension, has suffered a loss of 500 rupees per mensem. He will, therefore, not be able hereafter to contribute more than 300 rupees monthly to the funds of the mission. Dr. Marshman's very heavy expenditure during his long and important visit to Europe,—no part of which he allows to be defrayed from the contributions to the mission,—prevents his having much now at his disposal; and, indeed, the schools under the care of himself and Mrs. Marshman have so much declined in his absence, as greatly to abridge his resources, independently of his late extraordinary expenses. He has no prospect of being able to do more than Dr. Carey. Mr. J. C. Marshman, in conducting the printing-office and the paper-mill, is overburdened by obligations contracted in the erection of the college, and in carrying on the mission when we were without support from Europe; and he cannot, at present at least, without sinking just so much in debt, exceed the contributions of his senior colleagues. We have thus at

* Eighth Report of the Serampore College.

our disposal 900 rupees monthly, the proceeds of our own labor. If the whole of this were available for the support of our missionary stations, we should still have a deficiency of nearly 400 rupees monthly in this vital department alone, besides the whole of the pensions to our widows and orphans. But it will frequently happen that a considerable sum is wanted for the printing of tracts, for the current expenses of the college, and other occasional demands; and then, as we have no other resources, we are constrained to take just as much as is needed from our contributions to the stations.

"We acknowledge with gratitude that we have been favored with several liberal donations from friends in India. They have been of the utmost importance to us in this time of our need; but they are altogether inadequate to our full support. This, then, is the great object of our appeal. We entreat of the Christian public a few hundred pounds per annum; for we have them not ourselves. We do not even know how to borrow them, in the expectation that relief will eventually be sent to us; for we have no reserved and unappropriated funds, on the security of which we could ask from any one a loan of present supplies."

Notwithstanding the effectiveness of other labors, very few were added to the church, and little fruit resulted from the village itineracies in 1830; but the faith and patience of the missionaries were unabated amidst these depressing circumstances.

In May, 1831, Dr. Carey writes in an affecting strain, stating that his race was nearly run, being on the eve of seventy, and much weakened by repeated bilious attacks; but in October, he speaks of having resumed his labors in preaching, which had been suspended by repeated attacks of fever, and of his usual efforts in correcting and bringing through the press the different versions of the Scriptures.

During this year seventeen joined the church, fifteen of whom were natives of Bengal; and of these five were students in the college. One native was removed by death, and several afflictive cases of discipline had occurred. At the close of 1830, the number of members was sixty-three; at the close of 1831, seventy-five. Some of the youth in the college, European, East Indian, and native, went out in company every Sabbath, to make known the gospel to the heathen. In the course of the year, 6817 tracts were distributed in Serampore and the vicinity, and 196 gospels.

After having given a gloomy account of the church in Serampore, in 1831, Mr. Mack states that at the close of the year a considerable movement appeared. Several young people desired to join the church; and some in middle life, who had been sitting for years under the sound of the gospel, perfectly insensible to its value, were roused to a concern of mind about salvation. "Our young members," says Mr. Mack, "appear to have grown together in one spirit of godly fear, and gravity, and decision in the service of our Redeemer, *in a manner which I have never before witnessed.*"

About the commencement of 1832, Mr. Robinson joined the Serampore mission, with Gorachund and Ramhurree.

In a letter dated May 23d, 1832, Dr. Marshman says, "I spent an hour at tea with dear brother Carey last night, now seventy years and nine months old. He was in the most comfortable state of health, talking over his first feelings respecting India and the heathen, and the manner in which God kept them alive, when even Fuller could not yet enter into them, and good old John Ryland (the doctor's father) denounced them as unscriptural. This is now at least forty-five years ago. Had these feelings died away, in what a different state might India now have been!"

Dr. Carey states, in a letter to Mr. Anderson, on the 11th of June, that he had just brought the last edition of his Bengalee Scriptures through the press. The last sheet had been ordered to be printed the week before. The Assamese, Cashmere, and Affghan first editions were proceeding with. Dr. Carey and Dr. Marshman were now associated with Mr. Mack as co-pastors. In September, Mrs. Ward died. Dr. Carey's address at the grave is referred to as peculiarly impressive. He spoke of the holiness and happiness of the heavenly state, his conceptions of which were very elevated and interesting; and he seemed to long for and contemplate a happy meeting with his friends who had

already entered into the joy of their Lord.

Mr. John Leechman, who had pursued his studies first at Bristol and then at the university of Glasgow, was set apart as a missionary, at Edinburgh, on the 3d of July, 1832; on the 25th, embarked at Liverpool for Bengal; and arrived in India in November.

Chodron fell asleep in Jesus in September. He is described as a dear brother and fellow-laborer, whose life and conduct bore testimony to his godly sincerity. In labors he was pre-eminent, and spoke the language admirably. He was in connection with the Lol Bazar church in Calcutta, which had lately added eleven to its communion. About twenty members, scattered through the different villages, were constantly visited by Chodron.

A very pleasing letter from Mr. Leechman, in April, 1833, furnishes a view of some proceedings at Serampore. "Our venerable Dr. Carey is in excellent health, and takes his turn in all our public exercises. Just forty years ago, the first of this month, he administered the Lord's supper to the church at Leicester, and started on the morrow to embark for India. Through this long period of honorable toil, the Lord has mercifully preserved him; and at our missionary prayer meeting, held on the first of this month, he delivered an interesting address to encourage us to persevere in the work of the Lord. * * We have also a private monthly prayer-meeting held in Dr. Carey's study, which is to me a meeting of uncommon interest. On these occasions we particularly spread before the Lord our public and private trials, both those which come upon us from the cause of Christ, with which it is our honor and privilege to be connected, and those also which we as individuals are called to bear. At our last meeting, Dr. Carey read part of the history of Gideon, and commented with deep feeling on the encouragement which that history affords, that the cause of God can be carried on to victory and triumph, by feeble and apparently inefficient means. On these occasions, as we are quite alone, we give full expression to the joys and sorrows, the hopes and fears, that agitate our spirits. Our friends at home are not forgotten on these occasions. O that our united prayers may be heard, that Christ's kingdom may come!

"A thousand things occur here, the mention of which would interest you greatly, could we find time from our numerous duties to send an account of them. The other evening brother Mack and I went to the pagoda where Martyn lived at Aldeen. A multitude of natives were assembled to hear a learned pundit recite the Pooranas. A great many brahmins were present, and at the conclusion of that day's harangue, for it continues many days, brother Mack entered into conversation with one of the brahmins. He told us that the mother of a person of some importance was dying; that her sin had brought her to this temple that she might be near Gunga; that he had brought the pundit to recite in her hearing the stories about their gods; that dying with the name of God sounding in her ears, she might immediately go to heaven. Brother Mack talked with him on the folly of such proceedings; but, alas, the people are bent on their idolatry. I was deeply affected to see the place that had been sanctified by the residence of the holy Martyn, by his prayers, and his communion with the Redeemer, thus desecrated by the abomination of idol worship. I have lately seen also all the horrid cruelties of the Churuck Pooja. Such scenes, I hope, I never shall behold again. Pran Krishnu and some of our native brethren were among the crowd, trying to distribute tracts, &c.; but the people were mad, and would not look at them. I left the scene with a very sad heart, and crossed over to Barrackpore, and preached to my little flock there, several of whom are very good people. Our Hindoostanee congregation there is increasing very much; and I have just heard that there are several pious officers come, who will increase my little English congregation."

The labors of Mr. Robinson at Calcutta in the Lol Bazar chapel, and in the villages, appear to have been greatly blessed. In 1832, twenty-six were baptized; sixteen had been added in 1833, when he writes the account in October, and more were expected. He had forty members in the villages. At the close of the year he was afflicted by

the death of Gorachund, his long-tried and faithful assistant, whose last words were, "I am going to my Father and my God."

The "Tenth Memoir respecting the *Translation of the sacred Scriptures into the oriental languages*, by the Serampore brethren," was issued on the 1st of July, 1832. The statements it contains can scarcely be read without wonder and delight; for it shows not only their extensive and persevering labors in biblical translations, but the important services they rendered to the cause of literature in general.

The idea which they originally entertained was that of accomplishing a translation of the sacred volume into the vernacular language of that vast province in which they first landed; but all the surrounding countries appeared to them, from time to time, to present equal claims to their attention; and they eagerly sought to supply their spiritual necessities. Hence, having once acquired the Sungskrit, the parent of many of the oriental languages, they found a door of entrance to them, of which they at once availed themselves.

The entire Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments had, at this time, been printed and circulated in seven languages, that is, in six oriental tongues besides the Chinese; the New Testament had been printed in twenty-three languages more; the Pentateuch and other parts of the Old Testament had been also printed and circulated in several of these languages into which the New Testament had been completed; and portions of the Scriptures had been printed in ten others, or in all forty languages; so that upwards of two hundred and twelve thousand volumes of the divine word, in forty different languages, had issued from the Serampore press during thirty years. "If," say the missionaries, "we reckon the Chinese population, according to the most moderate computation, at one hundred and fifty millions, these languages embrace the vernacular tongues of two hundred and seventy millions of immortal beings; one hundred millions of whom are, in fact, either our fellow-subjects, or living under the immediate influence of our government.

"That a work of such magnitude and such importance should have been accomplished at an average annual expense of no more than £2500 sterling annually, may also well prove a source of gratitude to all those who have contributed; and the more so, since this must be ascribed, under God, to the disinterested Christian spirit of the translators, who have labored in this cause without fee or reward from any man, not forgetting the printers, whether Ward or Marshman, who have executed their part all along at the lowest charge. The entire amount received from the beginning has been £80,413. 8*s*. 10½*d*. Of this sum, somewhat more than £72,000 have been expended as above; and about £5500 on certain printing presses, types, books, &c., sent out, which have abundantly served their purpose. The remainder was for incidental expenses. Of the above sum, £5439 have been contributed by the translators and their friends in India itself,—to say nothing of their personal expenditure in founts of types and the improvement of paper. The average of £80,000 for thirty-two years is £2500."*

The memoir further contains a tabular view of the number of volumes and pages of the Old and New Testaments which passed through the press in about nine years from the period of the preceding account. There were *ninety-nine thousand volumes*, and upwards of *thirty-one million pages*.

It has been intimated that literature also was deeply indebted to these distinguished translators and printers of the word of God. For the satisfaction of oriental scholars, a list is given in the memoir of other publications of the Serampore press besides the Scriptural translations. This consists of grammars, dictionaries, histories, translations, tracts, and other pamphlets, by Carey, Marshman, Ward, and others, in various languages. It is scarcely possible to estimate the extent, or fully to appreciate the value of these diversified labors; for, after making all the deductions which the most sober judgment, or the most scrutinizing jealousy might be disposed to make, it cannot be questioned that the immortal celebrity of these men has been fairly earned, when we advert to the light they have thrown over the pages of the world's literature,

* Memoir, pp. 58—62.

—the stimulus they have given to the drowsy intellect of the east, and the victory they have gained over the vain boasts and banded infidelity of the west, —the improved state of society, by the diffusion of general knowledge, and the influence of unblemished conduct and exalted virtue they have produced among native heathens and once semi-barbarized Europeans,—and above all, in connection with their proclamation of the truth, their publishing and embalming the doctrines of salvation in the living languages of half the globe.

Near the close of the memoir, the Serampore missionaries state, as a motive for gratitude, that the "original mover of this great design is yet alive, and though feeble, in the full possession of all his faculties." This cause of gratulation was not, however, of long continuance. Remarkably preserved amidst his abundant labors in the sultry clime of India, nature at length yielded, and within a few months from the date of this document, CAREY was separated from his fellow-laborers by a gentle dismission to the world of spirits. Truly it might be said that one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the standard-bearers in the Christian army fell. For several years he was visited by indubitable premonitions of the termination of his career, less, perhaps, in the intellectual than in the physical part of his being. Repeated illnesses of a serious kind occurred, leaving him feeble, but still never ineffective as to mental exertion till towards the last. In a letter addressed to his sisters in June, 1830, he states that for a year and a half previously he had experienced successive attacks of fever, by which he was greatly reduced, and had often thought that the time of his departure was at hand; but he cheerfully committed his eternal interests to God through Christ Jesus. "I felt," says he, "that he had made a full atonement by the sacrifice which he had offered up; and that, eternal life being promised to every one who believes in him, might look forward with humble expectation to the time when all who are accepted in the Beloved shall be declared to be pardoned, justified, and made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light." Another letter, in July, 1833, intimates his conviction that it was the last he should write. All his children had visited him, from an apprehension it would be their final interview; but he revived, in almost, as he expresses it, a miraculous manner. In September, contrary to his expectations, he was able to write again, but speaks of having felt such extreme exhaustion, that it appeared to him death would be no more than removing from one chair to another. He was then able to sit or lie on his couch, and now and then to read a proof-sheet of the Scriptures. With little variation as to the circumstances, he continued to the ninth of June, 1834, the day of his emancipation from the body. His last will was found to contain this highly characteristic provision: "I direct, that before every other thing, all my lawful debts may be paid; that my funeral be as plain as possible; that I may be buried by the side of my second wife, Charlotte Emilia Carey; and that the following inscription, and nothing more, may be cut on the stone which commemorates her, either above or below, as there may be room; viz:

"William Carey, born August 17, 1761, died——

'A wretched, poor, and helpless worm,
On thy kind arms I fall.'"

Simplicity of character, which is an element of true greatness, was possessed in an eminent degree by Dr. Carey. It was not merely in his case, that which consists in rectitude of aim and purity of motive; but a native modesty of mind. It was the conception of the object of pursuit and adherence, as great in itself, that held him to it; not any self-flattering notion that *he* was great because he pursued it, or pursued it in an extraordinary way. His decisions were not formed under the influence of pride, nor his actions persevered in from the promptings of vanity. When he first said to the little brotherhood in Northamptonshire, "Here am I, send me," the offer was a devout consecration of himself to God,—an act of pure, Christian self-denial; and the joy of acceptance was the joy of faith. Had his brethren discountenanced his proposal, it is next to a certainty that his emotion would have been that of grief for the cause, rather than that of personal mortification.

The character of his benevolence was as expansive as it was pure; and it partook of that moral enthusiasm which looks on Alps as plains, and annihilates time and space as well as dangers.

What ardor and comprehensiveness of purpose did he display when, writing from the Bay of Bengal, ere he had reached his destination, he thus expresses himself, "I hope the Society will go on and increase, and that the multitudes of the heathen world may hear the glorious word of truth. Africa is but a little way from England; Madagascar but a little further; South America and all the numerous and large islands in the Indian and Chinese seas, I hope will not be passed over. A large field opens on every side, and millions of perishing heathen, tormented in this life by means of idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, and subject to eternal misery in the next, are pleading,—yes, all these miseries plead as soon as they are known, with every heart that loves the Redeemer, and with all the churches of the living God. O that many laborers might be thrust out into the vineyard of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that the Gentiles may come to the knowledge of the truth as it is in *him!*"

His manners partook of the character of his mind. They were plain. He was formed for activity, not for show; and hence, in the highest sense as regards his peculiar office, he was "a workman that needed not to be ashamed." There was the reality of labor, without the bustle and pomp of display.

Whenever a man is called in providence to do something in the doing of which he necessarily becomes distinguished, it is a singular advantage, both to himself and the undertaking, that he should possess the kind of character to which we have referred, in union with mental and moral energy. Instead of exciting envy and producing prejudice, it is not unlikely, where there is no assumption or artifice, that those who are surpassed as competitors will be conciliated as fellow-workers and friends. What of pre-eminence is virtually disclaimed by an unsophisticated and modest simplicity, will often be conceded as an act of justice not to be disputed; so that, in this respect, "he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." Carey acquired distinction on account of other qualities of mind and heart; but this was one of the noblest elements of his nature, and the proper basis of his fame.

He has generally been spoken of as having possessed the greatest aptitude in the acquisition of languages, and therefore as peculiarly fitted for the work he undertook. This may be true; but it is not the whole, or the most important part of the truth. What is usually termed aptitude is somewhat difficult to define, and perhaps after all is but a compound of diligence and perseverance. Our opinion is commonly formed from success; besides that, in such a connection, and with regard to such a man, when we speak of aptitude, meaning by it mere facility, we do not say enough, unless we bring into view higher qualities, with the promptings of superior motive. In mere capability or bias, there is nothing moral. The talent to acquire languages, which many possess who never apply it, or apply it uselessly, is not the first order even of intellectual endowments, though it may become akin to genius when combined with the diligence to pursue, and the power to grasp the noblest purposes to which the attainment is applicable. But whatever might have been his original aptitude, it is certain that in Carey it was rendered secondary and subsidiary to the moral end. In the first instance, his object might have been the mere love of knowledge, and his facility the fruit of an active intellect; but as his faculties expanded, and his heart became sanctified, this thirst for knowledge gradually became power of a more exalted kind. That he was led to the study of languages—that he excelled others in the pursuit—that he had the moral vigor to labor at his humble vocation, and labor at the grammar and the lexicon at the same time, and with distinguished success,—were not only proofs of talent, but manifest preparations of Providence. He thus became an instrument, qualified by God himself, for the diffusion of his word through the regions of heathenism; and in his capacity to do so, we behold the seal of his heavenly commission.

An eminent scholar has remarked, that "at the time when Dr. Carey commenced his career of oriental study, the facilities that have since accumulated were wholly wanting, and the student was destitute of all elementary aid. With the exception of those languages which are regarded by the natives of India as sacred and classical, such as the Arabic and Sungskrit, few of the

Indian dialects have ever been reduced to their elements by original writers. The principles of their construction are preserved by practice alone, and a grammar or a vocabulary forms no part of such scanty literature as they may happen to possess. Accustomed from infancy to the familiar use of their vernacular inflexions and idioms, the natives of India never thought it necessary to lay down rules for their application; and even in the present day, they cannot without difficulty be prevailed upon to study systematically the dialect which they daily and hourly speak. Europeans, however, are differently circumstanced. With them the precepts must precede the practice, if they wish to attain a critical knowledge of a foreign tongue. But when the oriental languages first became the subjects of investigation, those precepts were yet to be developed; and the early students had, therefore, as they gathered words and phrases, to investigate the principles upon which they were constructed, and to frame, as they proceeded, a grammar for themselves.

The talents of Dr. Carey were eminently adapted to such an undertaking as this, and, combining with the necessities of himself and of others, engaged him at various periods in the compilation of original and valuable elementary works. His Sungskrit grammar was the first complete grammar that was ever published; his Telinga grammar was the first printed in English; his Kurnata and Mahratta grammars were the first published works developing the structure of those languages; his Mahratta dictionary was also one of the first attempts in the lexicography of that dialect; his Punjabi grammar is still the only authority that exists for the language of the Sikh nation; and although he must concede to Holhed the credit of first reducing to rule the constructions of the Bengalee tongue, yet by his own grammar and dictionary, and other useful rudimental publications, Dr. Carey may claim the merit of having raised it from the condition of a rude and unsettled dialect to the character of a regular and permanent form of speech, possessing something of a literature, and capable, through its intimate relation to the Sungskrit, of becoming a refined and comprehensive vehicle for the diffusion of sound knowledge and religious truth."*

The same writer, after some critical and eulogistic remarks on the various grammars, dictionaries, and other philosophical publications of Dr. Carey, concludes in these words:—"Enough has, perhaps, been said to show that Dr. Carey was a man of no ordinary powers of mind; that he was endowed with prompt and acute apprehension; that he must have been capable of vigorous and enduring application; that his tastes were varied, and his attainments vast; and that he perseveringly and zealously devoted all his faculties and acquirements to the intellectual and spiritual improvement of his fellow-creatures in the East."

In a valuable paper by Mr. Jonathan Carey, appended to Mr. E. Carey's memoir of his uncle, he says, "In objects of nature, my father was exceedingly curious. His collection of mineral ores and other subjects of natural history, was extensive, and obtained his particular attention in seasons of leisure and recreation. The science of botany was his constant delight and study; and his fondness for his garden remained to the last. No one was allowed to interfere in the arrangements of this his favorite retreat, and it is here he enjoyed his most pleasant moments of secret devotion and meditation. The garden formed the best and rarest collection of plants in the East, to the extension of which, by his correspondence with persons of eminence in Europe and other parts of the world, his attention was constantly directed; and, in return, he supplied his correspondents with rare collections from the East. On this science he frequently gave lectures, which were well attended, and never failed to prove interesting. His publication of 'Roxburgh's Flora Indica,' is a standard work with botanists.

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"In objects of benevolence, my father took a prominent part. He, in conjunction with other gentlemen of the civil service, memorialized government for the abolition of infanticide; which object he saw realized by government prohibiting the offering of children to the

* Remarks on the Character and Labors of Dr. Carey, as an Oriental Scholar and Translator, by H. H. Wilson, Esq., M. A., F. R. S., Boden Professor of Sungskrit in the University of Oxford.

Ganges at Saugur, where a guard to the present day, is sent to prevent a recurrence of the horrid rite. He was also among the number of those who first urged the government to abolish *suttee*, or the burning of widows with the corpses of their husbands; and his assistance was afforded, under different administrations, in throwing light on the Hindoo writings on the subject, in order to induce government to abolish the rite; and he lived to see his hopes realized, in the steps which government ultimately took in putting a stop to the suttee throughout all the East India Company's dominions. In like manner, he also in various ways represented the evil tendency of the pilgrim-tax, and the aid afforded by the Bengal government towards the repairs and other expenses of the idolatrous temples at Juggernauth and other places of resort for pilgrims; and these exertions, though limited, he was gratified to find were more extensively taken up by others, and that they were likely eventually to prove successful.

* * * *

"To all classes of people he was mild and tender in his deportment; and with those who were of the household of faith he particularly sympathized in all their sorrows and joys, and relieved the wants of the distressed as far as he was able, out of the small sum he reserved to himself; and if this failed, he never let them go without his advice and condolence. He was naturally of a lively turn of mind, full of spirit; and in society was interesting in his remarks and communications, and conveyed much information on almost all subjects."

Although Dr. Carey rose to extraordinary eminence chiefly by devoting himself to one object, yet he evidently possessed that kind of universality of mind, if it may be so called, which is generally seen to characterize genius. To the grand purpose for which he went to India, were subordinated, with conscientious scrupulousness, all other pursuits to which he was led by his benevolent feelings or his mental tastes; such as his general desire of human improvement, and his particular attachment to botanical science; but he was qualified to excel in whatever might engage his attention. Had he been born in the sixteenth century, he might have been a LUTHER, to give Protestantism to Europe: had he turned his thoughts and observations merely to natural philosophy, he might have been a NEWTON, to compose the Principia, and unfold the laws of gravitation; but his faculties, consecrated by religion to a still higher end, have gained for him the sublimer distinction of having been THE TRANSLATOR OF THE SCRIPTURES, AND THE BENEFACTOR OF ASIA. But his humility shone even brighter than his genius; and of all that he did, in one sense at least, the greatest and noblest act was the last,—the inscription written by his dying hand for his tombstone!

JESSORE.

Mr. W. Buckingham. Native Preachers,—Ram Sooner and Saphulram.

During 1827, this station remained in a very discouraging state, excepting that the schools for boys greatly prospered. In 1828, Mr. Buckingham was very diligent in itinerating with the native preachers; but the springing up of the good seed seemed to be deferred. There were only twenty members in communion, and the same number were either suspended or excluded. But in 1829, eight were restored, and two added to the church. The four schools were carried on with success, with an average attendance of 176. This mission suffered a great loss in 1830, in the death of Mr. Buckingham, who was a valuable missionary. He composed four of the best tracts in the Bengalee series. The immediate occasion of his death was a fever. He was carried to the grave by the members of his poor flock, with every mark of affection and grief; and the gentlemen of the station manifested their respect by following the body. Mr. Parry was requested to succeed him, and give up his secular employment at Burisaul; where, however, Mr. Smith's hands were strengthened by a second native preacher, Vishwanalk, who was educated in the college at Serampore.

In 1832, three women were added to the little church. In December. Mr. Parry baptized two men and one woman at Bhursapoor. His usual efforts at the melas were continued and somewhat enlarged; but the entire aspect of the station showed a discouraging appearance, excepting that it was a centre of

itinerant exertions of some interest and extent. The district was estimated to contain about twelve hundred thousand inhabitants, Mohammedans and Hindoos.

DACCA.

D'Cruz and Mr. O. Leonard. Assistant, Mr. J. Domingo.

In 1827, D'Cruz and Mrs. Charles Leonard were removed by death; the former by a sudden and very rapid disease. He was at the time at his post, abounding in his work. "He had a deep sense of his own unworthiness of the Divine favor; but he knew the vast extent of God's forgiveness, and the power of his Redeemer to save, and without a shade of fear he committed himself to him. His humility, faith, gratitude, hope and joy, were all conspicuous. He died glorying in the cross of Christ. To him 'to depart and be with Christ was far better.'

"As a missionary, Mr. D'Cruz excelled. He had read much, both in theology and on other subjects, and he intimately knew and highly prized the Bible. He was a man of fervent piety, of great disinterestedness, and of generous concern both for the temporal and spiritual welfare of his fellow-men, energetic in his labors, hardy, and patient of fatigue. If he was deficient in any thing, it was in mildness of manner; but his general excellence caused that easily to be forgotten. He had much endeared himself to his colleague, Mr. Leonard, and to all those who loved the gospel in Dacca; and he was peculiarly well adapted for the sphere of labor which he occupied there. His death was therefore felt as an exceedingly heavy stroke to the mission."

Early in 1828, three were added to the church by baptism; but it became reduced to four by removals. The health of Mr. Leonard also became precarious, and he lost his son. Mr. Domingo being found incapable of essential service in the schools, left; but the state of the female schools was on the whole encouraging. In the following year, the English congregation, which had almost disappeared, was formed anew. A congregation of natives were addressed twice in the week, in the school-house, besides which favorable opportunities occurred in visits to the Bengalee schools, where crowds invariably assembled to hear the children read. The schools had now enjoyed the support of the local authorities, and the inhabitants generally, for fourteen years.

No additions were made to the church in 1830. There were seven native schools, containing between five and six hundred scholars, who were constantly receiving instruction in Christian truth. In 1831, they continued to prosper, and the Nuwab, for the first time, took an interest in them. The widows, with the other native girls, read before him at the public examination; when he expressed much satisfaction at their proficiency, and especially with the former, who were grown to maturity, and laboring for their livelihood, *instead of being sacrificed on the funeral pile.* Mr. Philip Paul, an Englishman, was sent, at the close of the year, to assist Mr. Leonard in his various labors.

Three or four were added to the church in 1832, among whom was Mr. Hogg, the quarter-master serjeant. Eleven members sat down to the Lord's supper on the evening preceding the public baptism. "Why," says Mr. Paul, "should we despair?" In the little accomplished there was indeed enough to produce deep anxiety; but these are the circumstances in which the mighty power of principle is exhibited, and the true sublimity of the missionary character is seen bearing up amidst difficulties, disappointments, and self-denials. The schools remained in much the same state as before; the scholars acquitted themselves well at an annual examination, and read to the people, assembled *outside to hear;* "and it was no unwelcome sight," observes Mr. Paul, "to behold a *little girl* of six or seven years, instructing from the everlasting gospel, in the way of salvation, those who, perhaps, once denied the sex to possess intellect." They were encouraged by the commander of a native regiment inviting regular preaching in the hall of his house, which was situated in the centre of the lines. Meetings continued to be held at different houses, and the Bengalee congregation was pretty good.

CHITTAGONG.

Mr. J. Johannes.

The English school consisted of one hundred and forty children, most of

them belonging to Portugese poor families, of which a great part of the population consists. Mr. Johannes superintended three native female schools, and supported a school himself of thirty boys. There was also a native boys' school of sixty pupils. This faithful missionary, moreover, conducted worship in Bengalee and English, and preached in the market-places and streets. He had free access, also, to the jail. In 1828, another female native school was established at Feringy Bazar. The English services were frequently attended by Roman Catholics. Mr. Johannes labored with great uniformity from year to year; and the regular services of religion which he conducted, were attended by a considerable number of his grown-up pupils, and such as had left for their employments. He preached in the bazars and streets, and frequently in the jail, but with no obvious results, excepting that the knowledge of divine truth was gradually diffused.

In 1832, fever and cholera prevailed; Mr. and Mrs. Johannes, with Mrs. Fink and their respective families, were affected by it, and several scholars in the school died. The model school went on satisfactorily. A few persons were baptized, and Mr. Johannes writes, "I have now been twelve years in Chittagong, and never felt that encouragement I do now, when I see Roman Catholics searching the Scriptures."

The district includes about a million of inhabitants, and it forms the southeastern extremity of Bengal. The people are a mixed race,—Hindoos, Mohammedans, Arracanese, or Mugs; the latter being essentially the same as the Burmans.

ARRACAN.

J. C. Fink. Native Preachers,—Khepo, Kallafree, Oogharee, Meearung, and Reepooway.

Eight persons were added to the church in 1827. The church was divided into three parts; one in the Christian colony, formed afterwards at Krueda, a place surrounded by jungles, on an island of the same name, and situated in the midst of the Arracanese; one at Akyab, the European station, where were seventeen members; and one at Kim-Kywon, where were eight members. Their conduct was exceedingly consistent, though the members were scattered.

The Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission furnish the following statement. "In March last (1827), an affecting circumstance occurred in the Christian colony, which is well worthy of record. A young man, the youngest brother of Meearung, the native preacher, went with others to cut down timber in the jungles; and as a large tree was in the act of falling, instead of running away in the proper direction, he ran so that it fell upon him. His companions immediately came to his help, but he was so bruised, that after lingering seven days, he died. He had not been baptized, but he appears to have given very satisfactory evidence of piety, and to have walked worthy of the Christian profession. During the seven days of his protracted agony, he put up almost hourly prayers to the divine Redeemer, entreating him to save his immortal soul. Nearly at the moment of his dissolution, he was asked, upon what he rested his faith and hope of salvation. He replied, 'Only upon the Lord Jesus Christ, who alone is able to save me;' and then turning to his brother, he desired him to look amongst his clothes, and see what money he had left. His brother did so, and found there was only one rupee. He took it, and desired it to be sent to Mr. Fink, with these words: 'Take this, which is the whole of my riches at my dying hour, and be pleased to send it to Serampore as my first and last contribution towards the printing of the Burman Scriptures, from which I have received that spiritual knowledge which has made me wise unto salvation.' Soon after, he fell asleep in the Lord."

In 1828, Mr. Fink's prospects seemed pleasing. He baptized a man of eighty. He was visited by several of the Mugs, and his attendance at the jail appeared to be useful. The native Oogharee died May 18th, and his loss was severely felt. His end was very happy, and his dying admonitions, especially to his father-in-law, an idolater, very pointed, and illustrative of the strength of his own faith.

The mission was considerably extended in 1829. To his ministrations in the native language, Mr. Fink added two services in English on the Sabbath, and one in the week, for the benefit of the *assistants in the public offices*, of

whom one made a public profession. Besides himself, there were now six native preachers engaged in diffusing the gospel in Arracan, occupying five stations. Among six added to the church during the year, five were natives of the province. In 1830, Mr. Fink and the native preachers continued their exertions with increasing hope of success. A permanent chapel for the Mug congregation was opened in March in Akyab. In April, the *sixth* native Arracanese, Kyo-jorhee, was ordained to the sacred office. "Here," say the Serampore missionaries, "is an occasion worthy of remark. An East Indian and Arracanese (Fink and Muthoor), in the presence of a native Christian church, engaged in the ordination of another native, who had at one time been an idolatrous priest!"

During 1831, the only addition to the church was a *priestess* who joined at Akyab. An English school was commenced there in November.

In April, 1832, the school-room was finished. A gentleman (Captain D.) intended to erect a workhouse, and connect it with the school, that the children might be able to learn several useful trades. Cholera prevailed greatly in Akyab, and diminished the attendance on religious services.

DINAGEPORE.

Ignatius Fernandez Native Preachers,—Niamut-ulla and Bhoodoo.

The number of the church, in 1827, was ninety-two; but of these, in the course of the year, seven were excluded, and two died. In 1828, a few were added. In 1829, three whole Mussulman families, consisting of seventeen persons, and some other individuals, renounced their religion, and joined the Christian community. Two schools, however, were discontinued, a Persian and a Bengalee, for want of support; but an old one, established by Dr. Carey before he left the district, remained, consisting of seventy scholars. In 1829, the church lost eight members by death, and only three were added to them; but Mr. Fernandez had the satisfaction of witnessing the uniform Christian conduct of the survivors. The number of members was about sixty-eight. On the 27th of December, Mr. Fernandez expired in his seventy-fourth year. He had suffered much during the previous six months from fevers; and at length, worn down by disease, he went to Serampore to die in the presence of his brethren. He was cheerful throughout his illness; "a celestial serenity marked every word he spoke." Dr. Carey thus refers to him: "Last Lord's day evening, I was called to perform the—shall I call it pleasant or painful office, of delivering a short address over the grave of our beloved brother Fernandez. He died about three o'clock in the morning, aged nearly seventy-four years. He arrived at Serampore at the beginning of last week, extremely weak and feeble. His first words to me were, 'My dear brother, I am come to lay myself with you.' The state of his mind was exceedingly desirable; he expressed a firm hope in the divine promises, and died full of joy in the Lord. He did not appear to have any particular disease, but was literally worn out. Brother Fernandez was, I believe, the first-fruits of this mission to Christ. Mr. Powell, who went out at the same time with brother Thomas and myself, was brought to the knowledge of the truth about the same time that brother Fernandez was, which occasions my speaking with doubt about who was first. I first saw him in 1796. He was then building a dwelling-house at Dinagepore, which, he said, he intended for the worship of God, and invited brother Thomas and myself to preach at the opening of it, which we soon after did. From that time till this there has been preaching in it; and our late brother was the instrument of collecting the largest church in Bengal. It now consists of nearly one hundred members, and when we take into account those who have died in the Lord, the number must amount to one hundred at least. These will be his crown of joy in the day of the Lord Jesus."*

Mr. Fernandez was born at Macao on the 31st of July, 1757, and was therefore seventy-three years and five months old. He came to Bengal in March, 1774; and of the fifty-six years which had since passed, he had spent forty-four in Dinagepore. In 1795, he obtained an old Bible from a Hindoo friend, by which it pleased the Lord to bring him in some degree to the knowl-

* Letter to Mr. Hope of Liverpool.

edge of himself as a lost sinner, and to feel his need of a Saviour, even Jesus Christ. During the following year, he became acquainted with Dr. Carey and Mr. Thomas, and by them was taught the way of the Lord more perfectly. From that time he was associated in all their efforts for the conversion of the natives of India; and we believe that the ministry of no other missionary in Gangetic India has been so extensively blessed. In his long Christian profession, a spot may possibly be found; yet he was a humble, compassionate, disinterested, and devoted servant of the Lord Jesus, whose memory will long live in the churches of India.

Mr. Hugh Smylie succeeded him, with whom was united Mr. Bareiro, one of the students of Serampore college. The year 1831 was a year of great trial, owing to the anxiety and trouble of winding up the affairs of Mr. Fernandez, and the repeated attacks of fever which both Mr. Smylie and Mr. Bareiro, had suffered. The former went to reside at Sadamahl, where he found no opposition, and the people around, who are chiefly Mussulmans, listened to the word with considerable attention.

Much illness prevailed in 1832, and Mr. Smylie and Mr. Bareiro were compelled to leave their station for some time, both having been much reduced by sickness.

BENARES.

W. Smith. Native Preacher,—Sivadas.

The missionary's labors were abundant, and attended with some success; though only two were added to the church during the year 1827. Sivadas died on the 6th of September, 1828. He was succeeded by Ram Dass, when the church consisted of ten members. Two European soldiers were baptized at Chunar, in April. The boys' school under Mr. Smith's care prospered; the books used were Hindee gospels and tracts. Mr. Smith conducted small meetings in private houses, made frequent excursions, and preached at his native school, the ghats, in the market-places, and the melas. Several additions were made to the church in 1830; among them a pundit, who had learned to suffer, and to take joyfully the loss of all things for Christ. In 1831, three were added; one of them, Siva Ram, was a brahmin and pundit, who stood fast amidst much opposition. One member was excluded. The number in communion was thirteen. The boys' school at Rajakadwara contained forty-one scholars, ten of whom read the Scriptures with fluency.

Ram Dass died in October, 1833. When Mr. Smith visited him, he said, referring to the severe pain in his chest, "It is not to be compared to the suffering of Jesus Christ, on whom all my hope of salvation depends. How wonderfully he has drawn me from the shackles of idolatry! and I am sure he will not forsake me now."

ALLAHABAD.

L. Mackintosh. Native Reader,—Gopaul, who kept a promising school in his house, consisting of about twenty young men.

In general this was a small, and not a very thriving station. Five members of the church resided in the fort. An encouraging example of the power of religion was afforded in the death of Seetaram, at Goruckpore, who had formerly been the native preacher at Allahabad. His dying testimony was throughout admirable. One of his last expressions was, "This undeserving creature is not worthy that the Lord Jesus Christ should receive him to himself; but what he does is entirely of his own free mercy."

Mr. Mackintosh frequently addressed the people, and circulated tracts at large melas or assemblies, and often with effect; but alas, here, as elsewhere, multitudes would dispute and listen, but not turn to God. He has detailed many interesting conversations in his journals, and on some occasions showed considerable tact. A pundit said on one occasion, "Produce me an instance of one who has been affected by, and has believed your report." "Well," said he, "it shall be one that was no less than a bigoted brahmin, and the son of a zemindar, who was most completely absorbed in all the customs, manners, and religion of the Hindoos." As Seetul was sitting by him, he stretched out his hand, and clapping him on the back, exclaimed, "Here is an instance; let him speak for himself." Accordingly, Seetul declared in the midst of the crowd, what the Lord had done for him, and what were the

benefits and spiritual comforts which he now enjoyed.

No additions were made during 1830. The church consisted of nine members, five of whom resided in the fort. In 1831, the church was farther diminished by the removal of two of its members to Monghyr.

Mr. Mackintosh states that in August, 1833, he baptized a young man of European descent, the head writer in the collector's office; and also Hurnam Singh, an inquirer whom he had gained at the mela.

DELHI.

J. T. Thompson. Native Preacher,—Sookha Misr.

During the greatest part of the year 1827, Mr. Thompson was absent on important missionary tours; but employed himself at home, from June to October, in composing tracts for distribution, writing a Hindoostanee commentary on Matthew, conversing with the people, and conducting worship in his own house and in the cantonments. Mr. Thompson travelled regularly to the annual assembly at Hurdwar in April; and in November to that at Goormacktishwer; and thus had opportunities of distributing the Scriptures in the Vikaneer language, to the west of Delhi; in the Marwar and the Goozeratee, to the south-southwest; in the Nepalee to the Goorkhas, on the east-north-east; in the Punjabee on the north-west; in the Pushtoo to the Patans and Affghan horse merchants; and in the language of Cashmere, to the north of Delhi. The visit of Mr. Thompson to Hurdwar in 1828 was deemed peculiarly interesting, from the number of conversations he had with persons who came from extraordinary distances, and the numerous opportunities he had of tract and book distributions. The following brief extracts from his journal may serve as a specimen of his valuable labors:—

"Yesterday evening, a singular man, a gentleman's servant, came forward in the crowd, and taking up a tract read it, and seemed to show great regard to the name of our Saviour; then, breaking off, said, 'This is the true Incarnation, and he alone can give ease to man; but, alas, these people are ashamed of confessing him.' I took up the subject, and stated our Lord's words on the point. The man acquiesced, and went away, lamenting as before.

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"The people from the Company's provinces not having come in great numbers, the distribution to-day was mostly among Sikhs on the west, and Goorkhas far to the east-north-east. The sight of several of the hardy Goorkhas on duty here, sitting with their books and tracts in the guard-room and among the people of the fair, reading, was not a little delightful. I well remember the regret with which I viewed their avidity for books some years ago, and the busy efforts of the brahmins to supply them with mental poison; but blessed be God they have since been furnished with Nepalee gospels, and Gookhalee tracts, a compendium of astronomy and geography, the Digdurshun and other school books, with everything published in Hindee; and every one now beholds with pleasure their progress in knowledge and their love for books. Some very young boys are able to read, and old men are not devoid of a thirst for knowledge. The sight of these men reading is truly delightful, and affords no little encouragement.

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"While reading and conversing, I observed an aged Hindoo of Peshour shed tears, though I cannot think he understood much. Yet when a man asked for the Niayu shaster, he quickly replied, '*The Niayu is full of contention, and gives no satisfaction:* these books point out an easy way, and *there is no contention in them.** I am quite satisfied that all who take books know that they are the Scriptures of *our* faith; most know them to be unfavorable to idolatry, and a system of works or human performance, and not a few are aware of their particular tendency to supplant other objects of faith; yet they consider the gifts of books containing the name of God as a *poonyu*, or act of righteousness, *bidya-dan, jug, usmed, &c.;* and some persons who take books themselves will not hand a book to another, but will have me to do it, as though some of the merit of the distribution would otherwise be lost to me!

* The Niayu, by the sage Goutumu, is the chief or only system of philosophy taught in Bengal. It is full of contention indeed. Though allowing God to be the Creator, preserver, and regenerator of all things, it maintains the eternity of matter and numberless absurdities.

"Yesterday evening a brahmin of Lahore (1356 miles from Calcutta) came to my tent, having taken books in the day, but found no opportunity of conversing with me among the crowds. The Sungskrit Psalms delight him much, and he finds himself introduced into a new world, or forced to reason in a new way respecting the Hindoo supposed incarnations, by reading the tracts on that subject. This evening, also, he spent about an hour with me while I was reading, and discoursed and prayed with my hearers from John 10. A Sikh of Rawel Pindee (only sixty-eight miles from the Indus), who took books to-day, said he had some years ago met with the Neeti-buchun, a Punjabee tract, and had read it so often that he had almost got it by heart. An aged Sikh of Lahore, having attended and sat near me two or three times every day, took leave this morning, carrying a Testament and Psalms with him, and having first knelt with me for prayer. As I close every day's intercourse with the people at the Pyree with prayer, I find a number of persons come statedly for the purpose, and stand with great seriousness."*

In 1829, Mr. Thompson mentions having circulated nearly six thousand books, pamphlets, and tracts, in Hindee, Oordoo, Sungskrit, Nepalee, Punjabee, Persian, and Arabic. At the Hurdwar annual fair, in 1830, he distributed, in at least six languages, 2200 volumes,—single gospels, pamphlets and tracts. The word preached in various places to multitudes, was regarded with "great and serious attention."

The students of the native college of Delhi evinced great anxiety to be furnished with the Scriptures and other books in English, Hindee, and Persian. Inquirers from time to time presented themselves, of an interesting character, particularly one of the name of Seva Dass, a Kuberee Sand. The Sands reject idolatry, and regard the Ganges like any other river. They profess to believe in one invisible God, and are taught that the soul is immortal, and of the greatest importance; but have no temple nor any regular priesthood. This sect is almost two hundred years old. Seva Dass first applied to Mr. Thompson for tracts, whom he had seen and heard at a mela four years before, and said he had made up his mind to know the utmost of the gospel. In 1831, Mr. Thompson reported a small addition to the church, and stated that some others had expressed their determination to follow Christ; while another class of persons, having read the Scriptures and other books, were favorably disposed towards Christianity; and not a few are widely scattered in the towns and villages, whose crowds resorted to Gurk and Hurdwar; and some were in Delhi. The number of books and tracts distributed in Hindee, Oordoo, and various other languages, was 4538.

On his visit to Hurdwar in 1832, Mr. Thompson records a variety of passing circumstances, showing that attention and inquiry were often awakened; and thus from year to year he pursued his course with unabated zeal, and often very useful results.

Besides the foregoing stations in connection with Serampore at the time of the withdrawment from the Society, a few others were formed, or brought under their management; but they were of subordinate importance, and require only a brief notice.

DUM DUM.

Native Preacher, Soobhroo.

Twenty-two members constituted the church, of whom five were Europeans. Two schools contained thirty children. In 1828, there were no accessions; two were suspended from communion; one removed by death. In a school-room erected by an officer, Soobrhoo had about 100 hearers; and his labors were abundant in the neighboring villages and on the way side. In 1829, the little church was full of peace and love, and the gospel seemed to have free course. During the year, eleven were added. Mr. H. Smylie conducted the worship of God for several years among his fellow-soldiers, and his growing preparation for missionary labor induced the brethren at Serampore at length to obtain his discharge from the army, when they received him into immediate

* The Pyree or Paree, at the base of a mountain projecting towards the river, is the far famed bathing spot, reputed holy, where there is room for only two persons to pass abreast. This occasions the most lamentable consequences. In 1819, four hundred and thirty persons were crushed to death, owing to a desperate rush of the pilgrims. The assembled multitude amounts to two or three thousand; but once in twelve years, when Jupiter is in Aquarius, at the time of the sun entering Aries, the number is not less than *one million*, and it was estimated as high as *two* in 1819!

union with the mission. The Dum Dum school advanced. In that at Neemta, three miles from the station, there were from 80 to 100 scholars, many of whom were sons of respectable brahmins.

Mr. Smylie's ministrations among the European soldiers were exceedingly useful; four young men of the artillery made a profession in May, and several others were accepted by the church. In the beginning of 1830, he went to succeed Mr. Fernandez at Dinagepore, where a person of matured experience and tried character was required. The church now consisted of twenty-nine members. During 1831, the church was supplied alternately by the brethren at Serampore and Mr. G. Pearce, of Cossipore, whose residence was within a few miles. Four were added, one excluded. An inquiring spirit was manifest among the soldiers; but great persecution prevailed in the barracks among their licentious comrades. Woodall died of fever in the regimental hospital on the 30th of August,—a young man who had made great progress in the study of the Scriptures, and gave promise of usefulness in the church. His loss was deeply felt, as he conducted the worship of the congregation. Soobhroo had been hindered by ill health, but his labors were blessed to two Hindoos.

In 1832, eleven or twelve were added to the church.

MUTTRA.

R. Richards. Native preacher,—Ram Dass.

In 1827, the church consisted of seven members, of whom five were natives. The labors of the pastor were considerably diversified; and his house was the resort of many inquirers, besides the poor and sick to whom he was in the habit of affording aid. At the close of 1828, he returned to the communion of the Episcopal church; and Ram Dass was sent to Benares.

BARRIPORE.

Within two months after his settlement here in 1829, Mr. Rabeholm was deeply afflicted by an event which was the first of the kind that had occurred in the missionary enterprise,—the murder of a native, Ram Kishora, on account of the gospel. It took place at Garda, a village about twenty miles south of Calcutta, where a great desire after the truth had been lately manifested. This roused the hatred of those who rejected it, a party of whom entered the house where he slept, about midnight, armed with clubs and bamboos, and perpetrated this foul crime.

In November, eight were baptized by Mr. Mack, and a church organized. In December, three others joined. Throughout the district much readiness was evinced to hear the gospel; and the rajah who, with his family, was present at the first meetings, furnished every facility for promoting education, and offered no obstruction to the propagation of the gospel.

Mr. Rabeholm furnishes some interesting accounts of his itinerant efforts in 1830, at Mugra-haut or market, Howrah, and other places. At the former, where he and Chodron talked of proceeding to other villages, they were constrained to remain for a time by the exclamations of the people, "Are we so unfortunate as to be excluded from a knowledge of the way of salvation?" On another occasion, at Nutumee, after preaching and distributing a multitude of tracts, two young brahmins began to beat their foreheads before the whole assembly, saying, "O, miserable people that we are, that we never heard of such things before!" As they passed along through the villages, they found several people in different places standing in the canal, *up to the neck in water*, waiting their arrival, in order to receive tracts.

The church, however, did not appear to be in a flourishing state. In the beginning of the year there were eleven members, but one died of consumption, and three were excluded. Three others, however, were received. Nidee Ram, an old member of the church of Jessore, was appointed as assistant to Mr. Rabeholm; but in 1831, he died most happily in Serampore.

BURISAUL.

Immediately on Mr. Smith's arrival at this new station, in December, 1829, he opened an English school; and three others were placed under his superintendence, one for Persian, one for Sungskrit, and one for Bengalee. The two former had been established the previous year, by Mr. Parry, with whom Muthoor, a native preacher, was associated to assist in spreading the gospel.

Mr. Smith was diligent in the promotion of the schools, and in occasional excursions to spread the gospel. There was a conspicuous place in the bazar, on the junction of four roads, where he and Muthoor went every evening, and found many attentive hearers. At this station the disposition of the *natives* to promote Christianity was highly encouraging. A rajah subscribed twenty-five rupees monthly, or £30 sterling a year. At the commencement of 1830, the church was limited to Mr. Smith and the families of Parry and Muthoor; but before the close of it was strengthened by the addition of the judge, Mr. Garrett, and his lady. Afterwards they had to regret his removal to Europe, when the numbers remaining were seven. There were then six schools; three for English, Persian, and Sungskrit, and three for Bengalee. In the course of 1831, every opportunity was embraced of preaching the gospel, both at the station and elsewhere, though with little apparent or ascertained success. Two thousand tracts were distributed at Oordoo, Nagree, and Kythee. The schools flourished, and were eleven in number.

In September, 1832, Mr. Smith established a school in the village of Joonea, among the Suttya Gooroos. The tracts were read in their village with avidity.

CAWNPORE.

On the 8th of September, 1830, Mr. Greenway was ordained to the work of the mission, and went to labor in this district. He is spoken of as a most frugal and faithful man; and Cawnpore was considered a spacious and promising field. A native school was established, and Hindoostanee worship conducted in the school-room. When Mr. Greenway became pastor in December, the church consisted of fourteen members. During 1831, several additions were made, and a clear increase obtained of eleven. A New Testament having been given to Gunputh, he was induced to throw off the badge of a brahmin, and three months afterwards to make a public profession of Christianity. A building having been erected for a native school and for conducting worship in Hindoostanee, Gunputh was appointed schoolmaster.

On a visit to Lucknow, the capital of Oude, in 1833, Mr. Greenway experienced considerable opposition in the distribution of tracts, and after being abused and pelted with mud, escaped with some difficulty. He distributed, however, or arranged for distribution, sixty-nine single Gospels, Testaments, and Pentateuchs, and 235 tracts, in various languages. The following interesting fact is stated in one of Mr. Greenway's journals:—"One morning in May, a havildar (a sepoy servant), a Hindoo known to us, came up to us, and requested a tract. We gave it him. Then taking it, he touched his forehead with it, with reverence, and, putting it into his military cap, remarked to the people, 'You do not know what these books contain; I was much set against them formerly, but since I have received one, I have been as much taken up with it, it contains such good advice and instructions. I am nearly the whole day reading it, when lying down in my cot at my leisure. You are great losers by refusing to read them; you all put me in mind of a person crying out 'fire! fire!' and a whole crowd running out to see, but cannot perceive any such thing; so your fear of these books arises from report and hearsay merely, not from ocular demonstration: see (pointing to us) what harm do these people do? None. Are you not then satisfied?' In fact, saying so much was a great deal; very rejoicing to us, and tending to lead the people to take away three more tracts."

ASSAM.

Mr. Rae was the first Christian missionary who had entered this country. He writes in March, 1830, that he had been much pleased with several inquirers, and that nine Garrow youths had been placed under his instruction by Mr. Scott, commissioner of the province. He had previously three Cassay princes, for whose education he took nothing, in the hope that hereafter, when two of them will reign as rajahs, they will be useful to their countrymen. His prospects and efforts were, however, much checked by severe trials. In November, he went on his first excursion to preach the gospel through the country, accompanied by Ram-chundra, an inquirer. He was received by the natives with much kindness, and the doctrines of the gospel were heard with wonder.

They were surprised that a sahib should take such trouble to come and tell them about salvation, and give away books for nothing. In June, 1831, the European gentlemen residing at Gowhuttee formed themselves into a society for maintaining schools in Assam, and requested Mr. Rae to act as secretary, and superintend whatever schools might be established.

CHAPTER IV.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MISSION IN INDIA IN CONNECTION WITH THE SOCIETY; AND HOME AFFAIRS FROM 1827 TO 1837.

CALCUTTA AND ITS IMMEDIATE VICINITY.

The laborers in this important vineyard, at the period of the separation, were *Robinson*, *Yates*, *Pearce*, *Penney*, *Kirkpatrick*, *Statham*, *E. Carey*, and the native preachers, *Gorachund* and *Chodron*. Mr. Eustace Carey and Mr. Statham having been compelled to revisit England for the restoration of their health, eventually remained there; and the station was somewhat enfeebled by the removal of Messrs. Boardman and Wade, two American missionaries who had for some time co-operated in their labors, but at length proceeded to Burmah, their original destination. Mr. Yates, also, was absent in Europe for a considerable period. Mr. Statham's place at Howrah was supplied by Mr. George Pearce, who resided at Doorgapore. Mr. James Thomas supplied the church in the Circular Road during the absence of Mr. Yates. The female schools claimed the special superintendence of Mrs. Yates and Mrs. Jonathan Carey. C. C. Aratoon and Kirkpatrick proclaimed the gospel, in connection with some young men of the juvenile auxiliary, in five or six native places of worship, and busily occupied themselves in Bible and tract distribution. Mr. Robinson was at the Lol Bazar chapel, and under his direction Chodron and Gorachund were employed as native preachers. W. H. Pearce, besides managing a large printing-office, superintended several schools; acted as secretary, during the absence of Mr. Yates, to the Calcutta School Book Society; and alternated the services of the Sabbath with Carapeit Aratoon at Calcutta and Doorgapore. Mr. and Mrs. Penney conducted the Benevolent Institution, where upwards of a thousand poor children had received a useful education, and many exhibited, in their conversion and missionary zeal, the fruit of its religious influence. The ladies in connection with the Circular Road chapel, formed a Poor Persons' Auxiliary Female Society. An important feature in the plan of female education was the establishment of a native female asylum, in which the pupils received support, education, and clothing, for such a period as to ensure their permanent advantage.

Mr. Yates having returned from Europe, in January, 1829, became pastor of the church in the Circular Road, at their urgent request. Mr. Thomas removed to Sulkea, near Howrah, and was thus enabled to supply that station, and maintain continual intercourse with the surrounding population of Hindoos and Mussulmans. Mr. Yates, with his missionary brethren, feeling the great importance of presenting the word of God to the natives of Bengal in as complete a version as possible, and knowing that for this purpose successive efforts were necessary, with ever perfecting emendations, soon determined on preparing a corrected version of the New Testament, availing himself of the aid of all other competent persons, as well as of the labors of predecessors in the work. For this purpose a fount of types was prepared, that the Testament might be compressed into the compass of a portable volume. Founts of type were also prepared, under the superintendence of Mr. W. W. Pearce, for the missionaries in Burmah and at Singapore. From the press at Calcutta, numberless tracts were issued to meet the growing demand in different parts of India; and by its employment in printing other publications, a considerable profit was constantly realized, and consecrated to missionary undertakings.

As soon as the gospel of Matthew had passed through the press, Mr. Yates and Mr. Pearce forwarded copies of it, as a specimen of a new version, to individuals well acquainted with the Bengalee language, requesting their opinions, which were in the highest degree satisfactory.* When the gospels were completed, they were circulated in a detached form, and the demand for them was exceedingly great. Subsequently, when the entire version was finished, it received the stamp of general approbation; and has been ever since regarded as the standard translation.

Mr. Yates was assisted for some time at the Circular Road chapel by Mr. George Pearce, who had been actively engaged in various modes of missionary labor at Doorgapore; and Christian worship was regularly maintained by him at Chitpore and Boronogur, with the aid of Paunchoo, besides continual visits to several villages on the banks of the Ganges. He was frequently cheered by the assembling of numerous congregations, and discovered occasionally in unfrequented parts of the country, Christian publications that were carefully preserved and read. A native was employed at his station to go from house to house, to read the Scriptures to the inhabitants.

In addition to his regular services, which were not without proofs of the divine blessing in the conversion and addition to the church of some individuals, Mr. G. Pearce devoted much time to itinerant excursions among the thickly scattered villages of the surrounding districts. In a very interesting journal of a series of visits in September, 1830, he mentions an idol, held in great esteem throughout the country, called Dohyin Roy, composed of potter's ware, and of the coarsest earth. It was imagined by the deluded people to have dominion over corn and fish, to obtain which in abundance, is the object of their adoration. This idol is seen under large, aged trees in different parts of the villages, and on mounds of earth raised in the fields. The year of his visit, God had given them demonstrative proof of their stupidity and folly, having sent a flood which, thoughout a district of forty miles in length, and twenty in breadth, destroyed the whole crop of paddy, and washed away their idols. This was a fine opportunity for appealing against idolatry, by pointing to the idols overthrown in the mud, and lying about, powerless. They were asked how it was possible that idols which could not save themselves, were able to save others? This generally silenced them for a time, but "It is wonderful," says Mr. Pearce, "to observe that such a thought appeared never before to have entered their minds!" It does, indeed, seem wonderful; but all error practises a delusion on the mind similar to that which affected these idolaters; concealing the most obvious truths, and degrading even the most intelligent minds, for "the natural mind discerneth not the things of the Spirit;" and the general rejection of Christianity, wherever it occurs, may be traced, not to the want of evidence, or even the almost axiomatic vividness of the truth, but to the force of prejudice and of guilty passion.

At the close of this journal, Mr. G. Pearce states that he and Mr. W. H. Pearce had come to an arrangement for the mutual oversight of the native converts at Kharee and Luckyantipore; and that five had proposed themselves from the latter place for baptism at Chitpore.

In 1831, the Calcutta native church, under the pastoral care of Mr. G. Pearce, including those baptized at Kharee, who were considered as forming a part of it, consisted of forty-four members, of whom twenty-four had joined during the preceding year. A commodious central school-room having been erected, the children, heretofore composing various little schools, were brought together under the patronage of the Female School Society, and the superintendence of Mr. G. Pearce. The number of pupils was five hundred and fifty.

Mrs. Pearce having left for England, together with Mr. and Mrs. Penney, on account of impaired health, Mr. Pearce removed, about the end of 1832, to Calcutta, and then fixed his residence at the suburb of Seebpore, and also took charge of the country stations of Luckyantipore and Kharee, Mr. W. H. Pearce's engagements requiring the concentration of his efforts in Calcutta. The Christian boarding-school at Chit-

* For a detailed statement of these testimonies, see the Appendix to the Society's Report of 1834.

pore having been transferred to the care of Mr. and Mrs. Ellis, that institution, consisting at the time of twenty-seven boys and twelve girls, was in a very prosperous state, and several of the pupils soon after made a public profession of religion. The school also increased in numbers. Besides these, they afforded instruction daily to between two and three hundred young persons, of whom a considerable proportion were female children. The care of the female department of the boarding-school subsequently devolved on Mrs. George Pearce, and accommodation was provided for them on the mission premises at Seebpore. It was a pleasing circumstance that the elder girls employed themselves in giving instruction to some of the poor women around them, and these juvenile labors were crowned with success.

The progress of Christian education in and around Calcutta afforded the highest satisfaction to the missionaries. Upwards of two thousand young Hindoos were now receiving instruction, and many of the most intelligent were regularly present at a series of lectures on the principles of Christianity. The influence of idolatry was evidently on the decline, and great numbers openly rejected the whole system. Some of the public journals, conducted entirely by natives, exposed its absurdities, and denounced it in the severest terms.

In November, 1831, Messrs. Lawrence and Ellis, having been sent out by the Society, arrived in Calcutta; the former went to Monghyr, and thence to Digah; the latter was immediately associated with Mr. W. H. Pearce in the labors of the printing-office, and with Mr. Yates in preaching at the Circular Road chapel.

The native church under Mr. W. H. Pearce exhibited much Christian excellence in its members, though not unalloyed by a conduct in some that occasioned sorrow, and required discipline. The diligence of the native preachers residing both in Kharee and Calcutta, was very exemplary, and they were not less distinguished by worth of character. A visit which Mr. Pearce, in company with Mr. Yates, paid to the former place in August, 1831, was productive of much pleasure; and as some of the incidents are characteristic of the country and the state of things, we refer to them briefly. The immediate occasion of the visit was, that a number had proposed themselves for church-fellowship, and several families had publicly renounced idolatry.

Having taken medicines for the more common diseases of the people, Mr. Pearce gave them, in the presence of many spectators, to the native preachers, with directions for their use. He also took seeds of the gourd, pumpkin, and other cucurbitaceous plants, and distributed them to be sown. As they are eaten in their curry by every class of natives, and will spread on the thatched roofs of the huts, it was rightly concluded that the cultivation of them might prove very serviceable both for use and sale. This kindness was highly appreciated and warmly acknowledged. "How cheaply purchased," says Mr. Pearce, "is the luxury of doing good!"

About two months before, one of their best qualified native preachers had found it extremely difficult to prevail on two or three of the women to attend their worship; but a religious concern was again roused by the baptism of two persons, and by an afflictive dispensation,—that frequent instrument of spiritual benefit. One of the Christian women was crossing a brook to a village, when she was suddenly seized by a crocodile, and after nearly effecting her escape, was a second time dragged under the water, and perished; nothing remaining but her chattah, or umbrella. A great impression was produced, and many from that time commenced serious inquiry.

After a proper investigation of the cases of those who professed faith in Christ, fifteen were baptized by Mr. Yates. "Only three years ago," he remarks, "all around was moral and spiritual darkness,—not a soul had heard of the name of Christ; now have so many been added to his church on good evidence of repentance and faith; a hundred and twenty have thrown off all the fetters of idolatry, and many more are preparing to follow their example."

They endeavored to prevail on the brethren at Kharee to let their children go to the native Christian boarding-school at Chitpore, and obtained two boys about ten years of age, one of whom seemed very intelligent. When

asked what a common plant they saw was used for, "O, sir," he replied, "this is a plant the *poor Bengalees* offer to their dumb idols, as if *they* could help them."

Mr. W. H. Pearce having long felt increasing solicitude to obtain some relief by the appointment of a superintendent for the printing-office, that he might devote himself more fully to missionary labor, and to the instruction of native candidates for the Christian ministry, Mr. Thomas L. Harjette was sent out by the Society, in 1834, to render this aid; but his health was deeply affected by the climate, and he speedily returned.

The unremitting exertions of Mr. Pearce, however, especially in connection with the details of the printing-office, and the new and improved version of the Bengalee New Testament, in which he co-operated with Mr. Yates, constrained his departure for England, in search of renewed health. The circumstances of this visit will be hereafter stated. Mr. Thomas vacated his charge at Howrah, in which he was succeeded by Mr. Ellis, to take charge of the printing-office. Mr. Ellis, to take charge of the printing-office. Mr. G. Pearce also was under the necessity of quitting his station for a time, to seek the renovation of his enfeebled health by a voyage to Bombay.

At the Lol Bazar chapel in Calcutta, Mr. Robinson had much encouragement. A great majority of the members being more familiar with the Bengalee than the English, public services were conducted in both languages. In several villages around, numerous congregations repaid his efforts, and those of his native assistants. Forty-three members were added to the church in 1829.

The Benevolent Institution was begun by the Serampore brethren in 1809, and continued under their direction. Mr. and Mrs. Penney having been sent out by the Society, it continued year after year an extensive blessing to the poor children for whose benefit it was originally formed. The attendance averaged from a hundred and fifty to a hundred and eighty in the boys' school, and in the girls' from sixty to eighty; and the general improvement and attainments of the pupils were said to equal that of those belonging to similar institutions in England. Some, when they left the school, established prayer-meetings at their own houses, which were frequented by their neighbors, and were made very useful. Several, after quitting the institution, occupied places in government offices and in houses of agency, and engaged in the instruction of their countrymen; and in many instances, where they had not avowed themselves Christians, they abandoned idolatry, and publicly declared their disbelief of the Hindoo mythology.

Mr. Kirkpatrick having been designated to the work of a missionary, in February, 1837, was at first employed at Howrah. There also, and at Sulkea, Mr. Thomas devoted his efforts, and undertook the care of the native schools. A native bungalow was erected at Sulkea, where the gospel was constantly proclaimed; while by the road side, and under trees in the neighboring villages, the inhabitants heard the glad tidings, and received large distributions of tracts.

Carapeit Aratoon was exceedingly active in connection with the young men of the Juvenile Society, in ministering to six native places of worship; so that more than a thousand persons heard the gospel every month from a single missionary. The village of Bonstollah particularly shared his labors. He was assisted by Soojatali and others, both in his labors in Calcutta and in several important country excursions. Much interruption to his efforts occurred from ill health; he nevertheless persevered, and in his exertions in and near the city he was assisted by De Monte, an East Indian, who was engaged under the direction of the Calcutta Auxiliary Society, and by native preachers. The opposition at first raised against the gospel gradually disappeared, till addresses were given for an hour together without the slightest interruption. Nor were these labors unaccompanied with conversions, though their general influence was their most obvious distinction. In a letter of Mr. W. H. Pearce, dated 1835, he says that twenty-one natives had been baptized in the course of one year, and others were proposed. "An intelligent middle-aged man has lately joined us in Calcutta, who, if he answers our expectations, will make a useful native preacher; and a young Mussulman, also, who has just expressed his determination to give up all for Christ.

One or both have received good from the preaching of brethren Carapeit, Thomas, and Soojatali. The last of these is a lovely Christian character. He preaches excellently, and lives so consistently, that every one admires and loves him. Had the gospel been successful in making of a proud, revengeful Mussulman only one such a meek, devoted follower of Christ, the money hitherto spent would have been well expended. But, blessed be God, Hindoos and Mussulmans not a few are already in glory, and many more on their way, who have been given to British Christians as the first fruits of their liberal exertions, and as a pledge, if they continue and enlarge their efforts, of a still more glorious harvest."

CUTWA AND SEWRY.

The reception of nine persons into the church in 1829, after a long interval during which very little success appeared, afforded Mr. W. Carey and his friends a little encouragement. Some of the junior members were induced to go forth on the Sabbath into the surrounding villages; but it cannot be said that this place presented much appearance of missionary prosperity. Some little progress was made in the small associate church at Sewry in Beerbhoom, and in the populous district around, where Mr. Williamson, aided by four native itinerants, labored for several years. Both Mrs. Carey and Mrs. Williamson were engaged in their respective stations in promoting to a considerable extent the cause of female education. In 1834, eleven were added to the church at Cutwa, and seven to that of Sewry. After ten years' effort, the church consisted of about forty persons; but we must not limit our ideas of the value of this or any other of the stations, especially such as seem subordinate, by the mere circumstance of the numerical magnitude of the church. It is necessary to take into the account the exertions of the natives in connection with the distribution of tracts and Bibles, and their various itineracies for the spread of the gospel throughout the district.

DIGAH.

For a considerable period after Mr. Rowe's decease, this station had remained destitute of a pastor, till Mr. Richard Burton succeeded to the office, who was considerably successful. Eight boys' schools were in connection with this station, containing two hundred and fifty children; but after the death of Mrs. Burton, which occurred in 1826, the schools for native females were necessarily discontinued. Mr. Burton himself was removed by death after a few days' illness, in September, 1828. He was a diligent and faithful missionary, and he had many seals to his ministry among the European soldiers and others. He had applied himself zealously to the acquisition of the language, but he was not permitted to realize his devout expectations of labor and usefulness. A successor was not found, till Mr. Lawrence was sent out by the Society, and occupied the vacant post in January, 1832. During the season of their bereavement, Mr. Leslie frequently visited the church from Monghyr, though at the distance of a hundred miles; and many additions were made to them, of whom several had been bigoted Roman Catholics. The removal of the regiment, in 1831, which had been stationed at Dinapore for several years, changed in some degree the general aspect of their affairs; but a leader was raised up among them who appeared adapted to superintend and promote their spiritual interests, when they were no longer under the eye of a missionary. Five native schools had been established; one for girls, which afforded scope for the exertions of Mrs. Lawrence. Mr. Henry Beddy, a native of Ireland, long resident in India, having devoted himself to the ministry, was at first destined for Digah; but on the arrival of Mr. Lawrence, he removed to Patna, a city of 200,000 inhabitants, where he formed a small English congregation, preached in a native bungalow on the Sabbath evening, established a Sunday school and a native boys' school, which flourished considerably. Two native assistants, Pyebah and Hurredas, were constantly employed in the bazars and places of public resort.

The populous city of Allahabad having become the seat of a new presidency, it was recommended to Mr. Anderson by the brethren at Calcutta, to

proceed thither, and to associate Mr. Lawrence with him. They considered that Mr. Beddy might supply his place, as Digah was not far from Patna. This plan however, was frustrated by the necessity laid upon Mr. Anderson of revisiting Europe for his health. Mr. Lawrence therefore continued his labors at Digah, and though without much success among the heathen, yet repeated instances of conversion occurred among the soldiers at Dinapore, who formed themselves into a small church, which soon increased to fifty members.

MONGHYR.

After the death of Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Moore continued the station, and aided its progress by encouraging the native laborers. An incapability of acquiring a foreign tongue had prevented him from fulfilling the chief duty of a missionary, that of preaching to the heathen; but he supported himself by an English school, and took the pastorate of the little church planted there. In this he persevered till his removal from the station occasioned its being transferred entirely into the hands of Mr. Leslie, who by this means obtained an opportunity of itinerating to all the surrounding country. Soon after Mr. Leslie began his labors, he was gratified by the decided conduct of a number of natives, chiefly women who had been married to English soldiers, and who were the fruits of the seed sown by his predecessor. The number of Christians, both Europeans and natives, slowly increased; and rarely is so much excellence of Christian character seen as was exhibited in that little flock.

In 1832, it was found necessary to enlarge the native chapel to double its original size, on account of the increase of the congregation; and several Europeans had united to the church.

Mr. Leslie felt much interested in a tribe of people inhabiting some of the neighboring hills of Rajmahal, who were by some supposed to have been the aborigines of the country. Two attempts had been previously made to gain access to them by zealous individuals, who having imprudently ventured into those regions at the most dangerous season of the year, fell victims to the jungle fever. Learning wisdom from these examples, Mr. Leslie first made inquiries at Bhaugulpore, where a number of soldiers belonging to these tribes were stationed, for some one who might be suitable as a teacher of their language. He soon succeeded in obtaining a youth, with whose assistance he commenced the study of the language, religion, and manners of the hill tribes, and pursued it with great vigor, cherishing the utmost solicitude to see Christ formed in the soul of this interesting youth, that he might be able to declare the gospel amongst his countrymen. Long he labored to convince him of sin; but he constantly affirmed that he was no sinner, till one day the words of instruction were accompanied by such a ray of light from the divine Spirit, that Maisa (that was his name) instantaneously became effectually impressed with a penitent sense of his guilt, and speedily found joy and peace in believing. When his conduct had given sufficient evidence of his sincerity, he was baptized, and received into the little church.

Mr. Leslie having realized the first object of his wishes, prepared to visit the hill tribes with this native and Hindoo preacher. It was a wearisome journey, performed on foot, through dense forests impregnated with malaria; but he considered his laborious effort as amply repaid. Maisa acted as interpreter, and wherever the missionary went, he was joyfully received and hospitably treated, although many had never before looked on the face of a white man; so that he often heard a herald crying before him, "Men, women, and children, come and see a white man!" Their hospitality abounded. A vacant hut in each village which he visited, was immediately allotted to the stranger's use; and if there chanced to be no one vacant, the inhabitants of two huts united, in order to provide for the missionary's accommodation. They next brought several platters of their own food, generally boiled beans; and after leaving it some hours, they returned, and removed the platters, touched or untouched. They supplied wood daily for the necessary fires; for the cold in these hills is greater than that of the plains. After residing a month with these very interesting people, Mr. Leslie left them,

hoping again to visit them the following year; and high were his expectations regarding a people so prepared to receive the gospel. They listened with great attention to the messages of the gospel brought by their countryman, and entreated farther instruction; and before his departure, the missionary's heart was gladdened by overhearing in the midnight hour, a man engaged in prayer to Jesus.

A few extracts from Mr. Leslie's journals may interest the reader:—

"*Jan.* 19. Sabbath. This morning, the villagers, to the number of sixty, besides children, assembled to hear our message, when Maisa, Nyansookh, and myself addressed them. They were in general, I think, more attentive than those of any village we have yet visited. They seemed well disposed, and desirous to be as kind to us as they could possibly be. They evinced more curiosity than the people of any other place, with the exception of Kommo Joneean, gathering around us, and considering us with great attention. Many of them could speak a little Hindoostanee, and one of them could imperfectly read Hinduwee, having been educated in the school at Bhaugulpore. We gave him a gospel, with which he seemed greatly pleased, began immediately to read, and did not fail to seek our aid for farther instruction. I have no doubt he will, in a very few days, read well. He belongs to a small village, about half a mile distant, bearing the same name as this. Desirous of accompanying us, for a similar object with Doolee, and of even going with us to Monghyr, he went home to consult with his wife on the subject; but returned the next morning, saying his 'Mem' would not agree. We were, as the reader will readily conceive, not a little surprised at the sound of such a word among the mountains.

"About two, P. M., we ascended the second range of hills, accompanied by the man who could read, as a guide; and visited a small village on the top, called Komobetah. About thirty people, besides children, assembled. They were tolerably attentive while Maisa preached Christ to them, and prayed. Both Nyansookh and myself, also, endeavored to impress them with a sense of the value of eternal things. This hill was the highest and steepest of any we had yet ascended: on the declivity were some fields, and on the top a large tract of very fine soil, much of which had been cultivated. Here we observed, for the first time, the barriers in the pathways, to prevent the ghosts from approaching the villages.

"Proceeding along the top of the hill, half a mile farther, we reached another small village, called Biddo-Patum, or Putma. The people, to the number of twenty-five, exclusive of children, were very attentive. Two or three of those present being sick, Maisa, in addition to telling them of Christ and his salvation, dwelt, at my request, on the extraordinary cure of the sick man at Bethesda; and on the cures in general, effected by Christ. One of the sick said he would hereafter call on the name of Christ only.

"Before sunset, we descended with some difficulty the lofty and steep hill, and returned to Kaitugbeetah; where, shortly after, we were surprised at hearing some of the people pulling down the ensign of Kalee, and exclaiming as they laid it low, 'Henceforth, Jesus will be our only God.' We afterwards understood that they had, after a long consultation in our absence, come to this determination. Whether they will ever erect the bamboo again, we know not; but they cheerfully and very unceremoniously displaced it. Doolee says, he now expects that as soon as the news goes forth of what has befallen the bamboo here, all the others will share the same fate. He is busy at his book; and to-day expressed a wish to be taught to pray, as he was desirous of being a disciple of the Lord Jesus.

"*Jan.* 24. Betwixt Hurrah and Umbra are situated two small villages bearing the name of Diggee. We entered both, and preached to about forty persons. An old man evidently took great interest in what we said, repeating again and again our words to the others, and commenting upon their correctness. He seemed full of love and ready to do anything for us.

"In the evening, we entered one of the divisions of Umbra, and found the people ready to march to a neighboring village, for the purpose of drinking tuddee. We invited them to seat themselves, and to hear us before they departed. They did so. We dwelt upon

the sin and consequences of drunkenness, and spoke to them of the gospel generally. They seemed much cast down; and looked as if the great God had caught them in his net, and had blasted their prospect of immediate enjoyment. They said nothing. We left them; and are ignorant whether they went on their journey or not.

Upon the arrival of the next cold season, Mr. Leslie ventured again amongst these tribes. Though their stay was very short, they were much encouraged by all they saw, to make future attempts for the benefit of this people. But thoughtlessly passing one of the dense forests before sunrise, they imbibed the deadly miasma, and in the course of a fortnight, were both seized with the jungle fever, and brought down to the very gates of death. Both, however, were spared, though they have been since subject to periodical attacks of the same fever, which nothing but a change of climate ever eradicates. After lingering through four years' continuance of this determined fever, he decided on a voyage to England, that thus freed from his disease, and strengthened by the cold of his native clime, he might be enabled to return with renewed strength to the vineyard in which he had been honored to labor for more than seventeen years with pleasing success.*

ISLAND STATIONS.

1. *Ceylon.*

While the churches in Colombo and Hanwell, with four villages, were regularly cultivated by Mr. Chater and Mr. Siers, and contained, at the period of the separation of Serampore and the Society, between thirty and forty members, the schools formed the chief feature of this mission. There were ten boys' schools, containing nearly 500 children, and three female schools, containing upwards of 100, under the superintendence of Mrs. Chater. In the former, two or three had been converted to the truth, and one was subsequently sent to the college at Serampore, to receive instruction for the Christian ministry.

The valuable life of Mr. Chater was now, however, approaching to its termination. Worn down by the unremitting labor of twenty-two years, he embarked for England, with a view of recruiting his exhausted strength, on the 25th of December, 1828; but expired on the second of the ensuing January, before the ship had reached the Isle of France.

Mr. Siers exerted every energy to supply the lack of service occasioned by the decease of Mr. Chater; but it was sufficiently obvious that the station required the permanent aid of another missionary. This want was happily supplied by the ready self-devotement of the Rev. Ebenezer Daniel, who had been for many years the respected and successful pastor of the church of Luton, in Bedfordshire. He sailed from England, with his family, in the spring of 1830, and arrived at his place of destination in August. Within little more than twelve months after his arrival, Mr. Daniel was able to address the natives intelligibly in their vernacular tongue. In the course of two or three years he had established five new schools, making the total number fifteen, and had written tracts on Mohammedanism and Popery, which being published by the Colombo Tract Society, were widely circulated, and produced a powerful impression. Some afflictive events, however, occurred. In 1834, the island was visited by an inundation, which was very destructive both of property and life. His coadjutor, also, Mr. Siers, suffered much from indisposition, as did several of the members of his own family, till at length Mrs. Daniel and her daughter were compelled to leave the island in 1835. The delay had been too long: she died on the voyage; but her daughter reached England in safety and in improved health. Mr. Daniel, however, persevered in his work, and, with the aid of Mr. Siers and two or three natives, worship was maintained at stated intervals, in fiftenn different places in and around Colombo. The station at Hanwell, distant twenty miles, with three neighboring villages, was occupied by Carlos, a Cingalese preacher. Another church, also, was formed in Byamville, ten miles from Colombo, which, in 1835, consisted of thirty members. Mr. Siers collected a new congregation at Slave Island, where a small chapel was erected in 1836. Many of the former pupils in the schools died in the faith, and several were now

* The preceding account is derived chiefly from Mrs. Leslie's narrative given to the author, and is generally expressed in her own words.

in communion with the church. Three from Colombo were employed continually in preaching the gospel. Mr. John Meldor presided over the church at Byamville, and Mr. Silva superintended a new station at Matelle, in the Candian province.

2. *Java.*

It had been thought desirable that Mr. Bruckner should remove from Samarang to Sumatra, on account of the unsettled state of affairs in Java; but he was afterwards requested by the committee to remain in his station till he had printed the New Testament. In the early part of the year 1828, he left for Calcutta, where he arrived in July for the purpose of pursuing this object by preparing a fount of types in Javanese, the translations having been already completed. No sooner had he begun the printing than he was attacked by a dangerous illness, which compelled him to desist, and take a voyage to Malacca; but being happily restored, he resumed his labors a few months afterwards. It was, however, of necessity a slow operation, on account of the great intricacy of the Javanese characters, but was completed in 1830; and the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, by the direction of the parent committee, on a grant of £500, placed one half of the number purchased at the disposal of Mr. Bruckner, for circulation in Java. On his return to Samarang, he carried a considerable number of tracts, which excited extraordinary attention, so that crowds from great distances surrounded his house to obtain them. This circumstance led to an interference of the police, which rendered it necessary for him to repair to Batavia, and appeal to the Dutch governor-general, who immediately took off the prohibition. Wherever he continued to proclaim the gospel, he was listened to with attention. Little fruit, however, resulted from his labors; and his own description of the discountenancing policy under which the Javanese were governed, is to this amount, "Let them remain what they are: it does not agree with our politics to enlighten them." This subsequently assumed a more direct form of personal opposition and subserviency to existing prejudices. He was even forbidden to distribute the New Testament, *lest it should excite insurrection!* Tracts, too, were prohibited; but he was allowed to pursue his other labors; and this he did with much self-denying zeal, though uncrowned with apparent success. From Europeans he received no encouragement.

3. *Sumatra and Padang.*

It was supposed that Mr. Ward would have been able to maintain the station at Padang, and that Mr. Bruckner might have been associated with him there. He therefore removed from Bencoolen, and in anticipation of the return of Mr. Evans, purchased some premises. It having been ascertained, however, that the political state of the island was obstructive to the spread of the gospel, Mr. Ward was directed to return to Bengal. He remained, however, for some years, to complete his version of the New Testament into the Malay language. Besides this, he prepared a Malayan Dictionary, to which was subjoined much information respecting the Batta, the Neas, and the Pozzy languages. In doing this, he made those discoveries in the use of particular words; and this induced a delay of several years in the publication of the New Testament, after he had prepared it for the purpose of exact revision.

HOME AFFAIRS.

The disruption of the Society which occurred in 1827, did not appear to cripple its resources, or paralyze its efforts. The ordinary receipts from the general fund in 1827, or rather from June, 1827, to June, 1828, the missionary year, exceeded by a thousand pounds those of the similar previous period. Among other friendly donations, besides the munificent gifts from individuals, was that of £200 from the Netherlands Missionary Society, and Bibles and tracts from the Bible and Tract Societies respectively. In the following year, however, in consequence of a defalcation from the average amount of legacies, and in other ways, it was found necessary to call public attention to the subject of supplying the large deficiency. The extraordinary contributions presented at the anniversary of 1829, amounted to *three thousand pounds*, which were afterwards increased to

about *four thousand eight hundred*,—the benevolence of the Christian public thus furnishing a surplus in aid of the current expenditure. Never will those who were present on that great annual occasion forget the manner in which J. B. Wilson, Esq., the treasurer, in scarcely audible words, and with an evident shrinking from the inevitable publicity of the act, which bespoke the eminent Christian, announced his purpose of laying upon the altar of God, five hundred pounds. This was followed by other princely donations from W. B. Gurney, Esq., and various well-known friends of the Society. One thousand pounds were subsequently given to the general fund anonymously.

Encouraged by these proofs of public interest, and by the well-sustained regularity of the contributions, the committee sent out fresh missionaries to the different fields of Christian labor, and hesitated not to embrace every fair opportunity of extending their efforts. Again and again, in subsequent years, the enlarging agency of the Society demanded similar methods of liquidating its debts, and these demands were continually responded to with similar liberality.

Active and eminent individuals, however, were from time to time removed by death. The names of the Rev. Richard Horsey, of Wellington, a man of great worth, and much beloved, and the Rev. Robert Hall, of Bristol, occur at the close of the report in 1831. Mr. Hall had long been the most distinguished ornament of the denomination, and by his genius had acquired universal celebrity. At Cambridge, Leicester, and Bristol, he had shone like a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of the church; and while his surviving friends will cheirsh his virtues and his brilliant qualities among their choicest reminiscences, his works, as the finest specimen of English composition, will carry down his name to the latest posterity. His talents were wonderfully diversified, and he possessed the remarkable power of making himself felt as pre-eminent in whatever character he presented himself. When in familiar converse, he seemed the best of friends and most discriminating of advisers; when engaged in prayer, he appeared to carry devotion to its utmost pitch; and when preaching the everlasting gospel, he kindled with a seraph's ardor, and poured forth an irresistible torrent of eloquence with a readiness which gave it the appearance of an extemporaneous effusion, yet with a simplicity and beauty of composition, combined with profundity of thought, which proved it to be the result of careful study and constant mental revision. It does not, however, belong to history to give the details of biography, or to pronounce an oration over the grave of departed worth and greatness; but as connected with the missionary committee, though seldom sharing in its counsels,—as having done good service to the cause, in pleading for the amended charter of the East India Company,—as having subserved the interests of the Society by occasional and productive journeys to aid its funds,—and as having cherished a never-failing interest in its affairs, the name of Robert Hall, though not so specifically a *missionary name* as many others, could not but be recorded here with distinguished honor, love, and veneration.

Other instances of mortality among the long-tried friends of the Society occurred in rapid succession. The Rev. Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich, expired on the 1st of September, 1832, after only a week's illness, in the 67th year of his age, and the 44th year of his ministry. He had taken a leading part in the proceedings of the Society, having moved the first resolution at the unnual meeting in June, as he had through many years zealously co-operated with the committee. His opinion was always expressed with modesty, and listened to with respect. He was quick in perception; his suggestions were judicious; and in general he had little of pertinacity. His method of speaking was very similar on the platform and in the pulpit,—hurried, partaking of the vivacity of his conceptions, but unformed and inelegant. He had, besides, a kind of jumping, dancing movement, which very much diminished the impression; but he failed not to produce sensible and often ingenious remarks, convincing the hearer that he was possessed of great though not pre-eminent talents, and that he was deeply in earnest to promote the cause which had engaged his heart. He was pos-

sessed of considerable learning, keen as a controversialist, and one of the best biblical critics of the denomination.

The committee had also, in the very same month, to deplore the loss of the Rev. W. H. Angas, of North Shields, who had, in a variety of ways, promoted the interests of the Society. He had spent many of his early years at sea, but at length devoted himself to the Christian ministry, and especially to the instruction of seamen, for whose special interests he was ordained as a missionary. With a view of establishing more intimate relations between the Mennonites of the continent and the Baptist Missionary Society, the committee requested him to visit Holland in company with Mr. Ward, then in England. He had been familiar, before, with the country and the language. Mr. Ward was with him but a short time, when he pursued his separate course through North Holland. He visited most of the Mennonite churches there and in the lower provinces of the Rhine; and before his return, had the twofold satisfaction of receiving £320 from the Netherlands Bible Society, at Amsterdam, for the translations of India, in consequence, as was stated, of the information he had given, and of forming an auxiliary to the Baptist Missionary Society. He visited the continent repeatedly afterwards, and stirred up the minds of his brethren there, so that the auxiliary yielded about £200 per annum to the Society for many years. In 1829, he repaired to Switzerland, for the same general object; though his life was chiefly devoted to seamen, for whom he labored both at home and abroad. After having paid a third visit to Holland, in 1830, he undertook a voyage to Jamaica, where he rendered important service to the mission. He died of cholera at the age of fifty-one, at Shields, September 7, 1832.

In 1834, another valuable friend of the Society, the Rev. Joseph Ivimey, was called to his heavenly rest. He was a man peculiarly devoted to the interests of the denomination to which he belonged; so much so, that notwithstanding considerable generosity of mind, he often made himself suspected of a party spirit. It may, perhaps, be said, that his heart was catholic, but his temper sectarian. During many years, he was one of the most valuable members of the committee; regular in his attendance, zealous in his co-operation, and invariably ready to undertake any service to which he might be called. Although he was much devoted to the Baptist Irish Society, of which he was the founder, yet he never suffered that, or any other public interest, to detach him from the mission. He deeply sympathized with all its difficulties, and rejoiced in its successes. He suffered considerable disadvantage from a want of early education; but he had read and thought much, and a certain rudeness of manner was compensated by the warmth of his heart, and the energy of his conduct. His great characteristic was holy zeal; but while not exactly adapted to be a guide, he was admirable as an active coadjutor. He had strength of intellect without much enlargement of mind; and though far from being attractive as a speaker, his general character bore him through, being always highly estimated for his uncompromising sincerity, fervent benevolence, and known attachment to the missionary cause.

The same year was mournfully distinguished by the death of John Broadley Wilson, Esq., who had long acted as treasurer of the Society. He originally occupied an ordnance department at Plymouth Dock (Devonport), and had the best prospects, under the auspices of the marquis of Townshend, of worldly advancement; but on becoming truly pious, he abandoned these prospects, and retired from the public service to Clapham Common. He was baptized by Mr. Birt, but retained his connection with the church of England; and after his removal to the neighborhood of London, attended the ministry, and actively associated with the congregation, of Rowland Hill. While the cause of Christian benevolence at large lost one of its best supporters by his death, the Baptist Missionary Society, in particular, was deprived of a most sincerely attached and munificent friend. Whatever he did was uniformly done in the spirit of "not letting the left hand know what the right hand doeth." In presenting or promising the largest donations, his manner never differed from that in which he would transact the

most ordinary business. There was nothing about it that seemed to claim notice, or demand approbation. He shrunk, if it may be so expressed, even from his own actions; and to applaud any thing he did, was to touch a sensitive plant. Few persons, probably, rendered a more punctilious and perfect obedience to the apostolic injunction, "Be ye clothed with humility." It was, indeed, his habit and his dress.

On the 12th of April, 1837, the missionary cause, in common with that of general literature and theology, was deprived of the truly excellent and energetic Dr. STEADMAN. His name occurs in association with that of Mr. Saffery, in a domestic journey taken in obedience to the wishes of the first promoters of the mission; and although he afterwards differed from his brethren on the committee with regard to the Serampore question, his steady and useful co-operation of many years endeared him to each party to the last. He was extensively known and loved both in England and in India.

Dr. Steadman first became a student in the Bristol academy in 1788; a pastor at Broughton, in 1791, where he labored for six years; assistant to Mr. Birt, at Plymouth Dock, for two years,—then sole pastor of a separate community; and, finally, pastor of a church at Bradford, and president of the Theological Institution. He possessed great decision of character; peculiar conscientiousness in the choice of his sphere of activity, and in the discharge of his duties; untiring zeal in the pursuit of an object; great private worth and public estimation. He was a devoted friend of missions; and wherever his counsels were needed, or his services asked, they were yielded with readiness and crowned with success. His appearance was uncouth, his manners unattractive; and yet his real goodness, his excellent sense, and his affectionate spirit, ensured him everywhere a welcome reception. Whatever the exterior might have been, the inner man was fair and noble.

In little more than two months after the decease of Dr. Steadman, occurred that of WILLIAM BURLS, Esq., of Lower Edmonton. Modest worth, and devotedness to every good object, were his characteristics. His early attention to business introduced him, first into partnership, and then into possession of the business where he was apprenticed in Lothbury. After forming an intimate friendship with Mr. Fuller, Mr. Sutcliff, Dr. Ryland, and others, he became much identified with the mission, and was extremely useful in aiding its operations. His prudence, sound judgment, and general tact in business, were of the utmost importance. For many years, he acted as its agent in London; held the office of treasurer during 1819 and 1820; received the missionaries, as well as distant members of the committee, at his house; transacted all the pecuniary concerns, allowing the missionaries to draw their bills upon him; and steadily persevered in his useful and honorable course, till laid aside by an apopleptic fit in October, 1824. Life after this, though partially revived, was attended with much feebleness, till he was finally summoned, by a gentle intimation, to enter the joy of his Lord.

CHAPTER V.

RRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE REUNION OF THE SERAMPORE MISSION WITH THE SOCIETY.

"A BROTHER offended," says Solomon, "is harder to be won than a strong city:" an adage which is verified in the experience of individuals every day; and of which ten long years of separation between the Serampore missionaries and the managers of the Baptist Missionary Society, afforded, in regard to associated bodies, an ample illustration. Without attempting to apply the scales, so as to determine the proportionate measure of wisdom or weakness in either party, profound regret may be expressed, that even a temporary alienation should have existed; while devout gratitude is due to God for that providential ordering of events, by which divided brethren were reunited, and dissevered interests again blended and consolidated.

In consequence of the misunderstandings which had arisen, vigorous exertions were made by Dr. Marshman, as representative of the Serampore missionaries, to assist their separate operations; and both England and Scotland displayed much zeal and liberality. A committee was formed, which soon became the executive of a "Society in aid of the Serampore Mission;" and by means of an active agency, considerable funds were raised.

During this suspension of co-operative effort, year after year elapsed without, strictly speaking, either opposition or union between the two societies. Each possessed too much piety and love to the common cause to be hostile, though their interests were diverse; and, perhaps, each had too little of a self-sacrificing spirit, heartily, and as fully as might have been desired, to sympathize in the movements of the other. Constituting the same denomination, however, and concurring in the same general objects, it was often and deeply felt by individuals, that the two societies had been driven into an unnatural position, from which many were anxious to escape. A reunion was generally thought to be impracticable, and by some it was even deemed undesirable, on the ground, chiefly, that from the manner of the separation, it was presumed, that were it effected externally, it could scarcely be cordial. Peace-makers did attempt to speak at times, but they spoke in vain; and Christians of other denominations employed occasional efforts to restore the primitive entireness of the Society. The author received a very admirable letter on the subject from a distinguished pædo-baptist minister, urging him to attempt some method of healing the division; and the late Rev. Joseph Hughes appealed, in affectionate and forcible terms, to the ministers and friends assembled in open committee, at one of the anniversaries of the Society. But the time did not seem to have arrived, when any effectual movement could be attempted, till the year 1837, the tenth from the separation, and the twentieth from the commencement of the discussions.

The committee of the Society in aid of the Serampore Missions assembled at Liverpool, on the question of reunion, and appointed a deputation to confer with the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society. This overture having been accepted, the following gentlemen met the committee at Fen Court, on Thursday, the 7th of December, 1837, —namely, the Rev. G. Barclay, of Irvine, the Rev. B. Godwin, of Liverpool, H. Kelsall, Esq., of Rochdale, and J. L. Phillips, Esq., of Melksham. The first hour was occupied in devotional exercises, when Mr. Barclay, Mr. C. E. Birt, Mr. Godwin, and Dr. Cox, offered prayer. Several hours ensued of free discussion on various points; and the meeting was conducted on both sides with a candor, courtesy, and Christian feeling, honorable alike to all, and essentially conducive to the felicitous termination of the conference.

Upon an adjournment, the deputation were requested to prepare a statement which might define the nature and extent of their proposal, and supply a list of the stations and agents to be connected with the Society, together with an account of the pecuniary liabilities. The committee having resumed its sitting in the evening, appointed a sub-committee, consisting of Dr. Cox, Dr. Hoby, Messrs. Dyer, Beeby, Bickham, Groser, Hinton, and Steane, to meet the deputation on the following morning, for the arrangement of the details. It was then agreed, "that whatever books and translations at Serampore are public property, should be transferred to the Society; and that the Lol Bazar chapel at Calcutta, having been originally intended for the use of all denominations of Christians, and erected by the aid of the Calcutta public, should be appropriated to some object congenial with its original design." The time for the practical completion of the union was fixed for the 30th of April, that day being convenient in a financial view, as it closed the Indian year; but it was to be immediately announced. These proceedings received the sanction of the committee on Monday, the 11th; and on the ensuing Friday, that of the general committee meeting of the Society in aid of the Serampore Mission, held in Liverpool.

While the reunion, thus happily accomplished, comprised the several stations connected with Serampore, it was understood that the direct superintendence of the Serampore station should

remain with Dr. Marshman through life; and the college incorporated by a charter of the king of Denmark, should continue on its own foundation, unconnected with the Society.

It was a remarkable coincidence that almost at the very moment of these negotiations, Dr. MARSHMAN finished his course. He died at Serampore on the 5th, and was buried on the 6th; while in England, the deputation from Liverpool met the parent Committee on the 7th, in London. The account of his last illness was thus given in a letter to Mr. Godwin. "At times his mind appeared to be overshadowed with gloom, especially after a paroxysm of bodily suffering; but his confidence in the 'precious Saviour,' as he delighted, during the whole of his illness, to designate our blessed Redeemer, was never for a moment shaken. And we frequently witnessed, after a night of very broken rest, the triumph of joy beaming in his eye in the morning, as he assured us that he had experienced delight in communion with God, which was inexpressibly sweet to him. A week before his death, the swelling in his hands, feet, and stomach, began rapidly to disappear, and this brought on a lightness in the head, which became painfully visible in his conversation. Yet his thoughts still turned to the work which had for thirty-eight years engaged the undivided energies of his mind; and he repeatedly prayed in Bengalee, and conversed, as in former times, in that language, on spiritual subjects. But this feeling of lightness in the head was not of long continuance. He awoke from it with apparently increased strength both of mind and body, and was carried about at his own request, to visit the premises and the college. On the Thursday preceding his decease, he caused the bearer to bring him into the chapel in his tonjou, and joined, for the last time, at our missionary prayer-meeting. His spirits were then, and for two or three days after, lively and tranquil. Every feeling of gloom had left him, and he conversed with his usual cheerfulness and order on divine subjects, with all who visited him. On the Sabbath evening, he sat up and read, with his former avidity, the religious publications of August, remarking, with much satisfaction, on many passages which alluded to the progress of divine truth. On the Monday, he was evidently worse, and during the night, felt that his strength was rapidly failing him. He called for his family, and informed them that he was dying. At seven on Tuesday morning, he made a last effort, and prayed aloud in the most calm and composed tone, recommending himself, his family, and the cause, to the God of all mercy; and then turning round on his couch, apparently composed himself to sleep. From that position he never moved; and in about four hours after, without a sigh or groan, resigned his spirit to the God of his earthly pilgrimage."

To give an accurate delineation of the character of Dr. Marshman, would be no easy task. His talents were of a high order, and diversified in their complexion. Even intimacy could scarcely thread the labyrinths of his mind; the superficial observer was entirely disqualified from estimating his defects or excellencies. He had great mental power; a spirit of persevering diligence; firmness bordering on obstinacy, yet not unmingled with occasional displays of the opposite quality of mutability and indecision; tact; caution; and a certain policy in acting which bespoke extreme wariness, without, however, any real sacrifice of principle. He was, to a great extent, learned, especially in oriental languages; and he had an acute, though not a splendid intellect. No journals display a more profound piety than his,—a heart right with God, a sympathy of the noblest kind with the moral condition of the heathen, skill in dealing with them, and a paramount solicitude for the glory of God. He was, perhaps, too fond of rule, somewhat dogmatic, attached to personal interests, and not sufficiently disposed to make allowances for others. But with every fault, he was a noble character,—a moral hero,—a devoted servant of Christ, and worthy of being regarded as one of the three whose names have been constantly united, as claiming at once the admiration and the love of mankind. It is the distinguishing honor of the Baptist Missionary Society, to have produced a double triumvirate of illustrious individuals,—FULLER, SUTCLIFF, and RYLAND, in England; CAREY, MARSHMAN, and WARD, in India.

THE

MISSIONARY ECLECTIC.

MAY, 1843.

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HISTORY

OF THE

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Volume 2.

PART III.

THE JAMAICA MISSION, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE PERIOD OF FREEDOM.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY, GENERAL ASPECT, POLITICAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF JAMAICA.

No part of the world has of late years awakened a deeper interest in the minds of men than Jamaica. That island has been the theatre of transactions which, in some respects, are unparalleled in the history of mankind; connected, as they have been, not so much with the political revolutions of empires, as with the more felicitous and more splendid achievements of Christianity. There oppression has been overthrown; inhumanity counteracted; and man elevated, from his lowest condition, to the rights of freedom, and the liberty of the gospel. The struggle has been arduous, but the result glorious; affording lessons of inestimable worth both to present and future generations.

Jamaica is one hundred and seventy miles in length, and about sixty in breadth, containing 4,000,000 acres; and is situated between the parallels of 17° 35′ to 18° 30′ N. lat., and 76° to 78° 40′ W. long., four thousand miles south-west of England, ninety miles west of St. Domingo or Hayti, a similar distance south of Cuba, and four hundred and thirty-five miles north of Carthagena, on the South American continent. It was discovered by Columbus, in his second voyage, on the third of May, 1494, who retained its original name, written by the Spanish historians *Xaymaca*, signifying in the native language, *a country abounding in springs*. After some resistance from a large party of Indians, some of whom were killed by the Spaniards, a landing was effected, and Columbus took a formal possession of the island for his sovereign. In ten days, he left for Cuba; but returning shortly after, he surveyed the coast. From this time, nothing further was heard of Jamaica for eight or nine years, and the peaceful Indians were left in the tranquil occupation of their home.

Subsequently, on the 24th of June, 1503, Columbus, on his return to Hispaniola from an expedition to Veragua, was compelled, by stress of weather, to bear away to a small harbor on the northern coast, which is still called Don Christopher's cove. Obliged again to put to sea, he was driven down the coast to the westward; and at St. Ann's Bay the sinking vessels were run on shore for the purpose of preserving the lives of the almost exhausted adventurers; and friendly communications were opened with the unsuspecting Indians, who supplied the shipwrecked seamen with abundance of provisions, in exchange for beads, bells, or other

trifles. His people, however, at length revolted; the Indians deserted; the governor of Hispaniola aggravated his misfortunes by unkindness and mockery; and after twelve months of severe trial and mortification, he sunk under them soon after his return to Spain in 1504, but not till he had raised an imperishable name. In 1509, the Spanish court conferred the whole continent, as far as it had been discovered by Columbus, on Alfonzo de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuessa; authorizing them, jointly and severally, to make what use they pleased of the unoccupied land of Jamaica, as a garden whence provisions might be obtained, and as a nursery whence *slaves* might be procured to work in the mines. The result of such orders in such times may be easily imagined: a contest arose between the principal governors who should make the most of the unfortunate islanders and their country; towns and villages were laid waste and burned; the slightest resistance was revenged with indiscriminate slaughter; the chiefs were murdered in cold blood; the women became victims to their sensuality; tortures of the most infernal nature were resorted to for the purpose of forcing a discovery of gold, for which the Spaniards eagerly thirsted; and the adults and children of Jamaica who were not fortunate enough to escape to the recesses of the mountains, there to perish, or suffer from lingering famine, were borne away into captivity, to wear out a brief existence in the rayless mine, where their merciless oppressor sought wealth at an incalculable sacrifice of human life and happiness. Diego Columbus, however, the son and heir of the discoverer, strenuously resisted these appointments, and sent Juan de Esquivel, with a small force, to secure his own claim on Jamaica. It is said of him by Herrera, that he brought the natives to submission without bloodshed; upon which Mr. Edwards remarks, "This praise is the more valuable because it is almost peculiar to Esquivel, who alone seems to have been sensible of the abominable wickedness of visiting distant lands only to desolate them, and of converting the Indians to Christianity by cutting their throats."* Esquivel continued in his office but a few years, and died at Sevilla Nueva, a town which he had founded on the site of an ancient Indian village named by Columbus Santa Gloria, now St. Ann's Harbor. His successors were of a far different character from him, and soon began to spread the same carnage that was desolating Hispaniola. In 1558, it is stated that the native inhabitants of Jamaica had entirely perished. Gage, writing in 1637, says, "This island was once very populous, but is now almost destitute of Indians, for the Spaniards have slain in it more than 60,000, insomuch that women, as well here as on the continent, did kill their children before they had given them birth, that the issues of their bodies might not serve so cruel a nation."

On the 3d of May, 1655, the island was taken by the English under Admiral Penn and General Venables. The population at this time was stated by Venables to be only 1500 Spaniards and Portuguese, with about an equal number of mulattoes and negro slaves. In 1670, the total white population amounted to 15,198.

On the 7th of June, 1692, the town of Port Royal, into which the wealth of the buccaneers had been poured, and on whose shores their crimes and wickedness had been felt, was suddenly destroyed by an awful visitation of Providence. Three thousand of its inhabitants were instantly engulphed in the earthquake which entombed the scene of so much depravity for ever. In some places the earth opened wide, and swallowed up whole houses, which were again, perhaps, thrown upwards by the violent concussion of the sea; in others, many individuals were swallowed up to the neck, and the earth then closing strangled them.

Jamaica approaches in shape an oval figure. An elevated ridge, called the Blue Mountains, towering in some places to nearly 8000 feet above the level of the sea, runs longitudinally through the isle, east and west, and is occasionally intersected by other high ridges, declining on the north into round-topped hills and mounds covered with groves of pimento, and all the exquisite verdure of the tropics; the coup d'œil presenting a splendid panorama of high mountains enbosomed in clouds, and vast savannahs or plains, hills and vales, rivers, bays, and creeks.

* Edwards's Hist. of the West Indies, vol I, p. 129.

The following is part of Mr. Edwards's glowing description. "The general appearance of the country differs greatly from most parts of Europe; yet the north and south sides of the island, which are separated by a vast chain of mountains extending from east to west, differ at the same time widely from each other. When Columbus first discovered Jamaica, he approached it on the northern side; and beholding that part of the country which now constitutes the parish of St. Ann, he was filled with delight and admiration at the novelty, variety, and beauty of the prospect. The whole of the scenery is indeed superlatively fine, nor can words alone convey a just idea of it.

"The country, at a small distance from the shore, rises into hills which are more remarkable for beauty than boldness, being all of gentle acclivity, and commonly separated from each other by spacious vales and romantic inequalities; but they are seldom craggy, nor is the transition from the hills to the valleys oftentimes abrupt. In general, the hand of nature has rounded every hill towards the top with singular felicity. The most striking circumstances attending these beautiful swells, are the happy disposition of the groves of pimentoes with which most of them are spontaneously clothed, and the consummate verdure of the turf underneath, which is discoverable in a thousand openings, presenting a charming contrast to the deeper tints of the pimento. . . . To enliven the scene, and add perfection to beauty, the bounty of nature has copiously watered the whole district. No part of the West Indies that I have seen, abounds with so many delicious streams. Every valley has its rivulet, and every hill its cascade. . . . As the land rises towards the centre of the island, the eye, passing over the beauties that I have recounted, is attracted by a boundless amphitheatre of wood,—

'Insuperable height of loftiest shade;
Cedar, and branching palm:'

an immensity of forest, the outline of which melts into the distant blue hills, and these again are lost in the clouds.

"On the southern side of the island, the scenery is of a different nature. In the landscape we have treated of, the prevailing characteristics of the scenery are variety and beauty; in that which remains, the predominant features are grandeur and sublimity." *

"The heat of Jamaica is not so excessive as has been sometimes represented. The medium of Kingston throughout the year is 80° F., and the minimum 70°. The temperature of course decreases from the coast: eight miles from Kingston, the maximum is 70°; and at the distance of fourteen miles, where the elevation is 4200 feet, the average range is from 55° to 65° F., the minimum in winter 44°. On the summits of the mountains, the range in summer is from 47° at sunrise, to 58° at noon; the minimum in winter 42°. The heat of a tropical climate is materially mitigated by unremitted breezes from sea or land, and by vast masses of clouds, which, interposing between the sun's rays and the earth, prevent any great inconvenience. The air is remarkably light and enlivening, producing great cheerfulness even in old age, and so equal in its pressure, that it rarely varies much at any time of the year. From July to October is the hurricane season; but severe storms at the Windward Caribee isles are not felt at Jamaica. The quantity of rain falling in the year is nearly fifty inches. For two or three months preceding the May rains, lightning and thunder are prevalent, but not of a very dangerous or destructive character; and from November to March, when the sea breeze is irregular, northerly winds blow, becoming colder as they recede towards the west. During this season, the air is soft and balmy, resembling the finest vernal weather in England.

The most recent account of the population is in the returns made by the compensation commissioners, dated 7th July, 1835, by which it appears that the number of slaves registered was 311,692. The free population of whites, colored, and black, cannot be ascertained, unless we take the strength of the different parish militia, which probably may be reckoned as a fifth or sixth of the whole free population.

The island is divided into three counties,—Middlesex, Surrey, and Cornwall; each of which is subdivided into parishes,—nine, seven, and five. Over each of these a magistrate, styled a

* Hist. of the West Indies, vol. I.

custos, presides. The administration of public affairs is by a governor and council, appointed by the king (or queen), and the representatives of the people, in the lower house of assembly. The lieutenant-governor is commander-in-chief; and has a house in Spanish Town, which is regarded as the capital. The council consists of a president and eight members, with a clerk, chaplain, usher of the black rod, and a messenger. The assembly consists of forty-three members, one of whom is speaker; with clerk, chaplain, messenger, deputy, and printer. There is also a high court of chancery, the governor for the time being occupying the office of chancellor; and also a court of vice-admiralty, court of ordinary, supreme court of judicature, with a chief justice, sixteen assistant judges, attorney-general, solicitor for the crown, commissioner, provost-master-general, and other officers.

In the proceedings of the general assembly, they copy, as nearly as local circumstances will admit, the form of the legislature of Great Britain; and all their bills, except those of a private nature, have the force of laws as soon as the governor's assent is obtained. Still the power of rejection is reserved in the crown; but the laws are valid, till the royal disapprobation is signified. Of the laws thus passed, the principal relate to regulations of local policy, to which the law of England is not applicable.

The moral condition of the white population of Jamaica has always been described, by impartial writers, as truly appalling. But surely it can excite little surprise that a slave colony should exhibit the grossest specimen of open licentiousness and immorality, when the tendency which the practices of slavery have not only to degrade to the lowest point of humanity the wretched victims of injustice and cruelty, but the perpetrators of such atrocities themselves, is considered. The absolute power which infidel sensualists have had over the slaves, and the total want of power over their own guilty passions, which natural depravity, amidst unbounded opportunities of sin, and the endless incitement of wicked companionship supply, account for that universal state of demoralization which overspread this degraded island. The statement made by indubitable witnesses in its condition of slavery was, that "those who were addicted to the most shameless and notorious profligacy had generally as much outward respect shown them, and were as much countenanced, visited, and received into company, especially if they were persons of some rank and influence in the community, as though they were free from any breach of moral duty."* The author just cited says of the negroes, "they are no doubt deteriorated by the nature of their condition (slavery). They have, however, good qualities mingled with their bad ones. They are patient, cheerful, and commonly submissive, capable at all times of grateful attachments, where uniformly well treated; and generally affectionate towards their friends, kindred, and offspring. The affection and solicitude of a negro mother towards her infant is ardent even to enthusiasm. The crime of infanticide, so repugnant to nature, is seldom or never heard of among the negro tribes; though it is said, that prompted by avarice, the African father will sometimes sell his child to the European slave-trader.

"The passions and affections of the negroes not being under the control of reason or religion, sometimes break out with frightful violence: rage, revenge, grief, and jealousy, have often been productive of terrible catastrophes."

The negroes are extremely superstitious. Obeism, which is a kind of pretended witchcraft, is fraught with much evil, owing to their excessive credulity. A negro who desires to be revenged on another, but is afraid of making a direct attack on his adversary, usually has recourse to obeah. This is considered as an irresistible spell, withering and palsying, by unwonted sensations and resistless terror, the unhappy victim. The obeah man collects together many ominous things,—such as mould from a grave, human blood, a piece of wood fashioned in the shape of a coffin, the feathers of the carrion crow, the tooth of a snake or alligator, pieces of egg-shell, and other ingredients,—to compose the fatal mixture. It is not, indeed, considered as absolutely necessary to have every article, in order to complete the charm; but two or three at least are indispensable. The effect

* Stewart's View.

upon ignorant minds must obviously be very powerful. They give the utmost credit, also, to apparitions, and are full of dread on account of them, conceiving that they forebode death or some other great evil; in short, that the spirits of the dead come upon the earth to be revenged on those who have injured them when alive.

They retain many funeral rites of a superstitious nature; such as dancing round the grave, sacrificing poultry, pouring out libations, and affecting to hold conversation with the spirit of the deceased. Other practices similar in principle might easily be adduced; but these are sufficient to show the general character of the African people, and the necessity that existed for Christian efforts to raise them from their mental and moral degradation. Nor were these efforts totally wanting; for previously to any attempt on the part of the Baptist Missionary Society, even as early as 1754, three Moravian missionaries went to Jamaica; and although there were many difficulties to encounter, yet they did not labor in vain. At the commencement of the year 1789, Dr. Coke visited the island, and preached a few times without opposition to increasing congregations; but afterwards, the Methodists, like the agents of every other society that has been engaged in the missionary cause, had to suffer persecution. Nevertheless, in the midst of all, churches were gathered, chapels erected, and many souls converted.

CHAPTER II.

NOTICES OF THE FIRST BAPTISTS IN JAMAICA, AND OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MISSION.

The first Baptist preacher in Jamaica was George Liele, a black man from Georgia. He and his wife left the United States a few years previously to the termination of the American war, as slaves in the service of a British officer, who soon afterwards died, leaving his servants free. Liele, having purchased a team of horses, and worked as a carrier, and being an active intelligent man, was employed by government, and thus procured a comfortable subsistence for himself and family. He had been pastor of a colored congregation in America; and soon after his arrival in Jamaica, sought every opportunity to communicate religious instruction to the slaves and free people of color. The character of this instruction it is somewhat difficult to determine amidst the conflicting evidence that is given; but, in all probability, it was very imperfect and intermingled with many false and superstitious notions.

Three or four others, who were baptized by Mr. Liele, went to Jamaica with him, or about the same time. One of them was a Mr. Gibbs, who removed from Kingston to another part of the island, and commenced preaching. He had a great many followers, some of whom afterwards came under Mr. Phillippo's care.

Mr. Liele arrived in Jamaica before the Wesleyans. He first preached on the race course at Kingston. The novelty of a black itinerant attracted the attention of multitudes; and he was encouraged, doubtless from motives of curiosity and amusement, by merchants and planters. Then he gathered assemblies in a hired room; and after some time, the people purchased a piece of land about a mile from Kingston, where a temporary shed was erected for public worship, till a subscription was raised, amounting to £900, for building a chapel, now occupied by Mr. Killick, and his people, a congregation of the native Baptists. Towards the erection of this first dissenting place of worship, several wealthy persons subscribed; and amongst the number is the name of Bryan Edwards, the historian.

Mr. Liele, with the aid of some of the more intelligent persons in the church and congregation, preached, and held meetings, in Spanish Town, and many places in the country.

But while a few treated him with kind-

ness, many were very bitter in their opposition. Soon after the chapel was finished, he was preaching from the passage—"Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is that they might be saved" (Rom. 10: 1); on which occasion, he expressed his strong desire for the salvation of his colored brethren. This was either misunderstood or perverted. He was charged with preaching sedition, and forthwith thrown into prison, where he was treated with the greatest severity. He was loaded with irons, his feet made fast in the stocks, and no one was allowed to see him, not even his wife or children. At length, he was tried for his life; and some of the leading men in Kingston swore against him, alleging that he sought to stir up the slaves to insurrection. But this malignant object did not succeed; he was acquitted, and set at liberty, though he suffered much from confinement, and was involved in heavy expenses.

As he made himself personally responsible for the erection of the chapel, he was embarrassed for money; and the builder, who had professed to be his friend, refused to wait for payment after the money became due, and incarcerated him for debt. On this occasion, he evinced the integrity of his principles; for some of the merchants who were kindly disposed towards him, recommending his taking what is termed the benefit of the act, he refused, and remained in prison till, by the aid of his friends, he paid the entire amount due to the builder. During that imprisonment, he was so much respected by the keeper, that he was allowed to go out by night and visit his family, and also some of his flock who were sick; but he always returned in time to prevent any apprehension in the mind of the jailer.

Soon after the chapel was built, a few persons left the church, on account of some dispute respecting speaking with tongues,—a gift to which several pretended. Mr. Liele, looking upon this as visionary and absurd, disclaimed all connection with it. But not being able to convince them of their folly, they were separated from the church; and the practice, or pretence, soon sank into oblivion. Subsequently, a man named Robinson was expelled from the church for adultery; but he assumed the ministerial office, and built a small chapel in Kingston, now occupied by Davis, another of the native preachers. Robinson died as he lived, apparently without conscience or character.

During all the early period of his ministry, Mr. Liele suffered much opposition, and was treated with no little contumely and insult. On one occasion, when the church was about to celebrate the Lord's supper, a gentleman, so called, rode into the chapel, and urging his horse through the midst of the people to the very front of the pulpit, exclaimed, in terms of insolence and profanity, "Come, old Liele, give my horse the sacrament!" Mr. Liele coolly replied, "No, Sir; you are not fit yourself to receive it." After maintaining his position for some time, he rode out. On another ordinance Sabbath, three young gentlemen walked into the chapel during service; and going up to the table where the bread and wine had been placed, one of them took the bread, and, breaking it, gave it to his companion, who, with a horrid oath, swore it was good ship bread, presenting it to the third, who refused to take it. It is not unworthy of remark, that the two former were, in a few days, removed into the presence of that God, with whose institution they had so profanely trifled. One died in a state of raving madness from brain fever; the other went out of the harbor in a boat, which was upset and never seen after.

Amongst those who were originally connected with Mr. Liele, there were others, besides those already mentioned, who separated from him, and set up distinct congregations, before the arrival of any missionaries from England. These generally went forth without the sanction of the church, teaching and practising many errors; and not a few, in different parts of the country, became associated with them; some of whom were good men, but with little information, and often abounding in superstition. The people of course imbibed the false notions of their teachers; but many of them, being afterwards brought under the instruction of European missionaries, had their views rectified, and their characters improved.

The term "native Baptists," did not prevail till recently. It was adopted by persons who had either withdrawn, or

been expelled from, the churches of the Baptist missionaries, and who set up for preachers without any sanction. Some of the fragments of the before-mentioned parties, that had not been brought into the mission churches, after awhile united with them. They first called themselves "Independent Baptists," from being independent of, and unconnected with, the mission churches. Afterwards, they were solicitous of being united to the churches of the Society, and considered as part of the mission; but the missionaries were averse to the kind of recognition and intercourse they sought, on account of their characters and conduct. This refusal produced irritation, and they charged the missionaries with prejudice against color, for not uniting with them; and in order, in their anger, to distinguish themselves from the missionaries and their churches, they took the name of "native Baptists." Mr. Candler describes them in the following words:—"The denomination called native Baptists, are under the teaching of black and colored men, who were once leaders in other congregations, but have broken off, and set up as ministers for themselves." Speaking of a visit he paid to a negro village to meet some of these people, he says, "They profess to be Baptists, in alliance or connection with a black Baptist teacher in Kingston, which city, twenty-five miles off, they sometimes visit; and after paying their money towards the support of himself and the chapel, receive a ticket of *continued membership*, which they seem highly to value. They are in a dark state of mind, living, many of them, according to their own confession, in a very immoral manner; but this is no hindrance to church membership, if the leader choose to recommend them as candidates for baptism." It is to be apprehended, that, practically, if not theoretically, there is much of antinomianism amongst them.

A very excellent man, though illiterate, was connected with Mr. Liele's church, of the name of Moses Baker. He came from one of the windward islands, and went to live in the parish of St. James, where he was very useful to the slaves on an estate belonging to Mr. Winn, which afterwards became the property of Sir Samuel Vaughan. Mr. Winn had purchased some persons in Kingston, who were members of Mr. Liele's church; and as they were much distressed at losing their religious privileges, he engaged Moses Baker to accompany them as a teacher, promising him support. Oppressed at length with the infirmities of age, and feeling that he required assistance in his work, he addressed a letter to Dr. Ryland on the subject, which not only met with an immediate response in the heart of that eminent man, but excited the no less prompt and powerful sympathies of his coadjutors in the missionary enterprise. But although this was the first favorable opportunity of commencing missionary operations in Jamaica, under the auspices of the Society, it must not be imagined that it was the first occasion of pious and benevolent solicitude on that subject. Dr. Ryland had in fact repeatedly adverted to it for some years before, and suggested such a measure to Mr. Fuller; and to him, rather than to any other individual, is to be ascribed the honor of having originated this branch of the mission. The application of Moses Baker was but the incidental means of reanimating a long-cherished feeling, and giving it a practical direction.

In a communication to Mr. Fuller, Sept. 2, 1806, Dr. Ryland copies a long letter addressed by Thomas N. Swigle, of Kingston, to Mr. Fysh, at Bristol, in the Methodist connection, in which he states that Dr. Ryland had written to Moses Baker, to ask him if it would answer to send a white minister and his wife to Kingston, which was replied to in the affirmative, but acccompanied with the intimation that their circumstances at the time rendered them unable to receive one as they could wish. He then details some legal proceedings against Mr. Liele and Dr. Alred, to whom he had leased the chapel for a negro hospital, which occasioned the pecuniary embarrassments to which he alluded. Upon this Dr. Ryland remarks, "It appears, if it were not for these heavy expenses, they could and would help to support a minister themselves, if a proper person were sent to them. *I very much wish such an one could be found;* possessing much prudence, humility, chastity, patience, and zeal." He afterwards adds, "I am sorry our brethren have no white man

to assist them, counsel them, or represent their case at home. Swigle has about seven hundred members, and Moses Baker has about a like number."

The colonial government in the town and liberties of Kingston having violently opposed the religious instruction of the negroes, and prevented the preachers from continuing their labors, Dr. Ryland communicated the facts to Mr. Wilberforce, and sought his advice. His first letter was one of acknowledgment.

Brighton, Aug. 28, 1807.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter found me at this place, to which Mrs. W. was ordered by medical advice. We mean to return (D. V.) in about a week, or possibly a fortnight. Till then I cannot talk the matter over (as I should like to do previously to advising you), with two or three intelligent friends; I therefore merely acknowledge the receipt of your letter now, and hope to reply to it more fully hereafter. Meanwhile, what a shocking violation of all religious liberty does this law, as it is called, evince! It might almost claim kindred with that of Darius, into which his courtiers beguiled him. May the same gracious Being who frustrated that ungodly attempt defeat this also!

I am, with cordial esteem and regard,
Yours very truly,
W. WILBERFORCE.

The next communication was more specific, and sufficiently unfolds the wickedness of the wicked both at home and abroad.

Near London, Nov. 19, 1807.

DEAR SIR,—Since I wrote last, I have conversed with my relation and friend Mr. Stephen, who, I find, has been professionally consulted concerning the late Jamaica law. He is of opinion decidedly that the by-law is illegal, and ought therefore to be resisted in a legal course. Still the colonial courts and juries may suffer the obnoxious religionists to be persecuted illegally; but so they might also if the by-law had never been made. The by-law, being illegal, will not be allowed in any court or country which is governed by law, to protect from prosecutions and penalties any judges, justices, magistrates and officers, who may punish any man, under color of its authority. Still, in such a community, it is difficult to say what may not be done with impunity. As to your question concerning the probability of Dr. Coke's ordination being more respected than an ordinary license, I really can give no decided opinion. Persons who have resided in that island would be better able to judge. But I am inclined to believe that preachers in a white skin would be likely to be treated better and respected more than black ones. This is all I can now say. When the meeting of parliament shall bring me within reach of West Indians again, I will try in private to soften the prejudices of some leading men connected with that country; but I fear that the prejudices of the resident colonists, and their irreligious habits, are such as to render all attempts to soften them unavailing. May the Almighty open a door which no man can shut!

I am, in haste, dear Sir,
Yours sincerely,
W. WILBERFORCE.

Dr. Ryland has written the following sentence at the foot of the letter: "I cannot but think it is of great importance for us to send out some one speedily. *I have waited with great anxiety several years for some one to send.*"

At length the providence of God appeared to facilitate the views of Dr. Ryland, and open a way for the long meditated effort in Jamaica. Mr. John Rowe, a member of the church at Yeovil in Somersetshire, who had been several years a student in the Bristol academy, and high in the esteem of his tutors, was induced to go to the assistance of Mr. Baker, under the auspices of the Baptist Missionary Society. After being solemnly set apart to the work in public services, Dec. 8, 1813, conducted by Mr. Sutcliff, Mr. Fuller, and Dr. Ryland, and furnished with judicious instructions for the regulation of his conduct, he proceeded to Jamaica. Upon his arrival, he landed at Montego Bay, Feb. 23, 1814, and then repaired to Flamstead, twelve miles from Falmouth, the residence of Moses Baker. He found every thing in disorder. No regular church government had been maintained, nor the Lord's supper administered, for two or three years. Mr.

Baker had been prevented from preaching and conversing with the natives for eight years, though the interdicting law had then ceased for about two years; and in fact, both there and every where on the island, extreme ignorance and various irregularities prevailed.

Amidst the embarrassments, of his situation Mr. Rowe acted with great prudence; and after some discussions with the magistrates, to whom he was introduced, and who urged the prejudices of the people against his denomination as a reason for delay in the exercise of his ministerial functions, unwilling to excite hostility against his mission at the outset, he agreed to open a school in Falmouth, which would contribute to his support, already foreseen to be difficult on account of the high price of the necessaries of life. At the same time, he began a gratuitous Sunday school; and a month afterwards, in June preached to a small congregation of forty persons, which the next week increased to seventy, including several white people of respectability. The open and allowed profanation of the Sabbath he found to be one of his chief obstacles; but he entertained a persuasion that the most certain and permanently good effects would arise from the children of slaves on the estates being instructed to read, and learn the first principles of Christianity.

Without any reason being assigned, he was afterwards prohibited from preaching; but the uniform consistency of his conduct was such as to produce a powerful effect in his favor on the minds of the chief magistrate of the parish and several other gentlemen, so that the custos determined, after a short time, to afford him legal protection, that he might resume his ministry.

But while prospects of usefulness were beginning to open around him, and he began to be duly appreciated in the district, death suddenly arrested his progress on the 7th of June, 1816. "By one of those mysterious operations of the divine hand," says one who records the event, "which sometimes remove from the scene of labor those who have been toiling in the preparatory stages of cultivating the moral wilderness, and give to others the more pleasing task of reaping the fruits of their arduous exertions, this excellent man has been called to receive his eternal reward. Though stationed at a place where the most minute parts of his conduct were liable to the severest scrutiny, he conducted himself with such prudence and meekness as at length to gain the confidence and respect of the most prejudiced, and at his decease, to produce that regret which a consistent and elevated display of the Christian character will extort even from the profligate and careless. He has left behind him a memorial of the benevolent views of the Society which patronized him, and of the excellence of the sacred truths which it was the business of his life to propagate. If not distinguished by the literary attainments of a Martyn or a Carey, yet to none, probably, of those worthies who have labored in heathen lands, was our lamented friend inferior in that wisdom from above which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy."

In the previous year, another missionary, Mr. Lee Compere, a member of the church at Halstead in Essex, had been appointed to the island, to occupy a station corresponding with Mr. Rowe's idea of the most favorable spot for spreading the gospel among the negroes. He and Mrs. Compere sailed from Bristol in November, accompanied by two of the members of Broadmead, who were regarded as skilful in the management of Sunday schools. He at first settled near Old Harbor, on the invitation of the negro Baptists, and under the sanction of a license from the mayor of Kingston, to which place he soon removed. Here he was in the centre of thousands of negro Baptists; but in consequence of their circumstances as slaves, their ignorance, and disorder, he found only about two hundred to whom he could administer the Lord's supper. But even under his careful selection, they had increased to four hundred in a month; and on three or four estates a great revival of religion had occurred. Soon, however, he became much enfeebled in health by the inclemency of the climate. In a letter dated Jan. 8, 1817, he made an urgent appeal to the committee to send out more help. Two days before, he had baptized fifty persons; and "here are," says he, "many souls

continually heaving a sigh to England, and in their broken language continually crying out, 'O buckra, buckra, no care for poor black man's soul! Buckra know God in England. O buckra, come over that great big water, and instruct we. poor black negro!'"

The committee, in the mean time, had been providing for the obvious necessity; and after a solemn designation to the work at Broadmead, on the 7th of February, 1817, Mr. James Coultart, a native of Holywood, near Dumfries, and a student at Bristol, sailed for Jamaica, where he arrived, after a tedious voyage, very opportunely; for Mr. Compere had resolved on departing to America, having become much debilitated. The committee were not entirely satisfied with his conduct, and not unwilling that his connection with the Society should be thus terminated. He was afterwards usefully employed among the Indians in Georgia.

In addition to the general duties of the station, Mr. and Mrs. Coultart found it desirable to open a school in Kingston, which devolved chiefly on the latter, on account of Mr. Coultart's numerous engagements. His congregation was crowded and attentive; and soon the place of worship was unable to contain more than half the people who were anxious for admittance. The members of the church, with most of the attendants, were formed into classes, under twenty-four leaders, who met every week at his house. About a hundred and eighty were baptized in the course of a very few months; but not without the most rigid inquiry and examination. In September, he was visited with a severe affliction in the loss of his wife by fever, with which she was seized in chapel. The circle of her acquaintance was limited; but she is spoken of as well qualified for her work; and her end, of which she had some time before a presentiment, was peaceful. Mr. Coultart himself, two days after her decease, was attacked by an intermittent fever; and he was at length compelled to seek a renovation of his health by a temporary return to England. Thus were the missionaries mysteriously led through sorrow, danger, and death, along the path of their holy enterprise.

In the mean time, two others, Messrs. Christopher Kitching and Thomas Godden, were appointed to Jamaica by a public service, July 30th, 1818, at Frome. Both the statements given by these excellent individuals were of a very interesting nature. Mr. Kitching, it appeared, had been reclaimed from a course of vice and folly, through the instrumentality of a worthy minister of the independent denomination in the north of England. Under the auspices of this valuable friend, he was preparing to enter into connection with the London Missionary Society, when his attention was arrested by the account given in the Evangelical Magazine of the alteration of sentiment in Messrs. Judson and Rice, on the subject of believers' baptism. This induced him to pause, and finally, he was led to adopt the same views; soon after which, he offered himself to the Baptist Missionary Society, and was sent to Bradford academy, where he had been, for a considerable time, pursuing his studies under the direction of Dr. Steadman. Mr. Godden stated, that early in life, he had entered into the royal navy, and for several years experienced the usual vicissitudes attending that profession. His career was terminated by a captivity of eight years' duration at Arras, in France, where he sustained great hardships, and saw many brave companions around him sink under the pressure of their sufferings. Here, however, it pleased Him who is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working, to deliver him from a yet more degrading captivity, and, in the best sense, to make him free indeed. This joyful change was effected by means of a fellow-prisoner, who was accustomed to speak to the rest the words of salvation. Released at length, by the conclusion of the war, he returned to his own country, united himself to the Baptist church at Newbury, and was soon after called by them to the work of the ministry.

Having proceeded to their destination, Mr. Godden went to Spanish Town, and Mr. Kitching to Kingston. Death, however, soon entered again into the missionary circle. Mrs. Godden died in October, 1819, and was followed in a few weeks by Mr. Kitching, December 18th, after a residence of only twelve months. But this brief career was attended by some evident proofs of use-

fulness. The deepest feeling pervaded the town of Kingston, when his death was known. Hundreds of weeping negroes and colored people surrounded the house; and it was supposed that five thousand persons at least attended his funeral. "Acquainted," says a friend, in communicating the intelligence, "with the feelings and nature of those whom his work lay amongst, he was highly instrumental in drawing them from their evil propensities; he checked the impetuosity of their tempers; reconciled their differences, without embroiling himself; supported the discipline of the church, and was respected, highly respected, by all. He was a man, if I may be permitted to judge from practical observation, who was eminently calculated for the situation the arrangement of Providence called upon him to fill. Steady, upright, and consistent, he carried his plans into effect, and had the gratification of seeing them blessed by their object being accomplished. He was affable to all around him; was incessant in labors to bring the people into order; and on all occasions manifested to them that he was not endeavoring to lord it over the church, but to afford them his assistance to add to their comfort and purity."

The following narrative has a close connection with Mr. Kitching, and is in itself deeply impressive. It is contained in a letter written by a minister in England to the secretary of the Society:—

"Some few years since, I was preaching at Plymouth, when a request was sent to the pulpit, to this effect:—'The thanksgivings of this congregation are desired to Almighty God, by the captain, passengers, and crew of the ———, West Indiaman, for their merciful escape from shipwreck, during the late awful tempest.'

"The following day, I went on board the vessel, accompanied by some pious friends from the shore, and, in conversation with the passengers, a lady thus expressed herself:—'Oh, sir, what an invaluable blessing must personal religion be! Never did I see it more exemplied, than in my poor negress, Ellen, during the dreadful storm. When we were tossed to the heavens, and sunk again to the depths, and expecting every succeeding wave would break over the vessel and entomb us all, my mind was in a horrible state; I was afraid to die; I could not think of appearing before God but in dread dismay: Ellen would come to me and say, with all possible composure, "Never mind, missee, look to Jesu Christ; he gave—he rule de sea; be prepared to die."

"'And when, sir, we neared the shore, and were at a loss to know on what part of the coast we were got, my mind still in a most distracted state—I feared to die—I knew nothing of religion, poor Ellen, with the same composure as before, came to me, and said, "Don't be fear, missee; look to Jesu Christ,—he de rock,—no shipwreck on dat rock,—he save to the utmost,—don't be fear, missee,—look to Jesu Christ." I determined, I hope in divine strength, that if ever we reached the shore in safety, I would seek to possess that religion which so supported the heart of a poor negress, in the midst of such dreadful circumstances.'

"Of course," continued the minister, "I wished to see this poor, yet *rich*, African. She was called to the cabin; but as I wished our conversation to be heard by the sailors, I desired her to go on deck, which she did, and we followed.

"*Minister.* Well, Ellen, I am glad to find that you know something about Jesus Christ.

"*Ellen.* Jesu Christ, massa!—Oh, he be very good to my soul! Jesu Christ!—Oh, he very dear to me.

"*Minister.* How long is it, Ellen, since you first knew the Saviour who is so precious to you?

"*Ellen.* Why, massa, some time ago, me hear Massa Kitching preach about the blessed Jesu. He say to we black people, de blessed Jesu come down from de good world; he pity we poor sinners. We die or he die—he die dat we no die—he suffer on de cross—he spill precious blood for we poor sinners. Me feel me sinner—me cry—me pray to Jesu, and he save me by precious blood. Oh! Jesu Christ very good—he save me.

"*Minister.* And when did you see Mr. Kitching last, Ellen?

"*Ellen.* Massa Kitching, sir? de fever take him—he lie bed—he call we black people his children—he say, Come round de bed, my children: he den say, My children, I go to God—meet me before my God; I go to God—meet

me before my God; and den he fall asleep.

"*Minister.* Oh then, Ellen, Mr. Kitching is dead, is he?

"*Ellen.* Dead, sir! Oh no, Massa Kitching no die; he fell asleep, and he sleep till de trumpet of the archangel wake him; and den he go up to God. Massa Kitching no die, he fall asleep.

"Enviable Christianity, which enables a poor African to regard death as a sleep, from which the archangel's trump will awake, and summon to the eternal society and enjoyment of that precious Redeemer, whom, having not seen, I hope we love!"

On his return from England with renewed health, Mr. Coultart was able to resume his station at Kingston. In the course of the year 1820, no fewer than two hundred persons were admitted into the church; and these not without an accurate and searching discrimination of their characters.

Many of the details furnished by these African converts were extremely simple and affecting. The following are specimens:—"A poor slave," writes Mr. Coultart, "came to my house this morning to tell me 'that his heart troubled him much.' He burst into tears, saying, 'Oh massa, me too bad for Jesus Christ, me heart work too strong for him—it rise up against me—it give me no rest at all—me try for sleep, it no sleep—it go dis way, it go dat way—it no go to Jesus Christ at all, massa! O massa, what me do, what me do? will Jesus Christ let me perish? Here he was so completely overwhelmed, as not to be able to say any more for a considerable time; then quieting himself a little, he said with much feeling, 'Me never do noting for Jesus, yet him die for sinners; O may be, him die for me!' Another, after relating how her mind had been first awakened to serious concern, and that a friend, to whom she had communicated her feelings had advised her to pray, added, 'she den go back, an bow down on her sinful knee, and tell God, she no wish to keep on sin; but she no worthy to come, for she had done no good ting, but only eat sin, and drink sin, and peak sin, and tink sin, all her sinful life; and now, massa,' she said, in great agony and tears of disappointment, 'sin no leave me yet, massa!'" The same letter contains the following anecdote, tending to show how these poor people valued their religious privileges. "A slave wished his owner to give him permission to attend with God's people to pray; his answer was, 'No, I will rather sell you to any one who will buy you.' 'Will you,' said he, 'suffer me to buy myself free, if me can?' 'If you do, you shall pay dearly for your freedom; as you are going to pray, £250 is your price.'* 'Well, massa, it a great deal of money, but me must pray; if God will help me, me will try and pay you.' He has been a long time working hard, and at last sold all that himself and wife had, except his blanket, to purchase liberty to pray in public, or, in other words, to meet with those who love Jesus Christ!" Who can wonder, that with instances like these in his view, Mr. Coultart should exclaim, "I am really lost in gratitude; God is found of many here, who, a very little time ago, sought not after him. Not an iota of praise belongs to me: my heart would disdain it. It is unquestionably God's doing, however marvellous in our eyes!"†

The mission house in Spanish Town was nearly consumed, with all its contents, in July, 1820; and Mr. Godden had a narrow escape with his life. There was reason to believe it to have been the work of an incendiary. Some very eligible premises for his residence, and for the purposes of public worship, were afterwards purchased. Mr. Godden's health, however, was by no means re-established, and he was severely tried by the moral defection of some of his hearers, after receiving the word with apparent joy and impression. Others afforded him the greatest satisfaction; and the strength of their attachment surpassed, in some instances, all that could have been imagined. A very remarkable instance of this occurred in the night of the fire in Spanish Town. A female slave, who had been previously baptized, exerted herself greatly carrying water from the river to assist in extinguishing the flames. When nearly exhausted, she inquired of the bystanders, "Where my minister?" A person answered, "He has been burnt in his bed." The poor woman was so overwhelmed at this intelligence, that she fell down, and instantly expired, without uttering another word.

* The common price of a slave was £140, if a good servant. † Report of 1821.

At the earnest solicitation of some persons of color, in the parish of Manchioneal, Mr. Coultart paid them a visit. The account of his journey will furnish a good idea of the country, and the situation of the missionaries:—"Manchioneal is sixty-three miles from Kingston. The road is remarkably rough, and in many parts dangerous to a good and well-mounted rider. The passes in Jamaica must be much like those in Scotland, which Sir Walter Scott so interestingly describes. The way I travelled commands, at irregular distances, an extensive view of the sea, with a variety of bays and ports, which contain but few English vessels at this season of the year. The estates are numerous, and the cane fields rich in their appearance, as the time of harvest is near. I had, for miles of my way, not more than a few inches to spare between me and a precipice of five hundred feet. * * *

"Set out on Friday from Yallahs, twenty miles from Kingston, where I rode on the Thursday evening. Reached Morant Bay on the same morning, about six, and remained there during the heat of the day. This place is pleasantly situated, and has a small fort, with guns of very heavy calibre. Port Morant is the next place of any consequence; has but few houses compared with the latter, and no chapel or church near that I could hear of. Bath is the next stage; but though a neat and elegant little village, has no place for the accommodation of travellers. I could not beg nor buy food for my horses, (for I was obliged to borrow a horse in addition to my own, for the heavy journey.) Had no time to look at the springs which have given such celebrity to this village. The cotton trees about this place seemed decorated with ten thousand living lamps, perpetually shifting their position, and now and then dancing, in fairy-like confusion, among the thick green foliage. A stranger, brought from your side of the Atlantic, not having heard of these earthly luminaries, might have deemed himself travelling among the stars. The way to catch as many as you please, is to take a fiery stick, and blow upon it, making a kind of intermitting light, like that which the flies themselves keep up. By the time I had reached the top of a very high mountain, at the most easterly part of the island, the sun was just rising, amidst the inexpressible grandeur of a western sky, and illuminating, with his first rays, the unbroken bosom of the sea. Whilst waiting beneath a tree, to shelter myself a little from a heavy shower, I saw, to my great astonishment, a company of those beetles called Hercules, rolling some ponderous balls of goats' dung before them up the hill. The rapidity of their march is amazing, considering the large size of the ball they rolled on before them, and the clay, too, it had accumulated in passing over the wet ground. I arrived at Miss C——'s to breakfast, the termination of my journey, and truly a fatiguing one. You will, perhaps, think a journey of that distance may be undertaken often, until I inform you that it took me nearly three days, and cost me for tea, with bad bread and butter and bed, £1. 2*s*. 1*d*.; for breakfast next morning for myself and boy, 13*s*. 4*d*.: grass and corn for horses, 10*s*. They charge at the rate of a penny per pound for green wet grass, and tenpence per quart for corn. Dinner for myself and boy, £1. 13*s*. 4*d*.; and for horses, 11*s*. 8*d*., &c.; but the poor people I went to visit, were so generous as to make the lady of the house in which I stopped, slip sufficient to pay my expenses into the portmanteau."

The people attended in crowds on Mr. Coultart's preaching, and expressed the strongest desire to enjoy the constant labors of a missionary; and even began at once, in anticipation of it, to subscribe for the erection of a place of worship. Some time afterwards, another station presented itself; and as opportunities began to multiply, the committee resolved on sending out an additional missionary. Accordingly, Mr. Joshua Tinson, who had been several years educating for missionary service, under the patronage of the Society, was selected, and sent into this field.

The venerable Moses Baker having become blind with age, at the instigation of the proprietor of the estate where he had long successfully labored in instructing the negroes, Mr. Henry Tripp, of Kingston, was requested to make trial of the station. He was considered as peculiarly eligible, being competent to unite some secular employment on the estate, which was thought desirable, with the ministerial vocation. To this he

consented, and proceeded thither with his family. Mr. Coultart has given a very pleasing picture of Moses Baker, in the interview he enjoyed before this arrangement was completed.—"I went with the old man to the little chapel, which was filled to the door, and heard him catechise between one and two hundred children, and some adults. These, and many more adults, nearly all that were in the chapel, repeated the Lord's prayer, &c.; and the children repeated graces before and after meat, and many of Watts's hymns. I confess I have not seen so pleasing a sight on the island. A considerable number came on the following morning, and repeated to me parts of the Old and New Testaments, which the old man had taught them. Mr. Baker conducted the worship with great propriety, though now blind. I preached to nearly six hundred persons, amongst whom were the proprietor and his nephew, the doctor, overseers, and book-keepers, and many persons of color. Mr. Baker is neither superstitious nor enthusiastic; he is evidently spiritual in all things; has much good sense; speaks scripturally, and with much feeling. I saw some instances of his decision and firmness in religious discipline which surprised me; and Mr. ——— speaks in high terms of the character and conduct of his negroes, which he ascribes to their religion."

In the course of the year 1821, many of Mr. Coultart's friends were removed by death. They afforded the most encouraging evidence of the genuineness of their Christian profession. Such had been the mortality, that nine had been removed in one week. The following interesting account may serve as a specimen, both of the history and character of many others:—

"Mrs. Brooks has long been an exemplary character. She was born in Africa; her parents, she used to say, were remarkably fond of her, being their only child: their little hut was no great distance from the sea: she was large enough to stroll some way from home, which she did one day whilst her mother, the only remaining parent at home, was engaged in some domestic duty. A party of British sailors, who had been on the watch for such unoffending victims, laid hold of her, and carried her on board their ship. She wept bitterly, she said, for she thought they would soon eat her, as she could not think of any thing else they could possibly do with her. She was so sad she could not eat the food they offered her. The loss of her dear parents, *dear though black*, and her fears, so wrought upon her mind, that a fever attacked her, and nearly relieved her from her more degraded oppressors. After recovering a little, she arrived at Kingston; saw some beef in the market, she said; and said to herself, 'now I see how they cut up we poor tings to sell and eat.' The cargo was sent to America, herself excepted: her now disconsolate husband was then in the employ of the person to whom the cargo was consigned, and he entreated his master not to send this young girl away, as she appeared to him rather superior to the others. After a time, she became afflicted; God told her mind, she said, that she was a great sinner; she believed it, and felt that poignant distress which some convinced and hopeless sinners feel; went to hear Mr. Liele, and by him was told to go to Jesus Christ, which after some time, she ventured to do. Her own words are, 'Massa, me feel me distress, me heart quite big wi grief, for God no do me no wrong; him do all good for me,—me do all bad to him. Ah massa! me heart too full an too hard; me eye no weep, but someting so gentle come through me heart, den me eye fill, and God make me feel dat him so good to notice poor me, dat me throw meself down, and weep quite a flood.' The black man who had obtained her permission to stop on the island, now purchased her from his employer, married her, and went to a little pen out of town to live. But her husband was not pious; he persecuted her much, used her badly, and threatened to put her away, because she prayed. She said that she often wept and prayed on his account, but he still remained the same impenitent person. One night in particular, she entreated God much 'to do something for him.' When he fell asleep, she arose and prayed, 'Blessed God, dy eye open, dou seest dat poor man; me no able to tell de what him do; but him do ebery bad ting;—do, good Lord, do someting for him; make him blind eye see him danger, him dumb mouth peak! O do, me sweet massa Lord, do make him heart,

him stony heart feel!' She got into bed again undiscovered, and in a little time he awoke, weeping very bitterly, having been disturbed in a dream; he cried, 'my wife, my dear wife, get up an pray for me poo sinner,—you husband lost! O him lost!' In the morning, he was still in great trouble, arose and went to seek for a good man, to tell him whether he would be lost or not. The man he found told him, 'dat no religion,—religion no come like dat.' His instructor either knew nothing of true religion, or supposed that God had but one way of bringing sinners to himself. The account filled him with grief; but he said, as he left the blind guide, 'Well, if me no got religion in me heart, it quite time to seek it; God will may be give me a little.' God has indeed manifested himself to this now bereaved man, 'as he does not unto the world.' They were, after their public profession, most exemplary in every Christian duty. She lived nine, and sometimes twelve miles from Kingston, but she was most regular in her attendance, an attentive hearer, and was generally bathed in tears. She once made a little remark about the former Mrs. Coultart, which was applicable to herself in a high degree. Whilst my present wife was teaching her to read, she said, in her usual affectionate way, 'Me loving pickaniny, what make God take away that other loving pickaniny just when she coming to do we poor perishing tings good? Me tink dis: God have him garden, she one of the fruit, him take de ripe fruit first,—it no so, me child?' She had a strong desire to read the Bible; but said, she should not live to read it all, but she wished to learn two or three verses of some psalm that suited her. When she heard the first two verses of the hundred and third, she said, 'Yes, teach me these; em help to peak God's goodness, for him so good to me, poor ting, dat me no know how to tell him so, and him own words best.' She lived to learn them, but she is gone to heaven to repeat them to her good Lord that she loved so much. She died of a short illness, and was, when I saw her last, insensible from severe fever."

In the letters of Mr. Coultart, abundant evidences appear both of the power and the progress of religion. The sublime character and the sanctifying energy of the gospel flash, like brilliant beams of sunshine amidst parting clouds, through the broken forms of negro language. In the first five years of the mission, about one thousand had been added to the church, of whom nearly five hundred had joined within two years; "and we have," says Mr. Coultart, "been *very particular*,"—that is, in the admissions.

"A Guinea negro, whose experience we lately heard, observed respecting himself, that from the time he came from the Guinea coast, "him no able to take word; if any one offend him me take knife, me take tick, me no satisfy till me drink him blood;—now me take twenty bad word: then me tief, me drink, me ebery bad ting. Somebody say me must pray: me say no,—what me pray for? rum best pray for me; give me someting good for eat, dat better dan pray. 'What made you change your mind then?' 'Massa, me go to church one Sunday, and me hear Massa parson say, Jesus Christ come and pill him blood for tinner. Ah, someting say, you heara dat,—him pill him blood! Ah, so! den me de tinner, me de tief, me de drunkard! Him pill him blood for Guinea niger! Oh! oh! Jesus Christ die for poo niger before him know him!' thinking, as seems quite natural to them, that Jesus becomes acquainted with them just then, because he is telling them all they have done.

"One of our female friends came thirty miles the other morning, to tell me of her recovery from sickness, that I might unite with her in praising God. She gave me a long account of the means used for her recovery, which she imagined God had revealed to her in a dream. I said, 'Mary, take care; God is very good, but you must no think too much about dreams, for Satan sometimes puts on white clothes.' 'Yes, massa,' she replied, 'me know; but me no heed so much what me feel, as what dat me feel make me do.' She added, 'when me hear any body peak, me say, Well, me see what you do; and me watch quite close, for it no hard ting to peak Christian, but it quite hard to maintain the Christian.'

"Our monthly prayer-meeting is well attended, although we are obliged to meet before the sun goes down, to avoid the penalty. I am sure that some of the prayers offered up by these sons of Canaan would affect your hearts could

you hear them. One said in his prayer last monthly meeting, with great fervor, 'Lord, save we poo black sinner! break up all de dibble's work him done in me heart, and save poo African, an em *poo Guinea niger*, from dat place where no sun shine, where no tar twinkle!' It is some encouragement to hear these poor things pray, and we hope prayer will prevail against sin, and that this desert will in answer thereto be watered and become very fruitful."

In January, 1822, Mr. Coultart opened his new chapel, many thousands attending on the occasion, multitudes of whom could only be accommodated with benches on the outside. Subsequently, the regular worship was well sustained by numerous attendants; and some Europeans evinced serious concern about salvation. The chapel contained 2000, and was well filled, even on a week day. Mr. Coultart furnishes the following pleasing anecdote. "Three nights ago, a man of decent appearance came to relate what he thought of himself and of the Saviour; said he had been living for himself, and 'neider did know or think any ting about God.' The greatest part of his time he had lived in Kingston; and changing masters frequently, he had, as is the custom in this colony, changed his old name with his old master, the last of whom wished him to become a Christian. Poor things, they think that christening effects this great object! He asked a friend who belonged to the Baptists, to *stand* for him; but he refused, and asked him to think what sort of a Christian man could make him; as for him, he no know man's Christian; him only know Christian God make.' This puzzled the poor man, who thought 'something in *right Christian* him no know.' 'Him made a Christian; but him still go on in him old way, for him no know him doing wrong.' Here I interrupted him, to learn the force of conscience, in the way Paul states it, with regard to the heathen. I said, 'James, you say you did not know God, you no hear any ting about him;—when you do sin, you no know it sin? conscience within you no tell you dat bad, God angry for dat?' He said,' Yes, conscience tell me, and trouble me much; but nevertheless, me no heed conscience much.' William, 'the friend, the faithful friend,' as he termed him, 'courted' him to a little prayer-meeting conducted by themselves; and '*dere God catch him poor runaway!* He see Jesus love him, poor ting, and him want to love Jesus, and keep his commands.' I asked him, who persuaded him to be baptized. 'William make him hear what Jesus say, Believe and be baptize. Now him believe Jesus to be the son of God and only Saviour, an him wish to gie himself quite up to Jesus, an take Jesus, for him tick (staff) to lean upon till him last day on earth.'

Notwithstanding the pecuniary difficulties of the Society, the committee deemed it their duty to adopt measures for the occupancy of a new sphere of missionary exertion, which appeared to them to have presented itself providentially at the British settlement of Honduras, in the bay of Mexico. Mr. Angas of Newcastle, who had long held commercial connection with the settlement, and felt much concerned to promote its moral and spiritual interests, proposed to give a free passage to any missionary that might be sent. It was known also that the commandant, lieutenant-colonel Arthur, was desirous of extending Christianity among the native tribes. Not only were the negroes numerous who were employed in cutting down timber in the forests, but the chief of the Musquito Indians, who inhabit a large tract of coast to the south-east of Honduras, had been always friendly with the English, and had expressed a wish that instructors might be sent to his dominions. In addition to this, the facility of communication was great between the settlement and those extensive provinces which were rejecting the Spanish yoke. Mr. James Bourne, therefore, who had been for some years a student in the academy at Bradford, and was considered as possessing suitable qualifications, was appointed, to this service, and sailed in April, 1822, in company with Mr. Tinson, who was going out to Jamaica. Mr. Bourne had to lament the loss of his wife in the November after his arrival, and experienced various impediments which left him in a state of comparative inactivity. His correspondence, however, evinced an unabated devotedness of heart to the objects of his mission.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Tinson visited Manchioneal in company with Mr. Coultart, and was received by the

negroes with every demonstration of respect and affection, as well as by persons of respectability in the neighborhood; but failing to obtain a license for that parish, he was compelled to return to Kingston. This disappointment was providentially overruled to introduce him to a new and extensive sphere of usefulness among the negro population of the metropolis. A large body of colored people had met together several years under great disadvantages, through the want of instruction. At their urgent request, Mr. Tinson was induced to undertake their superintendence, which afforded the opportunity of more direct and close co-operation with Mr. Coultart than would otherwise have been practicable. The church consisted of four hundred members, to which there were speedily numerous additions.

Still solicitous of providing for the wants of Manchioneal, the committee determined on sending out another missionary. Dr. Ryland was especially anxious on the subject, and succeeded in obtaining a member of his own church in Broadmead, Mr. Thomas Knibb, a native of Kettering, to devote himself to this work. He sailed with Mrs. Knibb on the 10th of December, 1822, having a gratuitous passage in the *Ocean*. On arriving, he found that both Mr. Coultart and Mr. Tinson had been debilitated by alarming illnesses; the former especially requiring immediate aid in his multiplied labors among a church now consisting of 2700 members. The large free school demanded an experienced teacher and the neighboring town of Port Royal presented a new field of effort in a rapidly increasing congregation. Mr. Knibb consequently remained at Kingston. The account he has given of a service soon after his arrival, is of an interesting character, and furnishes a graphic picture of the proceedings and prospects of the missionaries at the time:—

"The congregation at Kingston is very large. It would surprise you to witness the earnest attention with which they listen to the word. They seem to listen as though they never heard of salvation before, or as if they wished to catch every word.

"I shall now proceed to give you an account of the second Sabbath I spent here, a day to be remembered with peculiar pleasure. Being ordinance day, and there being many candidates for baptism, this was the day fixed for administering the two ordinances. Baptism is administered at an early hour, for several reasons: 1st, that those who are servants may be back to their employers in time; 2nd, that the sun should not scorch us; and, 3rd, to prevent the assemblage of carriages, &c. We set off, between four and five, for the sea-side, there being too many for the baptistery in the chapel. Though it was so early, vast numbers were assembled at the place of baptism, and many had slept all night under the trees to be there in time. Tents were erected for dressing, and enclosed with rails. A number of canoes filled with spectators, formed a semicircle, within which baptism was administered. Though the numbers were great, they behaved with the greatest decorum, and seemed impressed with the solemnity of the ordinance. The candidates were arranged in double columns,—the men on the one side, and the women on the other. The women had white dresses, and the men white trowsers and shirts. Mr. Coultart and I, and several of the members, leaders, deacons, &c., stood between the columns, and commenced by singing and prayer. I then took two of the men into the water, to a sufficient depth, and after repeating the usual words, baptized them. The time the ordinance was administering was employed in singing, which lasted nearly an hour. Out of eighty females, not one made the least disturbance, or discovered the least fear of the water. Nothing occurred to interrupt the solemnity of this important, this interesting ordinance. The number of persons baptized was *one hundred and fifty-two*. It was an interesting spectacle, such a one as perhaps is seldom witnessed. The greatest caution has been exercised in receiving these candidates. Many more have been rejected than have been received. Their knowledge, doubtless, is scanty, but many of their prayers testify that they are acquainted with the fundamental truths of the gospel. They have no inducements to hypocrisy, except ridicule and persecution be inducements. Mr. Coultart is as faithful in addressing them as a man can possibly be; telling them that it will be of no use whatever to be baptized if they do not love and serve God,—on

the contrary, it would be far better for them if they were never baptized at all.

"In the afternoon, the Lord's supper was administered. This was also a spectacle that would rejoice the hearts of the people of God to witness. The far greater part of the congregation remained, and above a thousand partook of this Christian repast. When will the time arrive when the far greater part of English congregations will sit down to celebrate the dying love of the Saviour! God grant that it may be hastened! One of the natives said to me, 'O how I should like to go to England, where the good people live who send out good men to teach us!' Poor man, thought I, you would be greatly disappointed; you would wonder to see so few remain at the table of the Lord, and so many who care for none of these things.

"Our monthly prayer-meeting was well attended. The earnest and simple prayers of the negroes affected me much: I was highly delighted. How much did I wish that my Bristol Christian friends could witness the sight. It would, I am sure, have done their hearts good to hear a poor African pray in the presence of hundreds of his fellow-countrymen, 'thanking God that he had sent the gospel to poor black negroes, who were so wicked as to deserve to be shut up with devils, where no sun shine, and where no Saviour come.'"

The church was conducted in a manner similar to the plan of the Methodists. Being divided into six classes, which met several times a-week in different parts of the city, for reading, prayer and other exercises, under their respective leaders; before any one was baptized, he was required to attend class as a follower, till he should be thought a proper subject. This attendance was sometimes continued for a year or two before he could be admitted. When a follower was proposed for baptism, it was necessary that the leader should express his approbation, and make inquiries in the circle in which he moved. A meeting was then held, to hear his experience, at which the pastor and leaders presided, when the question of his admission was carefully decided.

In the mean time, the Society at home had been placed in circumstances of pecuniary embarrassment, which for a time threatened to obstruct their operations. It was found necessary to borrow a large sum of money, to meet the engagements of the Society, and save it from dishonor, of which £3000 remained unpaid at the anniversary of 1822. Soon afterwards, a plan was proposed for the liquidation of the debt by a separate subscription, payable in case the whole amount was contributed. This suggestion succeeded; and not only was an amount raised equal to the debt, but far surpassing it. The ordinary income suffered no diminution by this effort; on the contrary, the receipts of the ensuing year exceeded those of the preceding.

While new and important scenes were presenting themselves to view around the missionaries,—one especially at Anotta Bay, where the people flocked in multitudes to hear the word, while several hundreds had in the course of the year been added to the churches,—Mr. Coultart felt compelled to repair to England with his wife, on account of her continued and increasing illness. Mr. Godden, also, had been long seriously indisposed, in consequence of having been overtaken by a shower of rain, on his return from a village service. He therefore accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Coultart and Mr. Tripp, who was induced by a domestic bereavement to leave; and they reached Liverpool in the end of 1823. This absence, however, was supplied by the appointment of Mr. Ebenezer Phillips and Mr. Phillippo, who, with their wives and Mr. and Mrs. Fleming, destined to join Mr. Bourne at Belize, on the Bay of Honduras, were furnished with a gratuitous passage by Messrs. Angas and Co. These last, however, were both removed by a malignant fever soon after their arrival. Mr. Phillips, after being some time at Kingston, proceeded to Anotta Bay. The destination of Mr. Phillippo, was Spanish Town.

On the 14th of October, 1823, Mr. Thomas Burchell, a member of Mr. Winterbotham's church, at Nailsworth, was publicly set apart at Trowbridge. His intended location was Flamstead.

The work of Mr. Phillips commenced auspiciously. On the last Sabbath of December, 1823, he baptized, in the new chapel, one hundred and forty-eight persons, whose characters had previously undergone the strictest scrutiny; and

on the same day, one hundred and one were added to the second church, under the care of Mr. Tinson.

In the beginning of 1825, Mr. Phillips wrote encouragingly, as follows:—"Our attendance of every class is still good, which is rather an unusual circumstance for the whites. I have heard from respectable sources (and I partly believe it), that there is already a surprising alteration in the morals of the people here. No place could possibly be more heathenish than this, before we came here: there was no observance of the Sabbath, no worship of God at all, but rioting and drunkenness, and every evil work. One of the resident gentlemen told me, that he had been here twenty-one years, and only been twice to church in all that period: it is (besides the want of inclination) so formidable to travel long distances in the sun in this hot climate. But I hope more positive good has been effected, than merely improving the morals of the people. This is only like clearing away the rubbish; but we have been instrumental in 'planting in the wilderness, the cedar;' though, 'not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be the glory.' On the first Sabbath in this month, we formed ourselves into a Christian church. Our number was about forty, who had all been previously baptized by different persons; and of all, I have reason to entertain pleasing expectations. Our church is principally composed of negroes; many more would gladly have come, but I wished to wait a little longer, as I have exercised the strictest scrutiny, and the closest personal investigation. Our ordinance was a solemn scene; many were in tears. I felt quite happy in my own mind, and quite at home in my Master's work."

In the spring, Mr. Bourne paid a visit to several places under Spanish dominion, to the southward of Belize. The first was to the settlement at Amao, about two hundred miles distant, where he found the people in a miserable state as it respected religion. One woman, supposing him to be a priest, came to him to confess, which gave him occasion to refer her to a higher source for the forgiveness of sins. He went up the Gulf of Dalic to Isabella, a place chiefly occupied to receive goods to and from Guatimala and Belize. The inhabitants were chiefly Indians, with a few Spaniards, who had no priest among them, and seemed, if possible, in a worse condition than those at the former settlement. Conversation was held, and tracts distributed among them, which they appeared eager to receive. In addition to the general services conducted at Belize, in preaching, and teaching a Sunday school, Mr. Bourne devoted a portion of time every week to visit the free colored people, and converse and pray with them from house to house. They consisted chiefly of disbanded soldiers, comprising, with themselves and families, nearly a thousand persons, in two villages, lying north and south of Belize. At length, after various difficulties, Mr. Bourne succeeded in purchasing an eligible plot of ground, for the erection of a chapel and dwelling-house. His congregations were good, and occasionally crowded; and he baptized several persons on a profession of faith. The Sunday school gradually increased, and the improvement made by some of the pupils was very encouraging. Twenty adults were in the school, several of whom could read the Testament. Their habits and general dullness, however, rendered it difficult to preserve order.

Mr. Coultart having returned to his important sphere of labor at Kingston in the beginning of April, 1824, found all well; but in three weeks he had to lament the decease of Mr. Thomas Knibb, who conducted the free school in connection with the church. By his assiduity in that department, and his occasional services in the ministry, he had acquired general esteem, and was deeply regretted. An ear and eye witness said, that his feeling in the pulpit was evidently that of a man who had left the world behind him, with eternity full in view, and his spirit ready for its flight, but longing and pleading, like Abraham, for a guilty population. The school, and the duties of the church, required a peculiar character, and every one who knew him admitted his adaptation to his work. Although formed of very rude materials, the school prospered under his prayerful and solicitous superintendence, which was constantly directed to the spiritual benefit of those whom he was required to instruct. The whole was conducted with that facility which is usually characteristic of talent for a

work, combined with a sense of pleasure in performing it.

In order to supply this vacancy, Mr. William Knibb, a younger brother, sailed, with his wife, in the *Ocean*, Captain Whittle, early in November. The ship was nearly lost in a tremendous gale, off Beachy Head; but the God of the winds and the waves preserved them for services of the highest importance, as will be hereafter seen. He communicated the following account of his arrival to a friend in Bristol:—"As soon as we passed Port Royal, a canoe came to us, which we had no sooner entered, than—'Please massa, you massa Knibb?' 'Yes.' 'Me thought so—so like your broder; me be glad to see you, we thought you drowned; we hab been looking for you dis month.' On landing, another hailed us,—'Oh! massa preacher come! Me must carry someting, me be so glad.' We procured a wherry, and reached Kingston in less than an hour, where we met with a hearty reception. The next morning I visited the school. The children leaped for joy—indeed, they could not refrain from dancing, for a negro must express his joy. Their writing is excellent, and they appear to improve greatly. Could you visit the school, you would say my dear brother has not run in vain, neither labored in vain. Some of the children have excellent capacities, and retentive memories. One little girl repeated several chapters of the Bible, and the whole of Dr. Watts's Divine Songs, at one time."

In addition to his usual labors at the place of his residence, where vast numbers were continually joining the church, Mr. Coultart exerted himself to widen the sphere of missionary influence; and for this purpose, purchased a plot of ground to form a station at Mount Charles, about twenty miles from Kingston.

In the year 1824, he baptized four hundred and fifty persons. After stating this fact, in a letter to Dr. Ryland, he proceeds to give the following narrative, which at once illustrates the power of religion in the negro, and the watchful care for its purity exercised by the missionary:—

"I called, the other evening, upon one of our poor members, that was supposed to be dying. I asked him how his mind was; what his thoughts of death. 'Quite happy,' was his reply, 'and ready to go.' I said, 'Take care, don't deceive yourself; you have been a vile sinner, a sad worthless creature, both to God and his church; take care, don't build on the sand.' He seemed astonished for a minute or two, and was silent; then, as if he had collected all his energy, and freed himself from the hand of death, he sprang up on his bed, saying, 'No, minister, no; I am not deceived; you are clear of my blood.' I said, 'Let that be to me; your time is short; ask God to forgive you, for Christ's sake; let nothing take your attention from Jesus now; cry to him till you feel his love.' I prayed with him, and left him. In a day or two, some one came again, and said he was dying. I hastened to his bed-side. There stood his friends, and his weeping companion sat by him on the bed. He was dreadfully convulsed; and when he opened his eyes and saw me, he cried out very loud, 'Minister, bless you; I am safe; Jesus Christ has not forgotten a poor wicked, worthless sinner. No, I am a dying man, but thank thee, O Saviour, for the gospel, for thyself; come, and take poor me. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.' My heart leaped for joy to see this poor *black* brand plucked out of the fire. I never saw such ecstasy in death before,—looked on him in his last agony in amazement, and said, , Surely the blood of Christ speaketh better things than that of Abel.' I thank God I crossed the Atlantic to see this, to receive the blessing and the delightful testimony of this poor descendant of Canaan, going where there is no more curse."

The progress of Mr. Phillippo, at Spanish town, was impeded, partly by illness, and partly by untoward circumstances. He was required to render military service, which being inconsistent with his missionary character, he properly refused; and, in consequence, would probably have suffered imprisonment, had not the custos, the Hon. Francis Smith, interfered on his behalf with the governor. Immediate orders, also, were sent out by the British government for his exemption. His prospects, in other respects, were pleasing. At Old Harbor, a chapel was erected at the expense of individuals resident in

the vicinity. Many were soon baptized there, as well as at Spanish Town; and Mr. Phillippo not only had a school of between one and two hundred, of whom thirty were from Jewish families, but established a large Lancasterian institution.

At Anotta Bay, the church increased, and Christian efforts were unimpeded, excepting by the feeble health of the pastor; and their cheering prospects were soon clouded by the death of both Mr. and Mrs. Phillips. The church had increased from forty to upwards of a hundred members, and the school for negro children was well attended; but the decree went forth, and these beloved instructors were removed.

Messrs. James Flood, Edward Baylis, tand James Mann, were sent out from the committee in May, and arrived in he beginning of June, 1826. Mr. Flood took up his residence at Mount Charles for some time, dividing his labors between that station and Anotta Bay, till he removed to Kingston to supply the church in East Queen street during the absence of Mr. Coultart, who had gone to England, partly from the dangerous state of Mrs. Coultart, who had returned home some time before on account of ill health, and partly to seek aid for the public schools connected with his station in Kingston. Mr. Coultart's church continued to increase; and the church under the pastoral care of Mr. Tinson, which assembled in an old building about a mile from Kingston, had been blessed with a gratifying portion of prosperity,—upwards of three hundred having been added by baptism, and many were inquiring the way of salvation. But the dilapidated state of the building in which the people met, its inconvenient distance from the city, and a desire to provide additional means of religious instruction for a numerous and ill-supplied population, induced many of the members, encouraged by the missionaries, to seek an eligible situation in Kingston, with a view of removing the church. Suitable premises accordingly having been obtained, the greater part of the members withdrew, to form a new church; the place was opened on the 24th of December, 1826; and on January the 7th, 1827, the church was formed, consisting of two hundred and eighty-two town members, and about two hundred living on estates in different parts of the country.

On the 13th of April, 1827, the church at Mount Charles was formed, consisting of forty-nine members, and Mr. Baylis recognized as its pastor. Of the members which composed this church, thirty-four were dismissed from Kingston, and fifteen baptized in the morning of the same day the church was constituted.

During this year, Mr. Joseph Burton, who had been for some time pastor of a Baptist church in Canterbury, desirous of being engaged in missionary labors, offered his services to the committee, and was appointed to Jamaica. Mr. and Mrs. Burton landed at Morant Bay on the 27th of August, 1827, and undertook to superintend the church in East Queen street, Kingston, till the return of Mr. Coultart. Mr. and Mrs. Flood removed to Anotta Bay, to give their whole attention to that portion of the mission; which being prospered, he soon extended the sphere of his operations by a new station at Charles Town, ten miles from Anotta Bay, the residence of a maroon clan. On Mr. Coultart's return, Mr. and Mrs. Burton removed to Port Maria, where a missionary was greatly needed. A congregation was soon gathered; and collecting the members living in that neighborhood, who belonged to other Baptist churches, Mr. Burton formed a church at Port Maria on March 16th, 1828, consisting of one hundred and sixty-seven members. He commenced, also, two subordinate stations, at Oracabessa and Bray Head; but afterwards removed to East Queen street, Kingston.

In the mean time, Mr. Burchell devoted himself very successfully to the towns of Montego Bay and Crooked Spring, on the north-western part of the island. These places are about ten miles distant from each other. The former, the capital of that part of the island, contained about six or seven thousand inhabitants, with a large negro population around it, but was ill supplied with religious instruction. This induced Mr. Burchell to reside in the Bay, for the purpose of establishing a new station in the town, where, on the 29th of February, 1824, he formed a church of twelve members. So much attention was excited, that the room first occupied

as a place of worship was soon found utterly inadequate to the accommodation of the hearers; a large house was taken, but the congregation still increased; and many were converted to God. There was, however, great opposition, and various obstacles were thrown in the way of the attendance of the negroes. The success was equally remarkable at Crooked Spring, where the eagerness of the negroes to hear the word was such that they frequently resorted thither from great distances, even fifteen or twenty miles, to unite in the public services. One or two other stations were also formed, and a wealthy proprietor offered premises to the Society at about one third of their value, on condition that a missionary should be settled at Ridgeland, an estate in Westmoreland. These were purchased in 1826. In the early part of that year, however, the health of Mr. Burchell had so much declined that he was compelled to undertake a voyage to England. Having made an appeal to the public on behalf of Montego Bay, he returned in January, 1827, with the means of erecting a suitable place of worship, which was speedily accomplished. Mr. Mann had occupied his station during his absence, and continued for a time to cooperate with him in the general duties of the mission, till a new station which he undertook, was formed at Falmouth, where the most eager and general desire had been expressed for religious instruction. Many of the inhabitants had been in the habit of attending the chapels at Montego Bay and Crooked Spring, and a considerable number had become members. Falmouth is about twenty-two miles east of Montego Bay, in the parish Trelawney, which contained twenty-six thousand slaves. Here Mr. Mann constituted a church, in May, 1827, of forty members, of whom several were the fruits of Mr. Rowe's early labors. At this period, there were eight churches in the island, and five thousand two hundred and forty-six members: the clear increase during six previous months having been seven hundred and twenty-one.

It would scarcely be just to Mr. Burchell, to the negro, or our work, to omit the following interesting conversation which he held with one of his church members on his death-bed.

"Calling on this poor man one day, when he was very ill, I said, 'Well, my friend, do you think God unkind for afflicting you so severely?'

"*A.* No, massa.

"*Q.* Don't you feel sometimes disposed to complain?

"*A.* No; pray to God not to let me.

"*Q.* What makes you feel resigned?

"*A.* Me know God do no wrong; him know what is best; him do best.

"*Q.* Have you ever felt sorry for coming to Christ?

"*A.* O no! me feel sorry me no come before; me too glad me hear of Jesus Christ.

"*Q.* How do you feel in the prospect of death?

"*A.* Me feel happy.

"*Q.* What makes you happy?

"*A.* De love of Christ.

"*Q.* Do you think your prayers will take you to heaven?

"*A.* No, no.

"*Q.* But do not you expect to go there, because you are not so wicked as before, but are become a member of the church?

"*A.* No, me no have one good ting to tink of, nothing but Christ, him precious blood.

"*Q.* Why do you think Christ will receive you?

"*A.* Me love him; me love him to me heart.

"*Q.* But will he be willing?

"*A.* Ah, massa! him no pill him precious blood? him no say, Come unto me? me know him true.

"*Q.* Would you like to meet your Christian friends again on earth?

"*A.* Me would like to tell all me broders and sisters to love Christ more, to keep nearer to God. Me feel de more prayer, de nearer me keep to God, de happier me be.

"Again, a few days before his death—

"*Q.* Well, friend, you appear very low?

"*A.* Yes, massa; but de Lord is very good.

"*Q.* Do you feel much fear of death?

"*A.* No, massa; Jesus promise to be wid me.

"*Q.* Where do you think you will go when you die?

"*A.* I tink I shall go home.

"*Q.* But where is the home you mean?

"*A.* Where Jesus is.

"*Q.* What do you think of religion now? (At this he brightened up.)

"*A.* Ah, massa, what become of poor neger if him no hear religion! What me tink!—me *feel*, me no able to tell what me *feel*: it good, it make neger happy to die!

"*Q.* Would you wish to recover again?

"*A.* Me too weak.

"*Q.* Well, but if God were to give you your own will, how would you act?

"*A.* Why (he hesitated, and replied) —no, no, my will no do; me no want my will; God's will is best."

Mr. Burchell adds the brief but comprehensive testimony, "He lived consistently, and died happily."

In April, 1828, a Society was formed in Kingston, called the "Jamaica Baptist Missionary Association;" the object of which was to aid the parent Society by extending the sphere of its usefulness, to promote the spirituality and influence of the different churches, and to supply the destitute stations. Soon afterwards, Mr. Tinson left the island for America and England, chiefly for the benefit of his health; and Mr. Baylis took charge of the church in Hanover Street. In December of the same year, Mr. Henry C. Taylor, formerly connected with the Church Missionary Society, and employed as their agent, relinquished that connection, and was baptized in Spanish Town by Mr. Phillippo; and being received as a missionary by the Society, was ordained at Montego Bay, on April the 17th, 1829, and took charge of the church at Old Harbor. He opened another station at Hayes Savanna, where, in the same year, a church was constituted. During his labors in this field, he witnessed some melancholy instances of persecution. On one occasion, a member of his church, a slave, was convicted of "the crime of preaching," as they termed it; committed for six months' punishment, and ordered to be flogged. The latter part of the sentence was executed very severely, as his back evinced by scars extending from his ears down to his loins; the consequence of which was, that he was disabled for some weeks, and his life was in danger; but he endured all with Christian fortitude, while laboring under prison discipline. Vain, however, was the attempt, by chains and scourges, to impede the work of God. Mr. Taylor was cheered by repeated and numerous additions to his churches.

The mission in the north-west part of the island received an additional laborer in Mr. Knibb, whose declining health, combined with other circumstances, rendered it necessary that he should relinquish the school at Kingston. The advantageous conditions on which the premises at Ridgeland were offered to the Society, and a promise from the New England Society of an annual grant of money, induced the missionaries to request Mr. Knibb to take charge of Ridgeland, in connection with Savanna-la-Mar, a station commenced by Mr. Mann. Proceeding thither, he baptized eighteen persons, and received them into church fellowship, October 26th, 1829. He continued to superintend these stations till the death of Mr. Mann led to his removal to Falmouth.

The health of Mrs. Coultart having suffered severely, Mr. Coultart removed to Mount Charles, Mr. Burton succeeding to his church at Kingston, and Mr. Baylis to that of Port Maria.

On the 12th of December, Messrs. Samuel Nichols, William W. Cantlow, and John Clarke, with their wives, arrived from England. The former, by direction of the committee, went to Manchioneal; but in the course of two months, at the request of his brother missionaries, he removed to St. Ann's Bay, premises having been purchased there of the general Baptists, who were desirous of relinquishing the station. He also took the oversight of another of their stations at Ocho Rios, eight miles from the bay. At the former place he formed a church in August, 1830, of thirteen members; and another at the latter, consisting of thirty. Mr. Cantlow took charge of the church at Crooked Spring, Mr. Tinson resumed his station in Kingston, and Mr. Clarke undertook the school in East Queen street, and the church at Port Royal.

Mr. Mann was a most indefatigable missionary, under whose care the church at Falmouth exceedingly prospered. He visited many of the estates, and formed two new churches at Rio Bueno and Stewart's Town. He died on Cambridge estate in Trelawney, whither he had gone to preach, February 17th,

1830. He was a plain, honest, uncompromising preacher of the gospel, and of such a frank and generous temper, that he seldom failed to conciliate esteem wherever he went. He was excellent as an evangelist, delighting to break up the fallow ground; but while thus cheerfully toiling in the moral wilderness, it pleased God who deemed him faithful, putting him into the ministry, to remove him from the scene of his interesting labors, and permit others to gather in the fruits of his exertions.

The church at Falmouth having invited Mr. Knibb to become their pastor, he removed thither, and took charge of the other stations connected with that church, with the same encouraging success that had attended the labors of his predecessor. Mr. Burchell's account is highly interesting. "I called a church meeting," says he, "when between four and five hundred members were present (special prayer-meetings having been previously held). At this meeting I endeavored to impress on their minds the importance of being influenced by pure motives; and having addressed them in as conscientious a manner as I possibly could, I proposed Mr. Knibb, and requested a show of hands. I never saw such a scene. The whole church to an individual simultaneously rose up and held up both hands, and then burst into tears. My feelings were overcome, and I wept with them. This, I said, is truly the Lord's doing. Such a feeling I never witnessed before. Had you and the committee been present, I think you would have said, the path of Providence is clear and plain, and would have said to brother Knibb, 'Go thou, and the Lord go with thee.'" Mr. Francis Gardner, who had recently come to the island, was appointed to Savanna-la-Mar and Ridgeland. Mr. Gardner had been usefully employed for some time in the Christian ministry, at Burton Latimer, in Northamptonshire. He was designated as a missionary on the 12th of October, 1830, sailed on the 30th of the same month, and arrived with Mrs. Gardner at Montego Bay, January 11, 1831.

The churches at Montego Bay and Crooked Spring, under the care of Messrs. Burchell and Cantlow, continued prosperous; several subordinate stations were begun; and the chapel at Montego Bay had been repeatedly enlarged, but still it was scarcely sufficient to accommodate the congregation. A new place of worship had been commenced, under the superintendence of Mr. Cantlow, for the accommodation of the church and congregation at Crooked Spring. But not only in that part of the island did a divine blessing attend the ministry of the word, a proportionate measure of success accompanied the preaching of the gospel in nearly all the other stations.

In June, Mr. Josiah Barlow arrived in the island in a medical capacity, but some time after relinquished it, to take charge of the school in East Queen street, which Mr. Clarke was about to resign; and to supply Mount Charles or elsewhere. Mr. Flood about this time being about to return to England, on account of declining health, Mr. Barlow took charge of the stations.

In the beginning of the year 1830, Mr. Tinson opened a new station at Yallahs, about nineteen miles from Kingston; and on June the 27th, formed a church of sixty-eight members, thirty of whom were dismissed from Hanover Street church, and thirty-eight baptized on the occasion.

Mr. Burton, who had visited England, to confer with the committee on his future plan of operations, returned March the 25th, 1831, and shortly after proceeded to Manchioneal, where the Society had long wished to send a missionary. He purchased premises, and entered on his missionary labors in St. Thomas in the East, with considerable encouragement, though not without difficulties.

In April this year (1831), a meeting was held at Falmouth and Montego Bay, of all the missionaries on the island except one, when, from the accounts given by each missionary, it appeared that the clear increase of members in all the churches, during the preceding year, was nearly two thousand. During the association, two missionaries, Mr. William Whitehorne and Mr. Thomas F. Abbott, were ordained. The former, a native of Jamaica, was educated in the law; but on his conversion, determined to enter the church. With that view, he went to reside with a clergyman in the parish of Portland, and study for the ministry; but while pursuing his theological studies, he became convinced on

the subject of believers' baptism by immersion; and on July 4th, 1830, having been baptized by Mr. Flood, at Anotta Bay, was received as a member of the church. Still desirous of being engaged in the ministry, he was ordained at Falmouth, April the 1st, 1831, and took charge of the stations at Rio Bueno and Stewart's Town.

Mr. Abbott, who was ordained at Montego Bay on the 4th of the same month, was formerly a member of the Baptist church at Taunton, in Somersetshire. He had been requested by that church, in 1827, to direct his attention to the ministry; and was about to enter the academy at Bristol, when an attack of illness rendered it advisable for him to suspend all such engagements, and repair, without delay, to a warmer climate. He proceeded to Jamaica in the spring of 1828, and finding the climate favorable to his health, determined to continue, and enter on a commercial engagement, which, in a temporal point of view, proved highly advantageous. Such, however, was the prejudice that existed against missionaries, and so confidently were statements circulated to their disparagement, that many months passed away before he sought any intercourse with them. His prejudices, however, were speedily dispersed on visiting the Baptist chapel at Falmouth, and he was received as a member of the church, then under the pastoral care of Mr. Knibb. Some time after, he renounced his lucrative employment to engage in the ministry of the gospel. After his ordination, he proceeded to take charge of the stations at Lucea and Green Island, where he continued to labor with encouraging success till December, 1831. These stations had been commenced by the general Baptist missionaries, who had now relinquished their mission in Jamaica, and the building belonging to them at Lucea was rented by Mr. Abbott. But while the mission was thus reinforced by laborers raised on the spot, it was also called to sustain some heavy bereavements in the death of two missionaries, and the departure of several on account of illness.

In April, Mr. Cantlow sailed for England, his medical adviser assuring him that his immediate return was necessary for the preservation of life. Mr. Kingdon, formerly a student at Bristol, who had come to Jamaica for change of climate, in December, 1830, consented, at the request of the missionaries, to stay and superintend Mr. Cantlow's station till his return; but circumstances, over which he had no control, rendered his departure, also, necessary in about three months. He sailed on the first of August, leaving the church at Crooked Spring under the care of Mr. Knibb.

Mr. John Shoveller, who had been a long time usefully employed as a minister of the gospel in England, and was much respected in the denomination, being desirous of engaging in missionary service, offered himself to the committee, and was sent out to Kingston, to take the church in East Queen street, about to be vacated by Mr. Coultart, because of enfeebled health. He arrived at Kingston on the 30th of April, and was greatly delighted with his prospects of usefulness. A large addition was soon made to the church of upwards of one hundred and fifty; and he commenced a week evening lecture, in which he endeavored to render science subservient to religion, with a view of benefiting the more intelligent part of the community. This lecture was well attended; many, who on no other occasion would enter a dissenting chapel, crowded to hear; but before he had matured his plans of usefulness, he was attacked by fever, and on the 12th of December, died, with calm and holy confidence in his Redeemer.

Mr. Burton, who had gone to reside at Manchioneal, formed a church there of seventy-eight members, most of whom were connected with the churches in Kingston, but unable to attend for religious worship. Soon after, he opened another station at Morant Bay, about thirty miles from Manchioneal, in which vicinity were many who had been baptized, some of them years before, but were destitute of any regular means of religious instruction. Of these, and others whose lives and experience Mr. Burton approved, he formed a church, consisting of about forty-eight members. In May, Mr. Clarke relinquished the school in East Queen street, which was shortly after taken by Mr. Samuel Whitehorne, and went to reside at Port Royal, that he might give his whole attention to that station, and its

subordinates at Port Henderson and Mosquito Point. During this year, Mr. Nichols extended his labors to Brown's Town, a new settlement in the interior, about seventeen miles from St Ann's Bay. He met with much encouragement; obtained premises; opened them for religious worship; and in June, formed a church of forty-four members, twenty-four being dismissed from St. Ann's Bay, one from Falmouth, and nineteen baptized at the station.

A new affliction occurred in the death of a promising coadjutor, Mr. John Griffith, who was only permitted to look on the field of labor. He had been a member of the church in Cannon street, Birmingham, where he was designated to missionary service, February the 24th, 1831, sailed May the 20th, arrived at Kingston with Mrs. Griffith, July the 11th, and died at Spanish Town on the 20th, of yellow fever. His widow shortly after returned, with Mr. and Mrs. Phillippo who were necessitated to leave on account of Mr. Phillippo's state of health.

Mr. Burchell, also, had been compelled to revisit England, partly on account of family affairs. As various representations of an unfriendly character had been circulated, to the prejudice of some of the missionary stations connected with the Society, he was requested to draw up a detailed statement of the course pursued by him in the management of those under his care. As statements of a similar nature since have been often circulated, a reference to Mr Burchell's narrative may serve as a general document, to satisfy inquirers and objectors on the subject. When he left Jamaica, there were in full communion with the church at Montego Bay, sixteen hundred persons, in addition to which there were also about three thousand inquirers, resident in the town, and from one to twenty miles distant. At Montego Bay, there was service only every alternate Sabbath, when he was engaged with the people from six o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening, with very little intermission. The other Sabbath was employed in attending to the requisite services at Gurney's Mount, Shortwood, or some other place. Prayer meetings, preaching, conversing, and other duties, occupied the week, besides journeys into the interior of twenty and thirty miles. For thirteen successive weeks in the previous year, he states that he journeyed at an average of one hundred and three miles per week in the concerns of the mission; and during ten months, travelled three thousand one hundred miles, no mean exertions and toils in such a climate, and where there were no public means of conveyance.

"In consequence," says he, "of the number of persons connected with us, scattered over a space of many miles, I adopted the plan of employing approved individuals united to the church, as 'leaders,' or 'active members,' and divided the people into classes, to be superintended by them. To the members, I give tickets, which are renewed quarterly so long as they conduct themselves becoming the gospel. These tickets are required to be produced, in the chapel, on those Sabbaths when the Lord's supper is administered; when myself and the deacons go round and examine them, to see that no individual is present but regular and approved members; the propriety of this plan is evident, as I have frequently detected, by this means improper characters, who had obtruded themselves at the table.

"To the inquirers, also, I give tickets (these are different from those of the members), at which time their name and residence are inserted in a book kept for that purpose. The leader is required to visit the people under his care as often as may be in his power, to converse with them and inquire respecting them; when he has to give an account of the same to me, and observations are made, in the inquirer's book of any inquirer concerning whom he may report, whether good or bad. On these occasions, the tickets of the persons who are reported are brought, so as to afford me an opportunity of conversing with the individuals on their application for them, which are then returned or retained, as the nature of the case may require.

"Under this system, therefore, I am enabled to acquire a general and pretty correct knowledge of this large body of people, which could not be the case, but by observing some such method. Indeed, I have no doubt, but that under this system I have a better acquaintance with the character and habits of the

members of this congregation, consisting of above four thousand individuals, than I could of a church of one fourth of that number upon the general plan pursued by ministers in England. The ticket system I consider necessary, also, to prevent designing and evil-disposed persons from imposing upon the people.

"If the amount of subscriptions be the ground of objection, I remark, believing pecuniary subscriptions to be a scriptural duty, I have recommended it accordingly, and proposed the sum of tenpence currency (sixpence sterling) per quarter (only a halfpenny per week), as an average subscription, believing it to be in the power of most persons to contribute that amount. Still the subscription must be voluntary; and its being withheld or given neither confers a favor nor proves a disadvantage to the individual in his connection with the church. A great number connected with the church do not contribute at all; a considerable number, also, receive quarterly assistance, which is given them when their tickets are renewed, for the same reason as is stated for receiving the subscriptions at that time, namely, to economize time and prevent confusion,—as it must be observed, that full two thousand of our congregation reside several miles' distance from the Bay; and these persons, for several months in the year, have only the Sabbath when it is possible for them to have any interview with the minister. In addition to the number of those who do not contribute, and those who receive quarterly assistance, there is a great proportion of those left who contribute but one of the proposed subscriptions per annum, others but two, others three, and but few in comparison four, so that I do not receive upon an average per annum, above half of the sum recommended.

"When I first heard of the charges preferred, and of the evils and abuses said to exist amongst our people, I made the strictest and most diligent inquiry respecting them; but being unable to discover any such things in the vicinity of the town where I resided, I thought probably they might be found among those of our congregation who resided at more remote distances; and therefore proceeded to form stations in the interior of the island, so as to bring the whole of our people under my more immediate inspection.

"Under these circumstances I rented premises at Gurney's Mount, where a church has been since formed, and I preach to an average congregation of six hundred persons, sixteen miles from the Bay. At the same time I rented other premises at Shortwood, eighteen miles distance from the town, to which place I go as frequently as I have it in my power. Other inland stations have been thought of by others of my brethren, from the same cause; but you must be aware, that with our small number of missionaries it is impossible to do more than we have already undertaken.

"This, however, will prove to you that your missionaries are not indifferent to the charges against them, proceeding from whatever quarter, or whatever motive,—nor lethargic in investigating the truth,—nor indifferent in correcting any evils they may discover to exist, nor unconcerned to prevent the possibility of their recurrence. The existence of any evils among any of our congregation or members, has occasioned me and others of your missionaries as much sincere and heartfelt grief, as it has afforded heartfelt joy to our foes; not because it occasioned matter of triumph to our opponents, but because we are aware the smiles and good-will of Him who dwelt in the bush (for which we are most concerned) are not to be found in the congregations of the wicked, nor in the assemblies of the deceitful. It is not impossible but that evils may be found, but I do most solemnly deny any knowledge of them, or acquaintance with them. I am as anxious as the most rigid disciplinarian can be, that the church should be pleasing in the eyes of Him with whom we have to do; nor should I fear the consequences of the most rigid scrutiny, by the most rigid and captious individual, into the actual state and piety of the church under my care. We have had members of Scotch Baptist churches who have had intercourse with our members, and communed with them at the table of the Lord, who have expressed themselves delighted with the simplicity and sincerity of their piety. In conversation with them on church discipline, I have been addressed as follows—'You have members

in your church as severe in discipline as any I have ever met in any Baptist church.'

"For your information and satisfaction I will narrate the method adopted in receiving the candidates for baptism and church membership. You will observe that from the time they are received as inquirers, they come under my notice and care; I converse with them individually and in the class, as frequently as is in my power; and am continually receiving information concerning them from their leaders: so that when they are proposed as candidates, I possess a tolerable knowledge of them. Still, when one is brought forward, the leader himself is interrogated respecting him; then, if he be an estate slave, inquiry is made of the members who reside on the same property. After that, he is examined by the deacons and other members of the church, and lastly by myself. If the result of this process be satisfactory, his name is inserted as a candidate for baptism in a book kept for that purpose. Members are now appointed to obtain what information they can respecting him, so that before he is baptized he may undergo examination once or twice more as the case may require. The nature of our examination is to ascertain what led the candidate first to think of serious concerns—his views of sin —of himself as a sinner—his danger as a sinner, with respect to futurity—his deserts as a sinner—his views of God—the holiness of God—the justice of God in his hatred and punishment of sin—the love of God in the gift of his Son—his views of his own unworthiness—his inability to effect his own salvation—the way of salvation (on which I dwell)—the person of Christ—the atonement—the love of Christ—the evidence he has that he loves Christ, that he is a new creature—his views of religion, its duties, its holiness, &c.—the effect it has had upon himself—baptism and the Lord's supper, &c.

"If these poor slaves do not possess the knowledge of persons at home, they nevertheless frequently afford far more striking and satisfactory evidence of their genuine conversion, than many of their superiors in knowledge. On this subject I can speak with pleasing confidence. I have visited many on their dying beds—have heard their last conversation—been present when their spirits have flown, and have rejoiced on beholding the nature, simplicity, power, and purity of the religion of Jesus. I have witnessed the holy lives and consistent conduct of others for years, amidst trials, persecutions, and sufferings. I have listened to the holy and fervent prayers of others, and have wept and blessed God.

"In maintaining the discipline of the church, the greatest care is taken,—indeed, no effort is spared. In addition to the system of leaders, by which most things are brought to light, an annual investigation is made, which occupies a period of at least four months, notwithstanding the number of persons employed; when many hundred miles are travelled by the brethren, for the purpose of ascertaining the real state of the church, and eliciting any evil or abuse that may possibly exist. On these occasions I examine the members in and near the town as minutely as though I was examining them for baptism. The most approved and best informed members are appointed by the church to examine and inquire individually respecting the members, and as minutely as they can concerning the inquirers; after which they report the result, which report is taken and preserved."

Mr. Burchell concludes his statement by requesting the secretary to lay it before the committee; adding, in the spirit which pervades the whole document,—"I have ever felt anxious that they should be thoroughly acquainted with every part of our conduct. If there be any abuse existing, let it be known, and it will be corrected. If there be any thing objectionable in any of our plans, let them be canvassed: your missionaries do not assume infallibility; but I am confident there is not, and cannot be an evil arising out of the system adopted by us, but can be corrected. Besides, your missionaries are not so obstinately constituted as to be set against any improvement in any of their modes of operation; nor would they be averse to adopt any other system which may be recommended, if that system be better adapted to promote and extend the cause of the Redeemer, which is the object nearest their heart."

Annexed is a tabular view of the Baptist churches, then in the island of Ja-

maica showing the additions, deaths, exclusions, &c., with the clear increase, during the previous year, Mr Taylor's churches only excepted, which includes two years. "*Received*," in the second column of the table, refers not only to members dismissed from one church to another, but also to baptized persons previously unconnected with the mission, admitted to church fellowship on re-examination.

STATE OF THE CHURCHES IN APRIL, 1831.

CHURCHES, IN WHAT PARISH SITUATED.	PASTORS.	Increase.			Decrease.			Clear Increase.	Total No. of Members.
		Baptized.	Received.	Restored.	Died.	Dismissed to other Churches.	Excluded.		
East Queen Street, Kingston	Mr. Coultart	114		23	73		35	29	2937
Mount Charles, St. Andrew's									319
Hanover Street, Kingston	Mr. Tinson	67	11	10	12	30	7	39	769
Yallahs, St. David's		57	47		1			103	103
Spanish Town, St. Catherine's	Mr. Phillippo	117	35	10	10		16	136	1036
Montego Bay, St. James's	Mr. Burchell	370	13	5	27	5	11	345	1572
Gurney's Mount, Hanover		53	3				2	54	125
Falmouth, Trelawney	Mr. Knibb	216	24	1	5	7	14	215	885
Anatto Bay, St. George's	Mr. Flood	86	10	2	12	1	4	81	510
Charles Town, ditto		60	4					64	112
Port Maria, St. Mary's		104	10		5		3	106	410
Oracabessa, ditto	Mr. Baylis	18						18	45
Bray Head, ditto		33	3					36	36
Old Harbor, St. Dorothy	Mr. Taylor	156			3	60		93	265
Hayes Savanna, Vere		179	3		1		9	172	257
Crooked Spring, St. James's	Mr. Cantlow	88	5		13	1	1	78	723
Port Royal,	Mr. Clarke	23		9	2	2	7	21	202
St. Ann's Bay, St. Ann's	Mr. Nichols	21	31					52	52
Ocho Rios, ditto		15	74					89	89
Savanna-la-Mar, Westmoreland	Mr. Gardner	19			2		1	16	83
Ridgeland, ditto		2						2	22
Rio Rueno, Trelawney	Mr. Whitehorne	63			1	3	1	58	128
Stewart Town, ditto		30			3	3		74	108
Lucea, Hanover,	Mr. Abbott		50					50	50
		1941	323	60	170	112	111	1931	10838

CHAPTER III.

EVENTS OF 1831 AND 1832.

In contemplating the overrulings of Providence, it is gratifying and instructive to notice the important use that is frequently made of what are commonly termed calamitous events; for however they may be so deemed, as affecting the persons of individuals, or the interests of the church in particular localities, it is indubitable that they have been often made subservient to the highest and happiest results. It might even be shown that disasters have been the means of incalculable good; and that from depression and defeat itself, have arisen ultimate success, so remarkable as to change the whole aspect of ecclesiastical affairs, and influence the destinies of nations. This is indeed consoling, not only as it respects the past, but as calculated to inspire confidence in the divine government for the future. The church is naturally encouraged by prosperity; but surely she need never be dismayed at the darkest appearances, when history and prophecy combine to prove the power, the wisdom, and the protecting love of the supreme Disposer.

These reflections may not be inappropriate, as introductory to a series of events so much calculated to awaken a painful interest as those about to be recorded, and of a kind so different from those which have been mentioned in relating the generally peaceful progress of the gospel.

At the close of the year 1831, an alarming insurrection broke out among the slaves in Jamaica, the blame of

which the enemies of religion were not slow in laying to the charge of the missionaries. Their blamelessness, and the malignity of the imputation, will hereafter appear.

SECTION I.

Commencement and early circumstances of the negro insurrection.

On Friday, December the 16th, 1831, Mr. Knibb received the first information that the negroes on Salt Spring estate, near Montego Bay, evinced symptoms of insubordination. He immediately communicated this intelligence, in terms severely censuring it, to Mr. Abbott, at Lucea, by whom the report was discredited; and also to Mr. Whitehorne, of Stewart Town, who, on the following Sabbath, named it to his congregation, earnestly dissuading them from all participation, if such proceedings had really begun.

On Saturday, December the 24th, Stephen James, a slave on Chatham estate, Trelawney, went to Mr. Knibb, at Falmouth, and informed him that the people were saying, "free paper was come out, and they would not work after Christmas." Mr. Knibb, Lewis Williams (a free black), and Thomas Levermore (a free colored person,) deacons of the Falmouth church, held much conversation with him on the subject. James seemed at first to think the report was correct; but having received assurances to the contrary, he said "he would go home and tell the people that Mr. Knibb had contradicted the report, and that they must return to their work after the holidays, or else they would be excluded from the church." This he did, and it is believed his statement had the effect of undeceiving the other negroes on the estate, and preventing their revolt. On the 25th, in consequence of this information from the Chatham negro, and the rumors which were afloat, Mr. Knibb called a church meeting at Falmouth. He contradicted the report of the "free paper" having arrived, and exhorted them to return quietly to their work after Christmas, and influence others to do the same, urging on them Christian motives to obedience. Mr. Gardner also called the attention of the congregation to this matter, by addressing them on the good fruits which religion required from its professors. His text, Luke 13: 6, afforded him ample scope; and he applied it as much as possible to the existing circumstances, —urging on the slaves the importance of their bringing forth fruit corresponding with their profession and privileges —insisting especially on the duty of obedience to their masters, and the avoidance of every thing like insubordination. So pointed was his discourse, that Robert Gardner, afterwards colonel of the rebels, expressed to one of the deacons of the church his determination, in consequence of what he heard, to return to his work after Christmas. But he was afterwards prevailed on to change his mind, and take a leading part in the rebellion. When in prison, he said to Mr. Gardner, alluding to this sermon, "Your word melt we, we no hold up our head."

On Monday the 26th, Mr. Blyth, Presbyterian missionary, went to Mr. Knibb, to converse about this apprehended rebellion, which had then become a matter of notoriety and alarm. Mr. Blyth remarked "that there was pressing danger, and that nothing but their united efforts could avert the evil in their district; that the slaves were impressed with the belief that their freedom had been sent from England." He had been endeavoring to undeceive the negroes at Orange Valley, an estate on which he had a number of members, but they refused to credit the account. Mr. Knibb, whom they said they would believe, offered to accompany him to the estate; but Mr. Blyth thinking it would be sufficient to make use of his name, Mr. Knibb proposed to send Lewis Williams, on one of his own horses, with the joint messages of himself and Mr. Blyth, to their people on Orange Valley, and other estates; which was immediately done. In the evening of the same day, Messrs. Knibb, Whitehorne, Gardner, and Abbott, met at Montego Bay, on their way to Salter's Hill, where a new chapel was to be opened on the following morning. The circumstance of several missionaries assembling in the heart of the disturbed district, at this critical time, excited suspicion of their having had some share in the plot; but the simple fact was, that they met in pursuance of a resolution passed nearly three months before, at a quarterly union meeting, held at Falmouth, fixing Tuesday in the Christmas week for the open-

ing of the chapel, being the anniversary of the day on which the foundation stone was laid. This misinterpretation of their motives was not unnatural for men who were breathing hostility against the missionaries, and watching their proceedings with a jealous eye.

Early in the morning of Tuesday the 27th of December, the day appointed at that meeting, the missionaries proceeded to Salter's Hill, eight miles from Montego Bay, to engage in the appointed service; when they diligently availed themselves of the opportunity of conversing with the negroes, to correct their mistaken notion about the "free paper." A large congregation assembled, and Mr. Gardner preached a sermon, in which he introduced some strong and plain remarks, bearing on the reported evil intentions of the slaves, and wholly condemning them; exhorting them to walk worthy of the gospel—appealing to the reciprocal affection existing between them and their absent pastor, and reminding them of the obligations to holiness under which they were laid by their high profession and their hope of eternal happiness. Mr. Knibb being their temporary pastor, and better known to them than the other missionaries present, it was agreed that he should deliver an address; part of which was as follows:—"It is now seven years since I left England to preach the gospel to you; and when I came, I made up my mind to live and die to promote your spiritual welfare. Never did I enter the pulpit with such painful feelings as at present. Till yesterday, I had hoped that God had blessed my poor labors, and the labors of your dear minister now in England for his health, who loves you and prays for you, and who tells me that he hopes soon to return to you. But I am pained to the soul to hear that many of you have agreed not to go to your work after Christmas; and I fear it is too true. I learn that some wicked persons have persuaded you that the king has made you free. Hear me; I love your souls; I would not tell you a lie for the world. What you have been told is false—false as hell can make it. I entreat you not to believe it, but go to your work as usual. If you have any love to Jesus Christ, to religion, to your ministers, to those kind friends in England who have given money to help you to build this chapel, be not led away by wicked men. You are too ready to listen to and believe what they tell you, instead of coming to your minister, who you know will tell you the truth. God commands you to be obedient to your master; if you do as he commands, you may expect his blessing; but if you do not, he will call you to an account for it at the judgment day. If you refuse to work, and are punished, you will suffer justly; and every friend you have, must and will turn his back upon you."

Much dissatisfaction was manifested by some of the slaves at this address, and many murmurs were heard. This plain contradiction of their error—this sudden dashing of their fond hopes of freedom—overcame their patience, and called forth the bad passions of their nature. They said that "parson Knibb had no business to meddle with the free paper—that the white people had bribed Mr. Blyth to tell lie, and that Mr. Blyth had given Mr. Knibb half the money to keep free paper from them." So angry were they with Mr. Knibb, for this interference to frustrate their intentions, that they declared they would have maltreated him, had he not had so many ministers with him. Having remained at the chapel an hour or two after the service, exhorting the people to resume their work, the missionaries returned to Montego Bay. On that night the burning of properties commenced.

At Falmouth, the missionaries had frequent opportunities of discountenancing the rebellion, which had now broken out; and there also they experienced no ordinary portion of mental suffering. About the time of their arrival, three slaves from Green Park estate, named Joseph Henry, James Virgo, and Lewis Atherton, members of the Falmouth church, brought down from York two rebels, whom they had captured while attempting to burn Green Park. Henry and Virgo went to Mr. Knibb, and related this circumstance; stating that the magistrates had rewarded them with a doubloon, and given them a pair of handcuffs, with authority to go and do the like again if necessary. They asked him whether they had done right, as they had been taunted for taking up their own color, by some irreligious negroes, who said they did it for money. Mr. Knibb commended their conduct, and

strongly urged them to go on defending their master's property, and capture as many rebels as they could. Prayer-meetings for the divine interposition to restore peace, were held, both at the Wesleyan and Baptist chapels; and the missionaries exerted all their influence to induce their people to be quiet and attend to their work. Mr. Knibb sent a message by Mr. Waddell, Presbyterian missionary, to his people on Carlton estate, under the attorneyship of Robert Cron, Esq., and they saved the property. As opportunities offered, he sent messages also to other properties, and otherwise exerted himself successfully.

This was truly a memorable week. There were together, at Mr. Knibb's house, himself and Mrs. Knibb, Mr. and Mrs. Abbott, Mr. and Mrs. Whitehorne, Mr. S. Whitehorne, from Kingston, and Mr. and Mrs. Nichols,—in all nine; occasionally joined by Mr. and Mrs. Waddell and Mr. Box. The circumstances of the country rendered travelling so dangerous, that they were precluded from separating, though some of the brethren anxiously desired to visit their respective stations. For seven days, this Christian party continued unbroken, enjoying the advantages of mutual counsel and sympathy; but was then dissolved by the hand of power. "All was confusion abroad. The families of proprietors, overseers, and others from the country, were hurrying into town for safety; military expresses were hastening in all directions; and repeatedly large bodies of slave-prisoners, of both sexes, taken in rebellion, or suspected of rebellion, passed Mr. Knibb's residence on their way to the guard-house. Perplexing reports were continually brought to the missionaries that they were blamed as the promoters of the mischief; that all the captured negroes were closely questioned whether their minister had not told them they were to be free at Christmas; and especially that a full determination was manifested to implicate Mr. Knibb, as the resident minister. They knew their innocence; but they knew also the probable power of promises or intimidation, to elicit from the unhappy prisoners statements which were untrue. Such reports, therefore, could not fail to induce a lively solicitude respecting the event, especially in the case of Mr. Knibb, whose family of three small children added much to the weight of his own care, and excited the tenderest concern of his friends. But they remembered there was One who knew the heart, and restrained the wrath of man, and to Him their eyes were directed."*

At length, martial law was proclaimed at Falmouth on Saturday the 31st of December; of which transferance of power from the civil to the military authorities, they naturally apprehended their enemies would take a dangerous advantage. The first intimation of martial law was given them by a soldier, who went into Mr. Knibb's yard, and seized a saddle for the King's service. From this hour they had no certainty for a moment that their own persons might not be required, nominally for the same service, but really to subserve the hostility of their bitterest foes. They betook themselves, therefore, to the word of God and prayer, entreating to be prepared for the unknown result. On the first of January, two public prayer meetings were held in the chapel, to implore the restoration of tranquillity, and the preservation of slaves professing religion, from uniting in the rebellion. During the morning assembly, Mr. Knibb solemnly appealed to the congregation, contradicting the report respecting freedom, and warning and entreating the slaves to continue faithful and diligent. After this service, Mr. Denoon, a non-commissioned officer, with four privates, regularly armed with fixed bayonets, went to Mr. Knibb's house, with orders to conduct the missionaries immediately to the guard-house, to enlist in the militia. Messrs. Nichols and Whitehorne, the only two who had reached home, promptly obeyed, and under this escort proceeded to the court-house. This officer behaved with great civility, particularly to Messrs. Knibb and Abbot, whom he afterwards met in the street, and requested to go to the court-house by themselves, while he and his men proceeded on other duty. After waiting in the officers' apartment of the guard-house, evidently to the satisfaction of those gentlemen, an hour and upwards, to see Colonel Cadien,—Major Nelson thanked them for attending so promptly, and merely

* Narrative by the Baptist missionaries.

requested them to show themselves there at eleven o'clock every day, by way of good example to others, till orders might be received from Sir W. Cotton, the commander-in-chief. The next day they went to the court-house at the appointed time; but then the scene was changed. Having again waited a full hour, the colonel told them "they had better join themselves to some company." They were astonished at this suggestion, after what had transpired the day before; especially as no intimation was given of any orders respecting them having been received from the commander-in-chief. However, they did not refuse, but simply remarked "they presumed they were liable to serve, from having been so called upon; but they had always been under the impression that all ministers of the gospel were exempt." Being told they must serve, Mr. Abbott joined the artillery, and Mr. Knibb, the 4th company, under Captain Chrystie. Mr. Whitehorne claimed the rank he had formerly held in the militia, and was desired to send for his captain's commission; and Mr. Nichols, on account of ill health, was granted a passport to St. Ann's Bay. Messrs. Knibb and Abbott, having first been commended to the divine protection, went on guard at five o'clock that afternoon, as required. The former, however, was allowed to return home, being unwell; but Mr. Abbott spent three hours of the night, from ten till one, in pacing about as a sentry, and the remainder in trying to take rest on a table in the guard-house, vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked.

On Tuesday, the 3d of January, being deeply impressed with the incompatibility of military service with the ministry of the gospel, they drew up a memorial to his excellency the governor, praying for exemption; and gave it to the colonel, for his inspection, previously to sending it to Spanish Town. While anxiously waiting for his opinion, which was promised that forenoon, Captain Paul Doig, with his drawn sword, attended by two armed blacks, went up to Mr. Knibb, who was on duty at the guard-house, and said, "Take this man into custody—this is all he has got by preaching." Captain Chrystie somewhat more politely required Mr. Abbott to deliver up his sword, and stated that "the colonel had ordered him to put him under arrest!" Both were placed in the ball-room, then used as a barrack, under a sentry. Hearing of their confinement, Mr. Whitehorne went to them, and was himself detained by the sentry, "by orders," as he said. In an hour or two after, Captain Chrystie officially stated, "that the colonel had received such intelligence from Montego Bay, as had induced him to decide on forwarding them to head-quarters, for which purpose a conveyance would be ready in half an hour." They asked permission to see their wives for a few minutes, or to write to them, but were refused. They were merely allowed to set down on paper a list of articles required in the canoe, and to send a message requesting their wives to proceed to Montego Bay by land. Hastily preparing for their journey, they proceeded to Montego Bay; and as they entered the town, their already agonized feelings met with another severe shock, in witnessing the dead body of a negro, covered with ball-wounds and blood; and they were told that the next day the missionaries would share the same fate. Their pockets having been searched for arms, they were marched through the town of Falmouth, to a wharf at some distance, under a military guard of a serjeant and four privates, duly armed, accompanied by a considerable concourse of people, both friends and foes. On their embarking in the canoe, an artillery officer of the militia, mounted on some elevation, waved his hat, and tried to raise a cheer at their departure; bnt a perfect stillness was preserved. It was nearly noon, the canoe was open, and they were unprotected from the meridian sun. No charge had been alleged against them; the cause of this treatment they knew not, further than the general clamor of their having promoted the rebellion; and this uncertainty of course greatly augmented their sufferings. Having spent seven hours in this open canoe, they reached Montego Bay, where a scene of great horror presented itself. The houses which had so recently adorned the neighboring hills were now in flames, and the confusion and noise of war prevailed. Two men of war were lying near the town, and guard-boats were plying about;

and at a little distance up the land, flashes of musketry were seen, announcing that the angel of death was abroad. On their landing at night, they were first marched to the court-house, under their armed guard as before; and then to the lodgings of Sir W. Cotton, major-general, exactly opposite the house which their afflicted wives had reached some hours before,—who, while they waited in the street before his door, full half an hour, came out to see them, bringing a little brandy and water, as they had taken no food since the morning. The serjeant having delivered his despatch, and received farther orders, marched them back to the court-house; then to the residence of Mr. Custos Barrett, on one of the adjacent hills, about half a mile distant; and finally, to the court-house again. During all this parade, they had to carry about their luggage, and to experience the frequent taunts of persons passing, who saluted them as the infernal Baptist parsons. Several times were they detained by the inquiry, "Who goes there?" to which it was replied, "A guard with prisoners from Falmouth." On entering the court-house, the officers and men surrounded them, uttering the most horrible execrations, literally gnashing upon them with their teeth, and glorying in the hope of glutting themselves with their blood, which they declared would be shed on the morrow. The missionaries soon discovered that they were considered answerable for the crimes of the slaves; and they were conducted into the presence of Major Coates, the officer of the guard, who told them, "that he had received orders from the custos to put them under guard in that place." They were then handed over to Serjeant Popkin and four privates of the grenadier company (all whites), to be placed in the jury-box, a place elevated eight or ten feet from the floor. Here they were emphatically "a gazing-stock," a candle being placed before them, evidently for the purpose of exposing them to public view. In this situation they had to endure the greatest insults and indignities, and to listen to the grossest language. On entering the jury-box. Mr. Knibb, who had been ill for a day or two, asked permission to lie on the floor; to which the serjeant was civilly replying, when Captain Joseph Bowen called out, "Serjeant Popkin, what are you preaching about? leave them to the sentries." He therefore retired, and this encouraged the sentry who sat on Mr. Knibb's right hand, to vociferate with awful oaths, "No, you rascal, if you attempt to move an inch, I'll thrust this bayonet through you, you villain;" and at the same time pointed the bayonet to his breast. This man afterwards said, in a conversation with another guard, "This is the notorious Knibbs, who robs our negroes of their maccaronies; but never mind, I am happy to say he will be hung to-morrow;" he also added, "that he was a ruined man, but he was now compensated for all his losses by the satisfaction he felt at seeing Knibbs brought to the gallows." This individual had previously threatened to stab Mr. Knibb for stumbling as he ascended the steps to the jury-box. He said, "it was a shame to put four men to guard these fellows, they ought to be handcuffed and put with the negroes." Mr. Abbott was feeling a severe pain in his back, heightened above its usual degree by fatigue and anxiety. He mentioned this to Mr. Whitehorne, and wished to shut the window behind him, when this man, pointing his bayonet at Mr. Abbott, said, "Hold your tongue, you rascal; don't speak to that other prisoner again, or I'll give you the bayonet, and I won't speak to you twice either, you villain." In the presence of such a man, they dared not refresh themselves with either food or sleep; but rested their heads on a bar which was before them, endeavoring to compose their minds to their situation till the morning.

But between ten and eleven o'clock, a deliverer came to their aid, named Roby, collector of his majesty's customs at that port, an old acquaintance of Mr. Whitehorne, who, on hearing of his imprisonment, hastened at that late hour to his assistance. He made his way into the jury-box, and presenting his hand, offered to do whatever he could to make his situation more comfortable, and to obtain his release; observing, however, that he did not wish to interfere with the course of justice, if the missionaries had been guilty of any crime. The guards attempted to drive him out of the jury-box, saying, "they were prisoners, and had ruined the

country;" but on application to the officer on guard, he was allowed free intercourse with them. He kindly undertook to use his exertions for the release of all for the night, and left them for this purpose. After indefatigable exertion, Mr. Roby obtained an order for their release for the night; and at twelve o'clock, conducted them to a grateful asylum at the custom-house. They were afterwards assured by a gentleman who visited the place about two o'clock in the morning, that it had then become so bad that their lives would certainly have been sacrificed, had they remained there till that hour. Early the next morning, Mr. Roby visited their wives, for the purpose of relieving their anxiety, and of conducting them to their husbands; and at his office, they all had the happiness of meeting once more together. Mr. Roby also presented them with a document which he had procured from Mr. Custos Barrett, releasing them, "on condition that each of them find a security to the amount of £50, that he will not leave the town of Montego Bay, and will be ready to appear when called on; the security to be entered into before any magistrate." Mr. Manderson, a gentleman of property, and magistrate of Montego Bay, and Mr. Roby at once tendered their security for Messrs. Knibb and Whitehorne; and Mr. James Guthrie, collecting constable, bailed Mr. Abbott. Thus, instead of being led forth to an ignominious death, as their enemies had predicted, and they themselves anticipated only the evening before, they found themselves mercifully set at liberty, their God having "enlarged them when they were in distress."

Although he thus befriended them, Mr. Roby was extremely hostile to them as *sectarians*. This he very candidly gave them to understand, representing that his love of justice constrained him to interfere, and that, notwithstanding popular clamor, he should consider them innocent till proved guilty; while he thought they had, though not intentionally, misled the slaves, and done mischief by an injudicious selection of texts,—such as, "Fight the good fight of faith," and' "If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed!" The reader will know how to appreciate these statements.

On January the 8th, public worship being impracticable, the missionaries assembled the family of the house in which they lodged for devotional exercises, and the reading of a sermon; the whole company consisting of not more than fifteen persons. But this attempt to keep holy the Sabbath day was not to pass without an effort to make it a punishable act. On Tuesday the 10th, Mr. Roby received a message from Major Coates, by a constable, requiring him to produce the missionaries at the court-house. He immediately informed and kindly accompanied them. After waiting some time, Major Coates told them he had received information that Mr. Knibb had been preaching to a large concourse of negroes on Sunday morning, in the house at Jackson Town, and it was not licensed. Mr. Knibb stated that he had not preached—that they had merely held family prayer, at which five or six friends were present with the servants of the house; and that he had read a printed sermon. Upon this, Mr. Coates at once dropped the subject; but the complaint manifested the animosity that prevailed against these servants of God, who were so closely watched, that for several weeks they did not venture to leave their lodgings, even to take exercise. Near them was a remarkable cave, which, some weeks after their capture, they ventured to visit in open daylight. This little circumstance they were informed excited considerable suspicion, from an idea that there must be rebels in the cave, with whom they were in communication. Though Mr. Gardner had given bail only "to appear when called for," and was not confined to any spot, yet when he signified his wish to Mr. Custos Barrett to go round by water to Mrs. Gardner, he was told that if he attempted to quit Montego Bay, he should be put under arrest.

On the day when Mr. Knibb and his companions were arrested at Falmouth, Mr. Gardner set out from Savanna-la-Mar, for Montego Bay, in the usual course of his ministry. He was also desirous of seeing Mr. Burchell as soon as possible after his arrival, which had been some days expected. He was not aware of the real state of things, both at Montego Bay and on the road: he knew not, for example, that the chapel had

been converted into barracks; nor that the high road between that place and Savanna-la-Mar was occupied by the rebels, in consequence of the militia having abandoned their posts. The account of this journey which had excited suspicion, as given by himself, strikingly illustrates the condition of the country at the time. It was attended with the greatest danger; and on one or two occasions he escaped as by miracle.

About noon on Thursday, January the 12th, Captain Huggup and Sergeant Whitelock rode into the yard of Mr. Gardner's residence, at Savanna-la-Mar, the former to the front door, and the latter to the back; and on seeing him as he passed the hall window, Serjeant Whitelock loudly called out in an authoritative tone, "You are my prisoner, sir!" A few words mollified his behaviour, but his private correspondence was demanded, and Whitelock was to see that he produced it. This being done, it was sealed up by Captain Huggup and himself. Mr. Gardner was then taken to head-quarters, where he was told that he was apprehended by order of Sir W. Cotton; and after remaining there some time, Serjeant Whitelock intimated he must go to the court-house that night, as he could not go over with him to Montego Bay till the next morning. Mr. Gardner requested Captain Owen, of the *Blossom*, to allow him to return to his own residence for the night, which was acceded to; an officer being sent to stay in the house, and six sailors from the vessel parading about it till the morning, when Whitelock called, and taking Mr. Gardner into his custody, they travelled together to Montego Bay, where he was taken to Major Coates, president of the court-martial. He disclaimed having given the order; and after some hesitation, Mr. Gardner was taken to Mr. Custos Barrett, who intimated that he was doubtless aware of the deposition which the slave Phillip of Mackfield had made against him. Mr. Gardner replied that he knew nothing of the cause of his apprehension. Major Coates then read the affidavit, to the effect that he (Mr. Gardner) had been up into the disturbed districts; that he took him (Phillip) into his chaise, gave him money, and said he had done well. Mr. Gardner then furnished a detailed account of his journey, and contradicted this deposition. Being required to enter into recognizances to appear when called for, Mr. Manderson again generously came forward, and gave bail in the sum of £100; when, on being allowed to depart, he went to his missionary friends at Jackson Town, in the upper part of Montego Bay.

At this juncture, on the 7th of January, Mr. Burchell, who had been absent in England during the previous eight months, arrived in Montego Bay, with Mr. and Mrs. Dendy, in the ship *Garland Grove*. As he had been eminently useful in the district, he had naturally acquired great influence; on which account, some of the rebel chiefs, it was said, had used his name to further their designs. This report exasperated the sufferers against him, as the supposed author of their misfortunes; and to such a degree, that the missionaries on shore were repeatedly told, that if possible, there was little doubt that he would be assassinated.

Before coming to an anchor, an officer from his majesty's frigate *Blanche* went on board, and demanded of Captain Pengelley a list of his passengers. He then required Mr. Burchell to accompany him on board the *Blanche;* simply replying to his inquiries, "It is martial law." Great vigilance was shown to secure him; for Mr. Middlemist, master of the *Blanche*, and a party under his directions, were sent near the shore to prevent his escape. This seizure, however painful, after a tedious voyage, was an evident interposition of Providence; because it placed him beyond the reach of a mob, who displayed the most savage eagerness for his destruction. On his arrival at the *Blanche*, his portable desk was tied and sealed up, and he was not permitted to go farther than the mainmast. The following memoranda will illustrate his situation on board:—

"Saturday 7th. The marine on guard walked in my apartment with his bayonet drawn; though I was not informed why I was apprehended, nor indeed that I was a prisoner. At eight P. M. I retired to rest in a cot that was slung. The marine on guard continued during the whole night pacing to and fro in my room.

"Sunday 8th. The marine on guard still continued, with his bayonet drawn,

pacing the apartments which I occupied.

"Monday 9th. This morning the marine paced with his bayonet sheathed. Permission was obtained for the visits of Mrs. Burchell; but it must be in the presence of a third person. About ten o'clock, a lieutenant asked me if I wished to walk on deck; after a few remarks, I signified my wish, and was then informed that a guard must accompany me.

"Tuesday 10th. The marine on guard paced the deck during the night, with his bayonet sheathed; did not enter my apartments much; but every half hour, when he struck the bell, came to my cot and looked upon me. An officer on watch came down several times during the night, when the bell was struck; and as far as I could understand, inquired if the prisoner was safe.

"Wednesday 11th. Mrs. Burchell and child were allowed to visit me. The same inquiry at night—'Is the prisoner safe?'

"Thursday 12th. Mrs. Burchell came on board to-day, on conditional promise that 'she would not communicate with the shore.'

"Friday 13th. At ten A. M. Lieut. Lake came and informed me that instructions were received from the governor, that my papers should be sent to the custos, the Hon. Richard Barrett, who was authorized to examine them. My portable desk was therefore brought up, and in the presence of Lieut. Lake, Mr. Middlemist, and myself, the seals were broken, and every manuscript paper was taken out. Mr. Middlemist at first put aside every thing printed; but Lieut. Lake went to the captain, and returned, saying, that Captain Burnett said, every thing—manuscript, printed publications, or books, must be sent. Consequently, the printed papers before put aside, were now taken, and books, including a New Testament. The whole was wrapped in a paper, tied up and sealed, and then forwarded.

"Monday 16th, and Tuesday 17th, very unwell. To-day (17th), not having had an opportunity of going upon deck since Monday the 9th, I stated to Captain Burnett this afternoon that I was unwell, and was suffering from my confinement, and should therefore be glad to be permitted to go on deck for a few minutes, to have the benefit of the fresh air; which was allowed.

"Wednesday 18th. Captain Burnett said he had received a note from the commodore, stating, that by desire of the custos, I was to be removed on board the *Garland Grove*. I asked if the custos had returned my papers, as he held all my accounts, private as well as public, and I had no memorandums of the same left with me. He replied, they would be returned in due time. During the eleven days I have been thus kept a prisoner on board the *Blanche* frigate, I have received no information of the reason or cause of my apprehension and imprisonment; though, during this period, I have been deprived of all intercourse with any person but Mrs. Burchell and the servants and sentry. I have been permitted to go on deck but twice, for the benefit of fresh air; and one of those times, under guard of a marine with drawn bayonet. Even during the night, a marine was pacing backward and forward my apartment, and the very cot in which I was lying.

"Friday 20th, on board the *Garland Grove*. Messrs. Delisser and Manderson came on board. I asked Mr. Manderson what was the cause of my apprehension, and if he could inform me what charge there was against me. He replied, that there was no charge at present, and that Mr. Custos Barrett, who was examining my papers, had informed him, that hitherto he had found nothing among them which in the least degree implicated me, nor which one planter could not write to another." On this day and the following, with the permission of Captain Pengelley, Mr. Burchell was visited by some of the missionaries and their wives from the shore. Thirteen days had elapsed from his arrival, before he could enjoy this privilege; and as the granting it on this occasion brought down on the captain a reproof from some in authority, it was not repeated.

In this situation, a prisoner for an unknown cause, Mr. Burchell continued till February 10th, when Captain Pengelley received from Mr. Custos Barrett the following official document:—

Montego Bay, 10th February, 1832.

"Sir,—You are hereby authorized to release from detention the person of Mr. Burchell. Richard Barrett, *Custos.*

Captain Pengelley and Mr. Roby called on the missionaries on shore, showing the above document, and recommending that Mr. Burchell, being now honorably discharged, should immediately quit the island. He pleaded, that the interests of his employers, as well as his own, had already suffered, and were likely to be further injured by his remaining longer on board. Moreover, the popular feeling against him was so strong, that the friends of the missionaries who had opportunities of mixing with the people, were convinced that his life would be endangered on shore. Captain Shibles, of the American vessel *Robert and Rowland*, stated, that he heard one gentleman say, "that he would not go home till he had got Mr. Burchell's heart's blood!" The same person declared, during the slave courts, that every bill which might be sent before the jury on which he sat, should be brought in a "true bill," if his influence could bring it about. Captain Barnett, of the army, informed Mrs. Renwick, on the 4th of February, "that Mr. Burchell would not be able to land, as he (Captain Barnett) had learned the day before, that the inhabitants would shoot him, if he did." All the missionaries at Montego Bay, therefore, concurred in the opinion, that Mr. Burchell should proceed to America; and that, by doing it openly and publicly, after Mr. Barrett's declaration, there would be no compromise of character. While this was negotiating, through Captain Pengelley, about two o'clock on the 11th, a boat came alongside the *Garland Grove*, with Mr. Sidney Levien, the head constable, accompanied by two subordinate constables, who stated that he came from the civil authorities, to take him before them at the police-office; producing a warrant signed by Mr. Joseph Bowen, justice of peace, for the apprehension of Messrs. Burchell and Gardner, on the following charge, contained in the affidavit of Samuel Stennett, a free person of color, which was recited in the warrant, viz., "That Mr. Burchell had said to him (Stennett) and other leaders of the Baptist Society, to go among the negroes in the country, and tell them that freedom was theirs; and that they, the negroes, must fight and pray for it, and they will get it. And further, that he had heard parson Gardner say the same." Mr. Burchell writes, "I stated to Mr. Levien the plot against my life, and requested him to tarry till Captain Pengelley returned, as he was then expected every minute; he replied, 'he could not do that, and as he came by order of the civil authorities, I had no reason to fear.' On urging my request, he stated, 'The fact is, Mr. Burchell, this would not have been done, if they had not heard you were going away; you have no need to be under any alarm.' Mr. Levien allowed me to change one or two articles of clothing, when he said 'he could remain no longer, and I must go.' Mr. Whitehorne accompanied me in the boat."

The parting from his family and friends on board, was deeply affecting; as they could entertain no other expectation than that he would be murdered as soon as he reached the shore. "My heart was so full," says Mr. Dendy, "that I could not open my lips, even to say farewell. Mrs. Burchell was in a mental agony, and I believe not one of us was far from that state of mind. We assisted her into the cabin; when we all fell upon our knees, and called upon the Most High. I never was at such a prayer-meeting before; the Lord assisted me much in my supplications; while the tears ran profusely down my cheeks upon the floor; Mrs. Burchell frequently responding to my petitions, in the greatest distress of mind. After prayer, I assisted Mrs. Burchell in rising from her knees, for she seemed almost fixed. She said she felt the burden removed, and relief to her troubled mind; but still her feelings were in a state of great excitement, and we could scarcely keep her from fainting. After a short time, she became a little more composed, and expressed her confidence in God. I proposed that the ninety-first psalm should be read; and after that the forty-sixth,—the psalm to which good Martin Luther used to resort when in trouble. From these precious portions of the holy word, we had previously obtained much consolation; and now we found them very, very precious."

Prayer was not unavailing. "On landing," he says, "the most ferocious and savage spirit was manifested by some of what are called the most respectable white inhabitants, that ever could have occurred amongst civilized society.

They began to throng around me, hissing, groaning, and gnashing at me with their teeth; some with water in their mouths to spit upon me. Had I never been at Montego Bay before, I must have supposed myself among cannibals, or in the midst of the savage hordes of Siberia, or the uncultivated and uncivilized tribes of central Africa. Some cried out, 'Have his blood;' others, 'Shoot him;' others, 'Hang him.' But as they attempted to approach, several colored persons surrounded me, and dared them to touch me; and I am fully persuaded, had it not been for the protection afforded me by the colored part of the population, natives of Jamaica, I should have been barbarously murdered, —yea, torn limb from limb, by my countrymen,—yea, by enlightened! respectable! Christian Britons!!

"On arriving at the police-office, I found, with many other persons, Mr. Joseph Bowen, who signed the warrant, and was one of the men who, I had been informed, had sworn to effect my death; the one who had threatened to Mr. Manderson, the day the chapel was demolished, that the house of any person should come down that protected the missionaries; and one who, though a magistrate, was present at, if not active in pulling down the chapel. Presently afterwards, Mr. John Coates came, the gentleman who had said at the same time to Mr. Manderson, 'that he would not be in the skin of any of those missionaries that night for a trifle;' and who, though also a magistrate, was likewise present, if not aiding in the demolition of the chapel. These two men presided at the police-office. Mr. Coates read the deposition of Stennett, as contained in the warrant. I said, 'I have no distinc recollection of such a person as Stennett.' Mr. Coates, pointing to him said, 'There he is.' I looked a first and second time, when I recollected I had seen him; but certainly he was not a member, much less a leader, when I left the island, in May, 1831. Mr. Coates then said, 'Mr. Burchell, as magistrates, we are compelled to commit you,—we can do nothing else; but the governor is expected in one or two hours, when you can write to him; perhaps he will appoint some other steps. All we can do is, to request Mr. Nunes to make your situation in the jail as comfortable as possible.' He then spoke to Mr. Nunes, and directed the clerk of the peace to draw out the commitment. Mr. Gardner was then called for, but was not yet come; presently, Mr. Manderson came, and said that he had sent for Mr. Gardner, who would be there immediately. Mr. Gardner coming in, the deposition was read to him, and Mr. Coates made similar remarks to him respecting his commitment, when we were both fully committed to take our trial. The commitment being made out, we were both brought to the common jail, by the constables, and a guard of the militia, who humanely kept us from the throng of persons, and from all insult. The guard consisted of colored persons, to whom we felt ourselves indebted. On arriving at the jail, Mr. Nunes called us up into the house of the jail-keeper, and stated, that as the jail was so full, we might occupy a room in that house; but as we should thereby put the keeper, Mr. Wilson, to much inconvenience, we should be willing of course, to remunerate him. We asked Mr. Nunes if we should be permitted to walk in the yard; he replied, 'he did not know, but would consult the magistrates.' "*

They were soon afterwards informed that on this day, while the grand jury were sitting, a petition to the custos to prevent Mr. Burchell's leaving the island at present, was sent in. It was proposed that the foreman should sign it, on behalf of the rest; but after reading it, Mr. Lewin, Mr. Solomon Marks, Mr. Jump, Mr. John Ball, and Mr. Dewar, refused to do it. The foreman, Mr. T. Bernard, Mr. Samuel Delisser, and six others signed it. The custos refused attending to the petition, unless some positive charge criminating Mr. Burchell was made upon oath. Such an affidavit was procured, and its natural consequences followed; but it is plain, as Mr. Levien observed, "that this would not have been done, had they not heard that Mr. Burchell was going to leave the island."

Three days after they were imprisoned, one of the grand jury of the special slave court, visited them, and assured them that on the very next day after their commitment, some of the hostile party stated, in conversation

* This inquiry was afterwards answered in the negative.

with him, that "they feared they had overshot the mark, as if, on trial, they could not convict Burchell and Gardner, after preventing Burchell from leaving the island, the colony would suffer more than from any other act, as the case of oppression would appear so much greater;" they therefore proposed to him, "to act with Burchell and Gardner's friends in effecting their escape, particularly Burchell's. He replied, "that he would do no such thing, as he was sure Mr. Burchell and his friends were too honorable to act in such a manner." This gentleman then added to the missionaries, "You must therefore expect that they will make heaven and earth meet to bring evidence to convict you."

In a letter to Mr. Dyer, Mr. Burchell thus pours forth his feelings:—"I can and do most solemnly assure you that I am as innocent of having any connection with, or knowledge of, this unhappy insurrection, as an infant child; and do most solemnly assure you, that neither directly nor indirectly have I been connected with it; still I am committed to gaol, and what kind of trial can I expect from people thus seeking my life, thus thirsting for my blood? O, my dear sir, pray for me,—pray for us: we need indeed an interest in your prayers, and in the prayers of the Christian church in Britain. None know, none can tell our sufferings: they are bitter, bitter! Truly I know what it is, to say, my tears have been my meat day and night.' We fear not any fair and impartial investigation on trial: we have no cause; for unless evidence such as may be extorted by the threat of the gallows, or by perjury, brought about by the promise of life to those who have deserved death by actual rebellion,—or perjury, by promise of large reward to the unprincipled, be brought against us, our innocence must and will appear as the sun at noon-day." Mr. Gardner writes:—"No means, as far as we can judge, have been left unemployed, to implicate us as the cause of the present rebellion; but I can appeal to that God who has protected me to the present hour, that I am as innocent as my dear little child, which I have never been permitted to see, and do not know that I ever shall; and I believe all my suffering brethren to be as innocent as myself." Nothing now remained but for the missionaries to look forward (but with what hope!) to their trial at the ensuing assize court.

On the 22d January, Mr. Roby informed them that Mr. Custos Barrett, whom he had seen, was of opinion that the missionaries would not be able to remain on the island, and he advised them to take their departure as soon as possible; and he requested him (Mr. Roby) to mention this, intimating that permission would be granted by the proper authorities for the departure of any vessel which might be conveying them away. Mr. Roby concurred in this advice, and enforced it with many arguments. But the missionaries would not entertain it for a moment; for, conscious of their innocence, they were ready to stand the test of any trial, and could not comply with a suggestion calculated to lay them under strong suspicions of guilt; remembering their duty to the Society, and to the destitute churches in the island, which looked up to them for instruction.

SECTION II.

Progress of the Insurrection, from the withdrawment of martial law.

In the beginning of February, martial law was withdrawn, and it was intimated to the missionaries that Dr. Lawson, the younger, was endeavoring to form a mob for the destruction of the Baptist chapel at Montego Bay. Mr. Roby, having been informed of it, proceeded to the court-house, where he informed the custos and Dr. Lawson, the elder, of it. The former was incredulous, and said he could do nothing, unless Mr. Roby would make an affidavit that the act was about to be committed. This he could not do; but offered to swear that he had been informed so, and believed it was contemplated. The custos deemed this insufficient to warrant his taking any measures, but spoke of the civil and military powers as being at hand. Dr. Lawson was offended at the slur cast upon the inhabitants of the town by Mr. Roby, and even termed it a libel.

Within an hour of this interview, the work of destruction began. Mr. Roby again proceeded to the court-house, but both the custos and Dr. Lawson were out of the way. The rioters met with no interruption from civil or military powers, though the heads of

both had been forewarned of what was intended; indeed, the principal actors were eleven magistrates and numerous officers in the militia. By two o'clock, that large building was razed to the ground; and the missionaries heard that an attack was meditated on their persons and lodgings. Their friends, Messrs. Lewin, Roby, and Manderson, urged them to remove. One justice of the peace had even said, "he would destroy any person's house who dared to give a night's shelter to any of them." Mr. Manderson, however, took them to his house, and the mob finding they had escaped, retreated. As it was considered dangerous to remain on shore for the night, Mr. Roby offered to go on board some of the vessels in the harbor, and endeavor to obtain protection. In this he found some difficulty; but Captain Trefusis, though he appeared unwilling, said, "if they were in danger, he was bound to afford protection to any of his majesty's subjects." This permission to go on board a king's ship, for the saving of their lives, though apparently less free and cordial than some may conceive due from one of his majesty's subjects to others seeking protection from a band of assassins, they were glad to accept, and accordingly, about six o'clock, went on board, where they were kindly treated by the officers of the ward-room who had cots slung for them on the main-deck, and otherwise provided for their necessities; and thus secure, they were led again to admire and adore the delivering providence of God.

Early the next morning, the first lieutenant brought a message from the captain, whom the missionaries had not yet seen, that they must prepare to go on shore, as he could no longer afford them an asylum; but they were permitted to remain till Mr. Roby's arrival, who subsequently communicated with the custos, when they (the missionaries), were informed that he had engaged to protect them. It was understood that the feeling on shore had considerably subsided; but much animosity was still expressed towards Mr. Knibb. The captain was therefore requested to let him remain another day; to which he acceded. Messrs. Whitehorne, Abbott, and Gardner returned, without molestation, to their lodgings.

The kindness of Mr. Roby, who was termed "the Baptist's friend," had for some time been giving offence to the people of Montego Bay; which on this day displayed itself. An effigy, which had been prepared to represent Mr. Burchell, was suspended on the gallows, in the market-place, with the letters R. † Y. stuck on it.

At this time, the spirits of these missionaries were revived, and their hopes excited of soon returning to the people of their charge, by the receipt of the following official document, releasing Messrs. Burchell, Whitehorne, and Abbott from their bail:—

"*Montego Bay, February* 9, 1832.

"My dear Sir,

"Having examined the evidence against the missionaries of the Baptist persuasion, in whose behalf you have interested yourself very humanely, I have to inform you, that there is no evidence in my possession that implicates Mr. Abbott and Mr. Whitehorne; and no legal evidence implicating Mr. Burchell. These persons must therefore be discharged from their bail, and

"I am, my dear Sir, your faithful and obedient servant,

"Richard Barrett, *Custos.*

"John Manderson, Esq."

Mr. Knibb was left in a state of uncertainty and suspense; but was released five days afterwards, upon the ground stated by the custos,—that "the evidence of Samuel Stennett, Alexander Erskin, Adam, and Paris, against him, produced nothing to support a criminal prosecution."

As several places of worship were now in ruins, and much private property belonging to the missionaries destroyed, stolen, or injured, chiefly by the militia, they addressed a memorial to his excellency the Governor, then at Montego Bay; to which a prompt reply was addressed by the Secretary, stating that this petition had been anticipated by his excellency, as would appear by the proclamation just promulgated through the island.* But so little re-

*The following is the proclamation referred to above:—"Whereas I have received information that several chapels and places of worship, belonging to the sect called Baptists, situated in the towns of Falmouth, Montego Bay, Lucea, and Savanna-la-Mar, have been wantonly and illegally destroyed by riotous assemblages of people; and whereas, such proceedings are disgraceful to the colony, subversive of order, and of dangerous example, I do hereby call upon all custodes of parishes,

spect was paid to it, that very soon after it had been posted up, several copies were torn down; and under one in the court-house, was written, "Whoever gives information respecting the above, shall entitle himself to be tarred and feathered. The deplorable enmity that prevailed against the true benefactors of the country, may be still further illustrated by recording the fact, that upon a requisition, the senior magistrate, T. J. Gray, convened a meeting at the court-house, professedly to influence the representatives in the house of assembly to *expel the Baptist sect from the island.* The speeches were in accordance with this feeling; and resolutions were passed, expressive of an abhorrence of religion and its propagators.

On the 11th of February, Samuel Stennett, on whose affidavit Messrs. Burchell and Gardner had been committed, sent for his uncle, Mr. George Scott, a respectable person at Montego Bay, and declared to him, that he had sworn falsely against the missionaries, and had been bribed to do so. His statement was subsequently committed to writing, in the form of an affidavit, and ran thus:—"That the affidavit made by him against the Baptist missionaries, Thomas Burchell and Francis Gardner, which led to their confinement in jail, was false and unjust; that he never heard from them such things as he had sworn against them; that he was instigated to do so by Messrs. George Delisser, George M'F. Lawson, jun., Joseph Bowen, and W. C. Morris, the former of whom assured him he would be well looked upon by the gentlemen of this place; that the country would give him £10 per annum, and that he, George Delisser, would make it £50. That he is induced to make this declaration to relieve his conscience, as he knows nothing against the said missionaries; and that he never joined the Baptist society, as a member, till after Mr. Burchell had left the country." This was read to him in the peace office, in the presence of Messrs. George Delisser, Joseph Bowen, and W. C. Morris, three of the parties he had accused, and some other magistrates. He was then asked if he would swear to it; to which he answered, he was ready to swear to it immediately. And though he was abused and threatened, he could not be shaken from his purpose, but persisted that his present recantation, and not the former affidavit, expressed the real truth. To the very faces of the persons who had persuaded and bribed him, he boldly said, "You know you did, and you cannot deny it; and you Mr. Delisser, Mr. Morris, and Mr. Bowen, were the first who spoke to me about it, and offered me money if I would do it."

On the 25th, Messrs. Burchell and Gardner memorialized the governor to obtain their release from custody, as the person on whose sole testimony they had been committed, had publicly contradicted his own deposition. No relief, however, was afforded, and they had still to submit to the degradation and discomfort of a jail for several weeks.

On the 3d of March, their legal adviser, Mr. James Forsyth, arrived from Kingston. In him they found not only an intelligent, zealous agent, but a pious, fervent disciple of their common Lord, with whom, even in the transacting of business, they could hold Christian communion. He entered upon his work, not as the hired defender of prisoners against prosecutors, but with the conviction that the latter were only the blind agents of Belial, striking at the cause of the Redeemer through his servants, and with the determination to use his utmost ability to overcome the enemy.

On Monday the 12th of March, the Cornwall assize court commenced; the then chief justice, the honorable George Lowman Tuckett, presiding. His opening charge to the grand inquest was characterized by its impartiality. The list of the prosecutions, and of the witnesses in support, were called over in open court; which was the first intimation received by Mr. Knibb, or his friends, that a prosecution existed against him. The witnesses against him were

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and all magistrates, to seek out and discover the authors of these outrages, that they may be punished according to law. And I also require and enjoin the said custodes and magistrates, to employ the whole force which the constitution has entrusted to them, in protecting property of every description, whether belonging to private persons, or religious societies, in quelling all disorderly meetings, and in bringing to exemplary punishment every disturber of the public peace.

"Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Montego Bay, this thirteenth day of February, in the second year of his Majesty's reign, annoque Domini, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two.

"BELMORE."

the same whose evidence Mr. Custos Barrett had declared contained nothing to support a criminal prosecution, with this difference, that Samuel Stennett was omitted, and the name of Venture, a slave from Lima, was added. Against Mr. Gardner, there appeared four witnesses, in addition to the perjured Stennet; and against Mr. Burchell, the last individual only was mentioned. Still the attorney-general, the honorable Fitzherbert Batty, expressed his determination to send in an indictment against Mr. Burchell on that evidence.

"True bills" were found by the grand jury, as a matter of course, consisting, as it did, almost entirely of white persons, who resided in the disturbed districts, most of whom had suffered more or less by the rebellion, and nearly all of whom had prejudged and condemned the missionaries.

On Wednesday, the 14th of March, the grand jury, very reluctantly, as it appeared from an appeal they made to the judge, were obliged to write "*ignoramus*," on the bill; Mr. Burchell's discharge was ordered; and he hastened from the jail, to the house at which Mrs. Burchell and some more of the friends lodged, to receive their congratulations. But the morrow changed the scene. Reports of an intended assault on Mr. Burchell, induced several friends of color to guard the house; and about dusk, indications of an attack began to appear. Mr. Lewin and Mr. Roby went in search of a magistrate. The latter succeeded in procuring the attendance of Mr. Ewert, of Montego Bay; while the former, meeting a barrister, Mr. Watkis, went to the chief justice, who immediately hastened to the spot to disperse the mob; but finding his exertions useless, he proceeded to the court-house to obtain military aid. The local authorities manifested great indifference, and two of them opposed the proposition for a military guard, unless an affidavit was made to show its necessity. This was accordingly prepared; military aid was obtained; and at about ten o'clock, Mr. Burchell was conducted, by the chief justice, Dr. Lawson, and Mr. Heath, to the beach, where he went in a boat to his majesty's ship *Ariadne*, as a refuge from his foes.

The next day Mr. Burchell, having sent for Mr. Forsyth, an attorney, and Mr. Whitehorne, informed them that he had promised to sail for America that evening. Mr. Whitehorne mentioned to him the grounds on which they, and the brethren on shore, regretted this decision: viz., that if he remained, his enemies, having made an unsuccessful attack, and ascertained the strength of his friends, would be afraid of attempting another assault; while their success in sending him away, would probably excite them to adopt similar measures for procuring the departure of the rest. The captain interrupted these remarks, and repeatedly said, that if Mr. Burchell wished to hear them, he was at full liberty, but it must be on the beach, to which he should be conveyed at a moment's notice, if he desired. Mr. Burchell, however, did not feel himself at liberty to withdraw from his engagement; and leaving the apartment for a few minutes, hastily wrote down the reasons which had induced his decision, and which were those urged by the chief justice: viz., the imminent danger to his life, if he landed; the probable effusion of human blood between the contending parties; and the probable evil bias which his continuance on the island, and especially on the Bay, might have on the trials of Messrs. Gardner and Knibb, then pending. He wrote some document, expressive of his having done so without constraint; and Friday morning, March 16th, he left the shores of Jamaica for New York.

Messrs. Samuel James Vaughan, John Chambers, and Thomas Levermore, as a deputation from Mr. Burchell's friends, waited on the chief justice, to thank him for his kind interference to protect Mr. Burchell from the mob, who had agreed to tar and feather him; an indignity, which, according to Jamaica usage, would have terminated in his death. The chief justice expressed honorable sentiments of Mr. Burchell's character, and remarked, it was a fortunate circumstance that he was on the spot, or in all probability the life of Mr. Burchell and of many others would have been sacrificed.

SECTION III.

Proceedings in reference to the trials and acquittal of the missionaries.

Nothing could be more vague and inexplicit than the allegations of the bills

found against Messrs. Gardner and Knibb; but they were brought to trial under this and every other possible disadvantage.

The jurors attending at the Montego Bay court, were collected from the several parishes in the county of Cornwall, in which the rebellion had occurred; viz. Trelawney, St. James, Hanover, Westmoreland, and St. Elizabeth; in which, consequently, the passions of the slave-holders in general had been aroused to the highest pitch of violence; and the Baptist missionaries were the chief objects against whom that violence was directed. In each of these parishes, the white inhabitants, of whom the juries were principally composed, had already pronounced an emphatic condemnation by destroying the chapels. While the missionaries were in jail, and within a few days of their trial, the inhabitants of Montego Bay, and the parish of St James, including many of the jurors, had declared, in a public resolution, "That the Baptist missionaries had wickedly abused the indulgence granted to them by a liberal and tolerant government, and under the pretence of preaching Christianity, engendered discontent in the breasts of our slaves, and roused rebellion, and all the hideous crimes which have marked its course." The grand inquest not only had, in the exercise of its own functions, found "true bills" against two Baptist missionaries, and placed them upon trial for their lives; but had further arrogated to themselves the office of petit jury, and on the *ex parte* evidence, before them, had, in a congratulatory address presented to the chief justice, endeavored to prejudice the case of the accused, by "expressing their conviction that the Baptist missionaries had, in a culpable degree, been the cause of the late rebellion." One of the judges, who was expected to preside, and did in fact preside at the trial, was Dr. George M'Farquhar Lawson, the elder, who had already oppressed and condemned them; and they were soon made to understand, that, from the crown officers, no courtesy would be shown to *proscribed* Baptist missionaries—a determination strictly adhered to subsequently, and evinced by the careful concealment of the intention to prosecute Mr. Knibb, and by the studious withholding of any hint as to the place where the crime was alleged to have been committed. In this crisis, they felt some slight hope of an impartial trial from the independence and integrity of the chief justice and the jurors, whom they trusted might be found among the colored population; while their great reliance was on the providence and faithfulness of God.

Mr. Gardner was arraigned on the 13th of March. and Mr. Knibb on the following day; the trials being fixed for Monday, the 19th. Great exertions were therefore requisite, in preparing the notices to the witnesses, and having them properly warned. Though a great number of them were at the distance of ten, twenty, thirty, and some nearly forty miles from Montego Bay, in different directions, and though the summoning of most was not effected until Saturday the 17th, yet on the appointed day, upwards of three hundred witnesses, of different classes, innocent slaves and free colored persons of respectability assembled to testify in favor of the missionaries.

The trials were deferred till the 23d, when Mr. Gardner, on the motion of the attorney-general, F. Batty, Esq., was ushered into the "felon's dock," where the chief justice ordered a chair for his accommodation. The whole proceeding was sufficiently ridiculous, but so illustrative of the state of things, that although somewhat long, we cannot refrain from inserting it.

"Charles Reid, a slave on Unity Hall estate, St. James's, sworn. Examined by the attorney-general.—I am in the habit of attending the Baptist chapel in this town. I know the gentleman standing at the bar; I have seen him officiating at the chapel for some time. Parson Burchell was the officiating minister before him.

"*Mr. Panton.* My learned friend, the attorney-general must not enter into evidence relative to any occurrences previous to the 1st of November.

"*Witness.* I attended chapel when parson Burchell was there. Parson Gardner came after him. I attended the chapel down to Christmas. I attended always every other Sunday. I remember two months before Christmas; I attended during that time. I heard parson Gardner, the month before the Christmas month, tell the peo-

ple, 'that after Christmas, free belong to them.' He said so at the Baptist chapel, while preaching in the pulpit. He said so to all the people; the people were slaves. He said, 'the people must sit in their own houses steady,—they must not go to work after Christmas;' and he said to them, 'when the buckra come to them to disturb them, they must know what to say to buckra and to make buckra come to disturb them.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* Tell us the very words he used, as well as you remember.

"*Witness.* He said, 'we must sit steady in the house, and when buckra come to disturb us, we must know what to say to buckra.' I understood him well what he said; it is the whole of what he said at the time. I never heard him say any thing more at any chapel; I never heard him say so more than once. Whenever I went to chapel, I always heard him say so. I never heard him say so at any other time. I am quite sure I have told all that Mr. Gardner said at that time One man, called George Kerr, was sitting beside me. George Kerr was a leader here. Mr. Gardner said, 'the people must go and take their free, if buckra would not give it them.' I heard this at the same time I heard the other words mentioned before. I know a negro named William Murray; he was not there. I know John Miller; he was not there. I know Phillip Haughton, also; but he was not there. I understood Mr. Gardner well, for he spoke out plain, that all might understand. A great many free people were there. Many young colored ladies were there. I am quite sure of this; chapel was quite full.

"*Cross-examined by Mr. Panton.* It was the month before Christmas. I do not know the beginning of a month. It was after the morning prayer; I am sure it was not in the evening. I remember no other part of his preaching? I can't tell what the rest of the preaching was about. I can't tell what made me listen to that particular. I was not asleep. The sermon was not long; it was short. I know George Miller, slave to Unity Hall; he was there, I saw him there myself on the same day. There is only one George Miller, on the estate, old George Miller. John Miller was not there. Chapel was full; many young persons of color were there. George Miller and George Kerr, of Unity Hall, were the only slaves of that estate there. I saw many slaves there, but I did not know them. I knew only those two. I did not know any of the colored people there. I never saw them before. I never heard their names mentioned. I never heard Mr. Gardner say so at any other time. Mr. Gardner was preaching out of a book. Mr. Gardner was not in the middle of his sermon. I did not hear any other part of the sermon. I did not tell any of the slaves what I had heard, nor any free people. I first told buckra of it; I first told young Lawson, (meaning Dr. George M'F. Lawson, jun.) When I was brought down here, Mr. Lawson carried me into a room down-a-bottom, and I told him there below; no other person was present.

"Here the chief justice pointed to Judge Lawson, and asked witness if this was the gentleman.

"*Witness.* No.

The chief justice then inquired of Mr. Lawson—

" 'Have you a son?' 'Yes.'

" 'Is he a magistrate?' 'No.'

"*Witness.* I followed this advice (Mr. Gardner's, and sat down. The whole estate's people sat down. I sat down two days, and came back to the estate. All the negroes did the same. I always miss one Sunday's attendance at chapel. I was there two Sundays in the month, I only heard him say so on this one Sunday. I am quite sure I did not go there Christmas day. I am not a member of the Baptist church. I only go there.

"*Attorney-general.* Buy a ticket, did you?'

"*Witness.* No, Sir.

"*By the Chief Justice.*—I came to the court-house, not as a prisoner, but as a witness, same time of the war. I came first to the court-house. I did not walk in of my own accord. I said nothing at Unity Hall to any negroes, to white, or colored persons. The whole of the estate's negroes came here. I came as a witness, not against Mr. Gardner, but against people who had burnt the estate.

"*By the attorney-general.*—Service began at ten o'clock in the morning. It was Sunday. Parson went in the to pulpit at ten o'clock. He said the

words after psalms were sung. He was not reading out of the book, but talking out of his head. I do not know what a sermon is.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.*—A talk. The real meaning of a sermon is a talk.

"*Witness.*—Old George Miller was there. Mr. Gardner never spoke so to George Kerr alone, but told so to all the people. I never heard him say any thing else to George Kerr. As this was about freedom, I remember it very well. All the negroes sat down. I sat down because all the people sat down. I remembered then what Mr. Gardner said, but I did not tell it to the people.

"*By the Chief Justice.*—Kerr and George Miller were the only persons of the estate who attended chapel. Kerr told all the people not to work."

Several jurors declared after the trial, that the jury decided on entirely rejecting this boy's testimony, on account of its manifest falsehoods.

"William Murray being called as a witness, the chief justice inquired if there were any witnesses to corroborate the facts which the last witness had sworn to; and, explaining the act, said 'there must be two slaves that speak to the fact clearly and distinctly. I make the remark because the last witness has said that William Murray was not present on the occasion.'

"*Mr. Panton.* I will lend my learned friend a witness, George Miller, who is here in waiting. The first witness has sworn that he was present.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* No I never borrow.

"*Charles Reid recalled.* I know William Murray. I am quite sure he was not there on that day.

"William Murray, *slave to Unity Hall estate, sworn and examined by the attorney-general.* I am in the habit of going to the Baptist chapel in this town. I know Mr. Gardner. He is the parson. I went to chapel Christmas Sunday. I had been there before, during that month. I was there two Sundays before Christmas. I had been long enough attending chapel. I had been in the habit of going there a long time before Christmas.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* Do you remember the time that the assembly met?

"His honor the chief justice thought it was not likely.

"Mr. Attorney-general said it was probable that negroes remembered that era.

"*Witness.* I always attend chapel. I cannot recollect whether I went six weeks before Christmas, or not. I do not attend there every Sunday. I miss one Sunday. I go one Sunday, and stop away the next. I always did so.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* This witness is like the last; he attends every other Sunday.

"*His honor the Chief Justice.* The witness Reid expressly said Murray was not there.

"*A Juror.* Did you go to chapel every Baptist Sunday?—Yes.

"*Juror.* That is every other Sunday.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* This witness will depose to the same fact, though on another day.

"*His honor the Chief Justice.* But surely that is another circumstance; and it must be the same fact or circumstance, at the same time, witnessed by two slaves, or by one and a free person. The words of the act are quite clear.

"The learned judge read the act, and inquired if the case could be carried any further?

"The Attorney-general contended that the act to be established against Mr. Gardner, was that of 'endeavoring to excite rebellion;' and that two different expressions used on two different days, and proved by two different witnesses, were only facts of one endeavor, and therefore the evidence adduced met the terms of the act. He was about to read a case tried in England, when his honor the chief justice observed, 'No case tried in England can overturn a positive enactment of the Jamaica legislature, which requires two slaves to corroborate the same fact; but these are not the same. You may as well say that because A sees a man commit a robbery in one lane or street, and B sees him commit another robbery in another street, they can prove the same fact.'

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* But I cannot show the fact on the same day.

"*His honor the Chief Justice.* Then you cannot go on.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* But perhaps I can bring another witness, who will speak to the same fact as Murray.

"*Examination of Murray continued.* I was there on Sunday. On the same

Sunday that Reid was there. He and I walked to chapel together.

"*His honor the Chief Justice.* That is impossible; for the other man (Reid) said he (Murray) was not there.

"*Mr. Panton.* Then bring half a dozen other witnesses who were there. I'll lend you them, if you please.

"*Witness.* I was at chapel within two weeks of Christmas. Parson Gardner was there. I was also there on Christmas day. Parson Gardner said, 'when Christmas is over, every person must stop in their house, and let any person disturb us; we must wait for them first, before we disturb them.' Parson Gardner said nothing more. I never heard him say any thing at any other time before Christmas. I heard him say these words on Christmas day. I heard nothing about free. Parson said so in the pulpit; and plenty of people were there.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* Was John Miller there?

"*His honor the Chief Justice.* It is no use to ask that question, for he says the chapel was full, and it is not likely he knew who were there.

"*Witness.* George Kerr was there, but him hanged. Old George Miller was there. I do not recollect any body else.

"Mr. Panton again offered to lend George Miller as a witness.

"*Cross-examined by Mr. Watkis.* I am not a member of the chapel. I do not take ticket. I am quite sure this was on Christmas Sunday. I never heard it any other time. Plenty of free people were there. I do not know any of them; church was too full. This is all I remember.

"*Mr. Attorney-general.* As I cannot get any further witnesses to corroborate either of these witnesses, I shall give up the case. The prisoner, therefore, must be acquitted.

"*His honor the Chief Justice.* Then, gentlemen of the jury, you will acquit Mr. Gardner."

Mr. Gardner was then released, and proceeded to his lodgings, attended by a concourse of delighted friends.

The case of Mr. Knibb was not brought forward in court, the attorney-general choosing to enter a *nolle prosequi.*

It was a subject of great regret to the missionaries and their friends, that they were prevented from bringing forward their defence; because they were thus deprived of an opportunity of adducing in open court, a mass of evidence, by numerous and respectable witnesses, exonerating them from the crimes laid to their charge, and pointing to the real causes of the insurrection.

Shortly after the trials, Messrs. Knibb, Gardner, Abbott, Whitehorne, and Dendy, with their wives, left Montego Bay by water, in different vessels. The largest party very narrowly escaped shipwreck; but all, through the care of Providence, safely arrived in Kingston; when all the missionaries there and in Spanish Town having assembled, special meetings were held for prayer and praise.

SECTION IV.

Proceedings at Ann's Bay, Buff Bay, and other places.

It has been already mentioned that at the commencement of the disturbances, Colonel Cadien granted Mr. Nichols a passport to return to St. Ann's Bay, his place of abode, on account of indisposition. He found the parish of St. Ann in perfect tranquillity, excepting the turmoil created by the militia; the slaves being every where at work as usual. On the Sabbath morning, between eight and nine o'clock, a military guard was despatched to conduct him to the guard-house. He was politely received at the court-house by Lieutenant-colonel Johnston, who had the command, and who told him he was at liberty to send for any thing he pleased from home, to promote his comfort. But being informed by that gentleman that he was not wanted to perform military duty, he was at a loss to conceive for what reason his presence had been required. When the hour of dinner came, he was allowed to go home under a guard of two privates, and to be absent one hour. In the afternoon, an offer was made to release him on bail, if he could obtain two responsible Europeans to become his sureties; and it was added, that if he failed to procure bail, he should nevertheless be allowed to go home to sleep, a guard being placed on his house. On farther consideration, however, the whole proposal was overruled, as it was then determined that in martial law no

bail could be taken; contrary to the decisions in the cases of Messrs. Knibb, Whitehorne, Abbot, Gardner, and Barlow. He was also informed, that though the officers were desirous of showing all leniency, they could not, consistently with their duty, allow him to go home for the night, but he might send for his bed. This was accordingly done, and when he had just retired to rest on the floor, in a room at the back of the main guard-room, one of the officers gave him, not officially, the first intimation he received respecting the cause of his detention. Information had been lodged against him by Colonel S. W. Rose, of the Middlesex regiment of horse. This was one of the two magistrates removed from the commission of the peace by Sir John Keane, for their persecution of Messrs. Whitehouse and Orton, Wesleyan missionaries, and restored by the earl of Belmore. The information was to this effect,—"That a woman living at Cardiff Hall, who had lately bought herself free, was told by Mr. Nichols she was a fool for buying her freedom, as she would soon have obtained it for nothing." The next day he continued in confinement, hearing nothing more of the charge, till five or six o'clock; when, soon after he had returned from dinner, guarded as before, and was expecting another night's lodgings in that place, Captain Walker informed him, "that some charges had been brought forward, in which he was concerned; but Colonel Johnston and himself having consulted with Mr. Raffington, the clerk of the peace, they were not clear upon the matter, and therefore they had come to this determination, that if Mr. Nichols would give them his word of honor that he would hold no nightly meetings, nor leave his house during martial law, and would report himself there every day at twelve o'clock, they would release him." To this he offered no objection, and was accordingly released.

Although, during the existence of martial law, Mr. Nichols held no meetings, suspicions of the contrary were continually indulged, and the most annoying vigilance was exercised. For instance, on one occasion, about eight o'clock in the evening, four men dressed in regimentals walked into the chapel, professing to think, because a lamp was burning, that a meeting must have been held. Mr. Nichols was, in fact, simply retiring to bed, and this lamp was intended to light the family in passing into the residence, which was closely adjoining to the chapel, on the same floor. One of the party then professed to speak to Mrs. Nichols as a friend, to take care what was done, declaring, that if any religious meeting was discovered there, either by night or by day, not a stick of the building should remain, and he himself would be the first to come and set fire to it. Gross insults were offered to Mr. Whitehouse at the Wesleyan chapel that same evening.

Having labored in vain to criminate the missionaries, and procure their expulsion from the island, another scheme was devised by the leading men in this parish. A meeting was called at St. Ann's Bay, on the 26th of January, from which resulted the celebrated compact, entitled, "The Colonial Church Union." In furtherance of the object of this meeting, the following paper was placarded at several places on the Bay, and printed in some of the island journals:—

"Inhabitants of Jamaica!

"Your danger is great. If you have discovered the source of your disease, lose not a moment in expelling the poison from your veins. Rally round your church and kirk, before it is too late, and defend yourselves from all who attack them: the preservation of your wives, your children, your properties, your houses,—nay, of your very lives, demands it. A colonial church union is all you want to unite the friends of the colony in a defence which must then succeed."

About this time, and in conformity with the spirit and object of this union, a circumstance of an amusing nature transpired at the Bay. One of Mr. Nichols's members, a free black, who was serving in the militia, went to him with evident concern, inquiring whether a law which he said had just been passed in the court-house, could stand. Mr. Nichols smiled, and on inquiring into so singular a matter, the man explained as follows,—that about an hour before, several companies of the militia, consisting of whites, colored, and blacks,

were called together in the court-house, when Captain Walker came forward with a paper in his hand, which he read to them, and wished to know if they all would agree to it. This paper contained nothing less than a proposal to send off the island every dissenting preacher, of every color; but its meaning was expressed in such "high buckra language," that scarcely one of the blacks, and very few of the colored men, understood it. As soon as this paper was read, and put to vote, the light infantry men, under Captain Drake, joyfully assented; one or two colored men, who understood the matter, declared they never would agree to such a measure; but the majority of the others fell in with it, and consequently the proposal was said to be carried. After this farce, many of the poor men were sadly chagrined, for, when they came to under the affair, they declared they had been altogether deceived; and really thought, that as money was very scarce, and their pay was not forth-coming, the paper had been intended to inquire if they would agree to take out part of their pay in articles of clothing!

Mr. Nichols had for some little time desisted from preaching, on account of his health, but he proposed to resume his labors on the 5th of February, and wrote a letter to Colonel Johnston to acquaint him with that intention. The reply was a peremptory order from the major-general to desist during the existing disturbances. Mr. Nichols yielded, though in fact there were no disturbances in that parish. He frequently overheard vulgar expressions of hatred and evil intention, from persons passing his house, which he disregarded; and repeatedly he was told of malevolent expressions used by several of the militia officers, against the missionaries, which were equally unnoticed; but as soon as news of the destroying of chapels at Falmouth, Rio Bueno, and Brown's Town arrived, the enemies of religion gave sufficient evidence of their outrageous hostility. On Friday, February 10th, Mr. and Mrs. Nichols were just retiring to rest, and a candle was burning in the hall, when they were suddenly alarmed by a violent knocking with some heavy instrument at the front door of the chapel. After a few blows, the door gave way, when a number of persons rushed up the chapel steps, and at the same moment, some others entered the chapel by another flight of steps at that end of the building appropriated to a residence; and instantly commenced dashing the windows and pews to pieces. Two large sashes in the centre of the chapel, and every other window except one, together with four pews, were entirely demolished, while all the materials and a number of benches, were thrown out at the windows. During these depredations, Mr. and Mrs. Nichols, with their infant child, a female servant, and two other children, had fastened themselves into the bed-room, separated from the chapel only by a thin boarded partition, where they were expecting every instant to be broken in upon and murdered. Mr. Nichols threw up the window, and cried, "murder," when Mr. W. S. Hawker, a magistrate residing on the Bay, alarmed at the noise, hastened to the spot, and ordered the depredators, in the king's name, to desist, sending to the main guard-room for assistance. Lieut. Smith, with several of his men, promptly attended; but as they entered by one door, it is supposed the depredators escaped by the other; and thus the building was saved for the present from entire demolition, and the lives of its inmates preserved.

A singular and rather suspicious circumstance attended this outrage; when the guard went to the court-house to quell the disturbance, their muskets were not loaded, nor had they the means of loading them; for Lieutenant Smith told Mr. Nichols, that in the course of that very day, all the ball-cartridges had been taken away from the men on guard.

The next day, Mr. Nichols made oath to the circumstances, and brought three witnesses, who gave evidence against four soldiers; but the magistrates deemed their evidence insufficient to warrant apprehension, and said, they would refer the case to a full bench of magistrates, who were expected to sit in the course of the following week, but nothing ensued. Three days afterwards, the whole building was demolished; and it does not appear that the magistrates ever concerned themselves again about the affair!

"Often have dissenting missionaries been convinced," say they, in their

Narrative, "that much of the antipathy existing against them in this country, arose from ignorance of their sentiments and discipline, and of the general question of dissent. A rare specimen of this ignorance was exhibited on this occasion, and that by a person from whom better things were expected. Mr. Nichols was astonished when he heard Mr. Raffington, clerk of the peace and court, clerk of the vestry, solicitor, and town clerk, ask the several witnesses, as they came forward to be sworn, 'What are you? are you a protestant, or are you a Baptist?' In very good keeping, one of them replied, with great earnestness, 'No, sir; I always attend the church of England.' He was neither a protestant nor a Baptist, but a church-of-England-man!"

All hope of usefulness for the present being at an end, and the personal danger to himself and family apprehended to be very serious, Mr. Nichols determined on quitting the place, to seek refuge in Spanish Town; where they safely arrived, and met with a cordial reception from Mr. Taylor, at the mission-house.

The next day, Tuesday, February 14th, the mission premises at St. Ann's Bay, together with the Wesleyan chapel, were entirely demolished in the forenoon, and the materials stolen. In the afternoon, some of the same party who committed this outrage, proceeded to Ocho Rios, and burned the two chapels there. After these depredations, Messrs. Whitehouse and Wood, Wesleyan missionaries, and Mr. Nichols, were hung in effigy, under a shaddock tree, on the Baptist chapel ground at the Bay. On the 15th, the rioters and their friends assembled at the Bay, and held a general meeting of the Colonial Church Union, when several resolutions were passed, the sixth of which bound the Union *to support and protect the chapel destroyers!*

While occupying the stations at Anotta Bay and Buff Bay, in the absence of Mr. Flood from the country, Mr. Barlow, though peaceably engaged at his residence, was visited, on the 6th of January, by Lieut. Shenton, and two privates of the Surry regiment of horse. They approached with drawn swords, and the officer told him he came to arrest him in the king's name. He asked on what grounds; when the officer replied, he was not at liberty to inform him. Mr. Barlow accompanied his military attendants; and as they passed through Anotta Bay, he saw one of the members of the church, a slave, who appeared much dejected at seeing his minister under a guard of soldiers. As they were proceeding, Mr. Barlow said to him, in a low voice, "Now, John, do not forget to pray that the Lord may be a wall of fire round about me;" alluding to a passage of Scripture from which he had preached the week before. The lieutenant was very angry at this remark, and observed, "He knew it was a figurative expression, but in the present excited state of the negroes, Mr. Barlow must be aware it was a very dangerous one." Mr. Barlow replied "that it was a scriptural expression; that he had but a short time before endeavored to explain it to his hearers; that he was not aware of the negroes in that neighborhood being in a state of excitement; that the expression was not likely to produce such an effect, because the man to whom it was uttered, who was a truly good man, though a slave, would not misunderstand its meaning." On arriving at Buff Bay, this officer drew his sword, and ordered his men to do the same; and after a little parading to and fro, conducted Mr. Barlow to the main guard-house, and gave him in charge to the officer of the guard; when a chair was brought him, and a sentinel placed on either side. Being soon compelled, by the sickening effect of the noise and smoking of the soldiers, to request the officer to have him removed to a quiet part of the house, he was, after some delay, marched into a filthy room, which seemed to have been just vacated by a company of drunkards, where he was visited by two or three officers. Major Gray told him, "that being the officer in command, he considered it his duty to have him brought thither, in consequence of information he had received, that the doctrines he was in the habit of preaching, tended to excite the negroes to rebellion; especially," said he, "when I hear such a dreadful expression as 'a wall of fire:'" thus making use of information obtained after Mr. Barlow's arrest, as a principal reason for his being arrested. Mr. Barlow explained; but the major, who stated that he had known his Bible well from

his youth, declared that Mr. Barlow, in employing this phrase, could have had no other intention than "to set the negroes to burn and destroy the whole country, and drive all the inhabitants into the sea." Mr. Barlow was shown into a room rather cleaner and more airy at night, with the promise of a bed, which, however, was not fulfilled.

On the following morning, some of Mr. Barlow's friends sent his breakfast about eight o'clock; but from that time till about five in the evening, no one was allowed access, when he was visited by Major Gray and Lieut. Colonel Moody; the former apologized for his abrupt behaviour the night before, the latter presented Mr. Barlow with a paper for his perusal, stating that it contained the colonel's order respecting him, namely, that all his wants should be attended to; that his servant should have free access to him throughout the day; that any two of his friends should be allowed to visit him at one time, from six in the morning till six in the evening, subject to the observation of the officer on guard; but on no consideration should he be allowed to correspond with any one, or to have the use of pen or paper. But in defiance of the regimental order, his friends were repeatedly denied access to him between the hours specified; and they were sometimes required to leave, under the plea of being about to change the guard. By night, his rest was disturbed by the pacing of a sentinel in his room; and by day, he was exposed to insults from the common soldiers.

At length, at Mr. Barlow's solicitation, the colonel allowed him half a sheet of paper, stating this was the most he could suffer him to have; when he wrote a letter to protest against the violent proceedings to which he had been subjected, stating, that if they (the colonel and officers assuming to be a court of inquiry) did not, that afternoon, bring him to public trial, he should lay before his excellency the governor and captain-general of the island, the particulars of their dealings, and appeal to him for release.

This letter being handed to them, they took the precaution, as they supposed, of preventing the appeal to the governor, by placing his friend Dr. Prince under arrest, on some frivolous pretence.* In this, they were disappointed; for the Rev. Mr. Hanna, an evangelical clergyman of St. George's, calling to see him, Mr. Barlow informed him of the circumstances of the case, and he readily undertook to make them known to Mr. Tinson, who conveyed the information to the governor in the form of a petition, which was graciously received; and some communication having passed between the governor and Major-general Yates, that gentleman ordered Mr. Barlow's discharge. This order was handed to Colonel Jacquet, by Mr. Hanna, on Sunday evening, January 15th; but notwithstanding this, Mr. Barlow was not released for several days, on the plea of some informality. On further application to the proper authorities, an order from Major-general Cox was issued; but five days elapsed before this could be procured, during which time Mr. Barlow was a prisoner. The real cause of this demur, is disclosed in the following conversation. When Dr. Prince informed Lieutenant Shenton that Mr. Barlow was about to send in a protest to the court of inquiry, against the behaviour of its members towards himself, Mr. Shenton, who used to attend and give counsel in the proceedings of that court, though he had not been elected an examiner, observed, "I should think they won't receive it." "Then," said Dr. Prince, "there will be found a way to make the governor acquainted with the matter, in the form of appeal." "Even then," rejoined Mr. Shenton, "the governor must apply to us for copies of the evidence and proceedings, and some time must be consumed in the correspondence, which will serve our turn, for our object is to keep Barlow a prisoner during martial law." As soon as Mr. Shenton uttered this, Dr. Prince told him he would make use of this confession. Mr. Shenton seemed to betray a sense of having given an advantage, and attempted to nullify it by saying that he spoke in his own name only. This was related by Dr. Prince to the said court, soon after it occurred in the troop guard-room, and

* Several of the missionaries were indebted for singularly disinterested acts of kindness, in the exercise of his professional, skill to Dr. Prince, who incurred much worldly disadvantage on account of his religious principles. He was then residing near Anotta Bay, and a member of the Baptist church at that place; but afterwards removed to Kingston, and ultimately became the coadjutor of Mr. Clarke in a mission to Africa, as will be hereafter narrated.

was, at his request, entered in the minutes of examination.

It was noticed in Mr. Shenton's hearing, that at the council of war held to consider the expediency of continuing martial law, the governor had borne a testimony to the inoffensive and guiltless conduct of the missionaries, and had exonerated them from any share in the causes exciting the insurrection; upon which Mr. Shenton remarked, "That is but his (Earl Belmore's) opinion; for my part," continued he, "I think it would be best to take out all the missionaries, placing them in a ring, with the governor in the midst, and so shoot them all together."

At length, on Friday, January the 20th, being the fourteenth day of his confinement, Mr. Barlow was informed that he would be discharged on giving bail to appear when required,—two sureties in £150 each, and himself in £300. This having been done, and the period of its obligation limited to three months, Mr. Barlow was released. Although thus treated, from the suspicion of his being a sower of sedition, during the continuance of martial law, not a single act of insubordination was detected among the slaves in either of the parishes from which his congregations were formed.

Before the proclamation of martial law, Mr. Burton had not heard at his station at Manchioneal, that it was either talked of among the slaves, or expected. At the time the militia were ordered to the several stations in St. Thomas in the East, he was on a journey to Kingston; and after the demand for missionary blood was made, he hurried from Kingston, before finishing his business, to be at home in readiness, in case the military tribunal at Manchioneal might require him. He did not, however, arrive at his house before some of the white gentlemen began to circulate a report that he had concealed himself, or had fled. Though the house in which Mr. Burton resided, called Belle Castle, which forms the chapel, was not destroyed, it became evident that the same inveterate prejudice existed at Manchioneal as at other places, and the same eagerness to convict and condemn the missionary.

In proof of this spirit, let the following facts speak. Early in martial law, Mrs. Brown, at whose house Mr. Burton had been in the habit of preaching occasionally, was sent for by the court-martial. She was a free woman, residing on her own property, six or seven miles from the Bay, and had been confined only five days when she was taken from her house with her infant, and detained a week at Manchioneal. The professed object was to elicit criminating evidence against the missionary. After her dismissal, and while she yet remained at the Bay because of weakness, Mr. Panton, late acting attorney-general, and three other magistrates, went to her house to search it. They said their object was to find the "free paper" which they supposed Mr. Burton might have left. The house door was broken open, and the locks of boxes were forced. The beds were searched, and some barrelled flour was examined, and also a barrel of pork, some of the meat being taken out to see if the "free paper" was between the pieces. Miss Duncan, who resided at the house, was struck in the face by Mr. H. W. Speed, a magistrate, during the examination, because she spoke the truth respecting some of his slaves; and Mrs. Brown's mother was struck repeatedly, and knocked to the ground.

During the existence of martial law, those who were examined respecting the insurrection were often, though not always, asked whether the missionaries had stimulated them to rebel, especially at the time of inflicting punishment. Three or four who were on guard have declared that when a portion of the appointed flogging had been inflicted upon any one, it was customary to stop, and with threatening to inquire of the sufferer, whether the minister had informed him the slaves were to be free. One of the most respectable of them said that the threatening and the punishment were, in his opinion, quite sufficient to induce many of the slaves to criminate unjustly a father or a mother. As might be expected, some of them did accuse Mr. Burton of having told them in public they were to be free; but they were persons who had never once attended his ministry after he went to Manchioneal.

During the same period, Mr. Panton, with several gentlemen, rode from the Bay to the mission house; and arriving there some time after dark, quietly sur-

rounded the place, and by a circuitous path, Mr. Panton and Mr. M' Williams entered through the only unfrequented door. It was the evening before Christmas, on which the weekly service had been held. The professed object of the visit was to ascertain the nature and exact situation of lights, which the gentlemen said had been seen from the Bay, very near the premises, and which had been answered by similar lights in the mountains. Mr. Panton, after having inquired what number of lights were used in the house, at what time the inmates retired to rest, and in what part of the house the lights were kept, inquired very particularly respecting George Affleck, the head driver of the Haining estate, who a few days before had been shot at the Bay, as a ringleader in the insurrection in St. Thomas in the East. Mr. Burton informed him that Affleck very generally attended public worship at Belle Castle every other Sabbath, but was not a member of the church; and explained to him that a member was one who had been baptized and who received the Lord's supper, but Affleck had never attended to either. Yet, particular as Mr. Panton's inquiries were, and as was the information which Mr. Burton communicated to him, the report was afterwards freely circulated, that Affleck was a member of the Baptist church, and the principal leader! These facts are sufficient to show the *animus* of those gentlemen who were entrusted with such examinations.

Diversified and endless were the annoyances to which the servants of God were at this period subjected. The following circumstance occurred to Mr. Taylor, the then officiating minister of the chapel in Spanish Town, during a Sabbath evening service. On closing the prayer before sermon, a white man of notorious character, named Hartshorne, charged him publicly from the gallery, in the most vociferous manner, with having prayed that *the governor might have wisdom!* On the following morning, Mr. Taylor was cited before a bench of magistrates, to answer to the charges contained in three affidavits made by Mr. Hartshorne and two of his associates. Two of these affidavits were rejected as contradictory, and Mr. Taylor was examined on Mr. Hartshorne's only. In addition to his having prayed for the governor, Mr. Taylor was charged with having prayed seditiously, that he had said in his prayer, "You are to be slaves and barbarians no longer; something has been done for you, but not enough; you must now be free." The peace office was crowded with persons who heard Mr. Taylor on that occasion; two of whom, perfect strangers to him, came forward, and completely refuted the whole, with the exception of the prayer for the governor, which he did offer. These gentlemen declared upon oath that they had often heard Mr. Taylor; that they approved of his preaching; and that on the past Sabbath evening he had neither directly nor indirectly said any thing which had a tendency to make an improper impression on the mind of the slave, or which could possibly be supposed to breathe any thing like the spirit of sedition. Indeed, the falsehoods were so glaring in the eyes of the magistrates, that they dismissed the case; Mr. Hartshorne was literally hissed out of the office, and partly through the town, by an indignant multitude; while Mr. Taylor was overwhelmed with congratulations.

SECTION V.

Destruction of the chapels, with other violent proceedings.

The antipathy shown to the missionaries personally, corresponded well with the lawless violence with which guilty hands were laid even upon their property and upon the chapels; thus assuming the character of a war of extermination, undertaken to gratify a blind and worldly prejudice against the rights of man and the religion of the cross.

The first chapel destroyed was a large, substantial building, recently erected at Salter's Hill, about eight miles from Montego Bay, and only opened for divine worship on the day when the insurrection commenced. It was set on fire during martial law by a party of the St. James's militia, under the command of Lieutenant F. B. Gibbs, royal naval, on half pay, and Captain George Gordon.

On the 7th February, when the St. Ann's regiment was about to quit Falmouth, Mr. Gayner, a magistrate and ensign, and Adjutant Tucker, commanded the men to break down the chapel occupied by Mr. Knibb, which they

had used as barracks during martial law, and themselves set the example. It was completely demolished. The baptistry, in the chapel yard, was previously filled with filth by the workhouse negroes, who were under the management of the magistrates. A cenotaph, erected in the wall of the vestry, to the memory of Mr. Mann, the former pastor, was torn down and dashed to pieces. On the same day, the chapel at Stewart's Town, Trelawney, occupied by Mr. Whitehorne, was partially pulled down by some persons also connected with the militia; and the next day, the large chapel at Montego Bay, in which from 1500 to 2000 persons had often been instructed by Mr. Burchell, was entirely demolished by a party who went from the court-house at mid-day, headed by Lieutenant-colonel Morris, and soon assisted by a mob. Magistrates and officers of the militia were on the spot, and most of them actively engaged in the demolition.*

The same day was signalized by the destruction of the chapel at Brown's Town, in St. Ann's, chiefly by the inhabitants.

On the 10th, the chapel at Savanna-la-Mar, occupied by Mr. Gardner, was pulled down by the militia, encouraged and assisted by two of the officers, Lieutenant Samuels, Ensign Reary, and H. Dawson, provost-marshal's deputy.

On the 11th, a chapel supplied by the same missionary, called Ridgeland, or Fuller's Field, about ten miles from Savanna-la-Mar, was burned.

The mission premises, occupied by Mr. Nichols, at St. Ann's Bay, were razed to the ground during the morning of the 14th; the materials stolen, and the very foundations partly dug up.*

The chapel at Rio Bueno, occupied by Mr. Whitehorne, was attempted to be pulled down on the night of the 12th, by the grenadier company of the Trelawney regiment, stationed at Bryan Castle estate; but the strength of the building frustrated this attempt for the time. On the following Saturday evening, however, it was burned down. On the 24th, Ebony chapel, just erected at Hayes Savanna, in Vere, and supplied by Mr. Taylor, was destroyed by fire. A day or two before, Mr. Wood, a magistrate, went with a person named Palmer, in the day-time, broke some of the windows, and took away the key; and the following day, six white men went to see what was done, broke down the fence, gave three cheers, and left the place.

Great loss was occasioned to their respective proprietors, by the destruction of houses rented as places of worship. While martial law existed, a house called Putney, in St. James's, the property of Mrs. M'Lenan, rented by Mr. Burchell, was burned by the militia. In the morning of Thursday, February 9th, the chapel at Lucea, occupied by Mr. Abbott, the property of the General Baptist Missionary Society, was pulled down; and among the perpetrators of this outrage were, the Rev. B. H. Heath, the rector, Dr. Binns, who struck the first blow with a hatchet, and Charles Younger, constable. Mr. Alexander Campbell, of Lucea, a magistrate, was present, and did not attempt to prevent it. Mr. R. Chambers, on the same day, refused to exercise his authority as a magistrate, when Mr. Abbott's dwelling-house was violently entered by Dr. Binns and others, armed with hatchets, &c., for the purpose of destroying his furniture. On this occasion, a respectable female, attempting to protect Mr. Abbot's property, was struck with a horsewhip by Dr. Binns, who threatened to push her down the steps, if she did not go. On the 10th, the outrage referred to before at St. Ann's Bay, was committed. On the 14th, a party of the same mob proceeded to Ocho Rios, another station supplied by Mr. Nichols, and burned the chapel. The fire communicated with an adjoin-

* The persons chiefly concerned were the following:—Lieut.-Colonel William Charles Morris; Major John Coates. Capts. George Gordon, William Mitchell Kerr, John Cleghorn, Joseph Bowen, Benjamin Haughton Tharpe, magistrates; Capts William Nettleton Balme, John Tharpe, a magistrate, Edward Evans, coroner; Lieuts. James Gordon, a magistrate, Joseph Fray, William Plummer, Thomas Watson, Charles Wallace Ogle, John Henry Morris, George M'Farquhar Lawson, jun., adjutant, Henry Hunter; Ensigns William Fowle Holt, James Coates, William Gordon, Joseph Gill Jump; Alexander Campbell, Esq., Copse, Charles O'Connor, Esq., William Heathe, Esq., magistrates; Mr. William B. Popkin, head constable.

*The most active of the depredators, were:—George Radcliffe Stennett, magistrate, surgeon of the St. Ann's eastern regiment, and surgeon of the workhouse; Lieutenant Henry Cox, jun., on the staff of Major-general Cox, and a magistrate; Captain Samuel Drake, head constable, town surveyor, clerk of the market, and supervisor of the workhouse; Ensign and Adjutant Ralph Cocking; Seba Shelley, harbor-master; Captain George Clark, deputy marshal; Lieut. and Quarter-master Thomas Taylor; James Walker, Esq. a magistrate, member of assembly, and captain in the militia, was present, and did not attempt to prevent the demolition.

ing house, which was also burnt down. On the 19th, the chapel at Green Island, supplied by Mr. Abbott, was burnt down.

On the 6th of April, about ten o'clock at night, a mob of white men, armed with swords, pistols, muskets, and bayonets, went to mount Charles chapel in St. Andrews. In the way from the gate of the premises to the house, they met with a poor old man, a free negro, unarmed, and fell upon him with their swords, cutting him severely in several places on his head and body, and one of them, with a bayonet, stabbed him in his side. Arriving at the house, they broke open the door, and fired in; some of them broke the windows of the bed-room, forcing in the glass, frames, and shutters, with such violence, that the bed in which Mrs. Baylis, the missionary's wife, and her infant, were lying, was nearly covered with pieces of glass. They then fired in at each of the windows, and one of the ruffians applied a candle to one side of the room for the purpose of setting it on fire; but the candle was extinguished. They proceeded to break the hall window, swearing the house should be down that night. Seeing the candle was out, one of them broke open the door of an out-house, saying he wanted fire, and that he would burn down the house; but the alarm being given, they fled.

Of all those who suffered in respect to their privrte property, the greatest loser was Mr. Burchell. He had purchased and furnished at his own expense, a residence in the mountains, to afford occasionally a refreshing retreat for himself and family from the sultry temperature of Montego Bay. This house, called Hillington, and situated in Hanover, was burnt down by the militia during the period of martial law. Near this spot, was a house which he rented as a chapel, and preached in, called Shepherd's Hall, or Gurney's Mount. At this place a Christian church was formed, and a congregation of several hundred persons usually assembled. It was entered by the militia, and the benches, pews, pulpit, and household furniture, the latter Mr. Burchell's property, were taken out and burnt. On the day the chapel at Montego Bay was demolished, the rioters found in the chapel yard a chaise belonging to Mr. Cantlow, which they maliciously chopped to pieces, supposing it to have been the property of Mr. Burchell. Mr. Abbott also deeply participated in the damages occasioned by the proceedings at Lucea; and had it not been for the noble exertions of his friends, his losses would have been far more considerable.

Mr. Knibb visited Falmouth early in March. For three successive nights his lodgings were attacked with stones, and he was cautioned by two respectable gentlemen against venturing out in the evening, as a party had clubbed together to tar and feather him. Proceedings of this nature were actually recommended and extolled in the *Cornwall Courier*, a newspaper conducted by William Dyer, a magistrate.

The following statement will afford an idea of the amount of property destroyed. The sums opposite each place are not what the buildings and land cost, but what would be required, at the lowest rate, to rebuild such places. The sums are in Jamaica currency.

Salter's Hill.—Burnt by order of the captain of militia stationed at Latium . .	£4000
Falmouth.—Pulled down by the St. Ann's militia, while occupied as barracks .	3000
Montego Bay.—Pulled down at mid-day by the inhabitants, headed by several magistrates	6000
Savanna-la-Mar.—Pulled down by the parishioners	700
Ridgeland, alias *Fuller's field.*—Burnt by two overseers. A valuable house . .	1000
Rio Bueno.—Burnt	1000
Stewart's Town.—Injured to the amount of	250
Brown's Town.—Pulled down by the inhabitants	800
St. Ann's Bay.—Pulled down by the inhabitants of the parish	3500
Ebony Chapel.—Burnt	500
Total amount in chapels destroyed	20,750
LOSS IN THE DESTRUCTION OF MISSION PROPERTY, IN HOUSES RENTED.	
Gurney's Mount.—Pulpit, benches, &c. .	300
Putney.—Benches burnt	50
Lucea.—Benches and lamps . . .	50
Ocho Rios.—Pulpit, pews, and benches .	100
	£21,250

In a memorial to the governor, the losses were stated in round numbers to be about twenty thousand pounds. The foregoing is a correct statement of the loss sustained in the destruction of chapels, pulpits, pews, benches, and lamps. Other losses were suffered to the amount of two thousand pounds.

—The chapel at Lucea, belonging to the General Baptists, but occupied by our Society, pulled down; offered for sale by the General Baptist Society for .	900
Losses of property, partly belonging to individual missionaries, and partly to the Society; horses, furniture, clothes, &c.	500
Extra expenses incurred by traveling, by expresses, and in Mr. Knibb's passage to England	600
	£23,250

It might be presumed that professors of religion, whether members of churches, slaves, or persons of free condition, would be treated with indignity and cruelty during the fierce persecution that raged. One fact may be recorded as a specimen of the conduct of their oppressors to free people of color; the sufferings of slaves, on various pretences of insubordination, may be imagined. During martial law, on Saturday, January 7th, as Mr. William Thompson, a person of color, a member of the church at Rio Bueno, was going on his duty as a pilot at that place, he was informed by a trooper that the officer of the guard wished to speak to him. He went; and in a few minutes his arms were tied behind him with a rope, he was railed at as a preacher, and asked if he was a member of the Baptist church. He replied that he was, but no preacher; that he wished he was capable of being one. He was taken to the Long Wharf, and there tied to a negro man. He suffered much abuse from Mr. Taylor, quarter-master of the St. Ann's militia, then stationed at Rio Bueno; and that day the guard conducted him to the Spring estate, where he was confined in the boiling-house, with both legs and arms tied, and the end of the rope carried up aloft. The next morning he was sent to Falmouth, where his feet were put in irons among upwards of forty condemned negroes. In this situation he was detained four days; allowed only two slices of bread, with water, per diem; and exposed to the taunts of many who railed on him as a preacher. While in custody, he was closely questioned, "whether he had not heard his ministers say and preach to the negroes, that the king had given them their freedom, and they were to set fire to the estates, and fight for it." He answered, "he had heard the ministers preach contrary to that; namely, that they must be obedient to their earthly master, whom they saw, otherwise they could not be obedient to their heavenly Master, whom they could not see." Colonel Hilton, afterwards major-general, "wished much to have him hung," and told his wife that if he escaped the gallows, he should be sent away to the mad-house, in Kingston for life; but Mr. W. Frater, member of assembly for Trelawney, pleaded hard on his behalf. Mr. Herring, overseer of Braco estate, made affidavit that he once saw him on that property; but when questioned by Mr. Frater, whether he heard him preaching, he was reduced to the necessity of judging, or thinking, that he did. It is remarkable, that the very informer, Murray, the constable, was never in the chapel in the absence of the minister, and mentioned to Mr. Edward Dickenson, that he had never heard Mr. Thompson preach or pray, but he only *thought* so. As no charge could be substantiated against him, he was released; and by order of Colonel Hilton, his wife was appointed his security, that he would go to no negro house, nor hold any meeting with any congregation, especially negroes, but only pray as he might think proper with his family and servants. While in confinement, he knew several members of both Baptist and Methodist Societies sentenced to three hundred, four hundred, and even five hundred lashes, for no other fault than their being such members; some of them informed him that their houses had been pulled down, while others were sentenced to the work-house for life.

Martial law having been withdrawn, and the trials at the Cornwall assize court having been brought to an issue favorable to the cause of religion, the missionaries soon meditated a return to some of the stations from which they had been driven. After much consultation and prayer, it was resolved that an attempt should first be made to resume the work at Montego Bay, as the largest station which had been abandoned, and that which embraced the greatest number of free persons to attend the means of grace. Messrs. Nichols and Abbott were to undertake this service. But it was delayed nearly two months, owing to the continuance of persecution, kept alive throughout the island by the public press, by the proceedings of the house of assembly, and especially by the operations of the Colonial Church Union, which rapidly gathered strength, and extended its influence. Some of the leading members in nearly all the parishes of the island, set on foot a union of this kind, and passed their respective series of intolerant resolutions, nearly in the same words, to get rid of "sectarian

missionaries;" and for this purpose, the unionist determined to discountenance the free people connected with the missionary societies, or in any way attached to their interests. At a general meeting of the parochial branches of the union, held at Falmouth, July 28th, the chairman, Mr. J. L. Hilton, of St. Ann's, set forth the following among the objects and duties of the union;—"To expel the sectarians, and other incendiaries from the island; to give no employment to any of their proselytes; to hold every man an enemy who fosters or encourages them." And it was resolved,—"Because it is necessary that a stop should be put to the further propagation of the pernicious doctrines of those sectarians, we consider it necessary to withdraw all support and intercourse whatever from any one who may either adopt the destructive principles of the Baptists, or other sectarian preachers of this island, or countenance them or their followers in any degree." This resolution, being adopted by magistrates, would naturally possess, in the estimation of many, the force of law. It was even declared, that "the fullest reliance is entertained, that they (the members) will hold the observance of this, and every other obligation of the union, under all circumstances, paramount to every other consideration." Thus indemnified, even by the administrators of the laws, against the penalties merited by acts of injustice, the unionists immediately acted upon this resolution; and consequently, many respectable tradesmen and others, than whom none were more deserving of support, were deprived of employment, refused payment of their lawful debts, and exposed, with their families, to the hazard of poverty and distress.

Sufficient tranquillity having been restored, as it was supposed, at Montego Bay, for insuring personal safety, Messrs. Nichols and Abbot rented a house of Mrs. Renwick, and had it registered in the bishop's office as a place of worship. The latter arrived at Montego Bay on the 16th of June; and the friends of the cause having been destitute of the ordinances of religion for six months, were desirous of his commencing public worship the next day. Accordingly, he sent word to a few of the free people to that effect. In the morning, the house was filled with people, consisting almost entirely of free persons; and Mr. Abbott was about to commence a prayer-meeting, when Mr. Popkin, the head constable, made his appearance, and inquired for Mrs. Renwick. "The magistrates have sent me to inquire if this is your house." She replied, "Yes." Mr. Popkin said, "The magistrates wish to know if you are aware of the consequences of having an illegal assemblage of persons in your house." She replied, "This house is mine, but is tenanted by Mr. Abbott, who has had it licensed." Mr. Popkin then addressed Mr. Abbott,—"I suppose, sir, you know the consequences of collecting an illegal meeting, and disturbing the public peace." Mr. Abbott replied, "I am far from wishing to disturb the public peace; the persons collected have come to worship God. I propose meeting with them for that purpose, which I have authority for doing, having had the house licensed." Mr. Popkin then left, to communicate this information to the magistrates. In a few minutes he returned, and said the magistrates requested Mr. Abbott would let them see his authority for preaching there. The certificate of registry was then produced, with a request that it might be returned as soon as they had seen it. In a short time, Mr. Popkin again returned with the certificate, and informed Mr. Abbott that the magistrates said they had nothing to do with the bishop's office, that they considered the meeting an illegal one, and unless it was dispersed, they would issue a warrant for Mr. Abbott's apprehension. Mr. Abbott said he considered the meeting a legal and a peaceable one, and should commence service at the appointed time. Mr. Popkin again withdrew; but returned with orders from the magistrates to wait in the house, and apprehend Mr. Abbott as soon as he began the service. Mr. Abbott then requested the people to go quietly to their homes, and informed Mr. Popkin that he had dispersed the assembly, as the magistrates had thus officially ordered it; but that he should consider it his duty to meet with them for public worship again in a few days, if he had no further communication with the magistrates upon the subject, with whom, however, he was ready to meet, to receive any explanation. In

reply, they sent to say that they would meet him the next morning. At the appointed time, Mr. Abbott went to the court-house, and found about twenty of the magistrates assembled, with Thomas Jos. Grey, Esq., senior magistrate, presiding. Much altercation ensued; during which, the magistrates claimed to be the interpreters of the law for themselves, and concurred in the opinion that "the Baptists had done so much mischief in the country, that they ought to be very cautious how they permitted them to return amongst them." One of them, Mr. Watt, thought that Mr. Abbott "should be indicted as a vagrant!"

During the following week, violent attempts were made to compel Mr. Abbott to leave the town. Inflammatory placards were posted up; and even at a public meeting, it was proposed by Mr. Coates, a magistrate, that he should be driven out of the parish. This was resolutely opposed by Mr. S. Manderson, a gentleman of color, who said, that they could not, and should not, eject Mr. Abbott. On the day of that meeting, a muster of the St. James's militia took place, when a vigorous effort was made, chiefly by Adjutant Lawson, to improve so favorable an opportunity for tarring Mr. Abbott, and drumming him out of the town; but perceiving a powerful combination among the colored inhabitants for his protection, they desisted from the attempt. In a few days, Mrs. Renwick was taken before the bench, and bound over for the next quarter sessions, to take her trial for having allowed an unlawful assemblage of slaves in her house. At the quarter sessions, held on the 30th of October, Mrs. Renwick was brought to trial; and the jury found her guilty, recommending her to the leniency of the court. She was fined £20, in order, as Mr. Coates declared, to deter others from acting as she had done.

Mr. Burton, also, was, interrupted at Morant Bay, where he had recommenced his labors, after having voluntarily abstained from them during martial law, and for some weeks after its termination. Mr. Blakely, a magistrate, sent a constable with an order to prevent the preaching, and disperse the people, assigning as his reasons, that Mr. Burton was not a licensed preacher, which was not true; and that the house was not licensed for a place of worship, which which was true,—for, partly because he did not expect the magistrates to interfere in the matter, and partly owing to the uncertainty which then prevailed as to the requirement of the law, he had omitted it. The result was a decision, in the form of a lecture, "that Mr. Burton had opened a place of worship at Morant Bay without any necessity—without any thing like an excuse for such conduct. There were the established church and Wesleyan chapel, neither of which was more than half filled before he came: his object, therefore, must have been to make proselytes to a sect, and not to make Christians. Besides, the sect to which he was attached had recently evinced its mischievous character. One of its ministers had said that the gospel must be preached, though a thousand lives were sacrificed. Now, though such an assertion might do very well at a missionary meeting, the magistrates had no wish to be martyrs in such a cause. It was therefore their duty to be watchful over men avowing such sentiments; and over Mr. Burton in particular, it was their province and obligation to be especially strict, as there had been so much evidence against him laid before the court-martial during the late insurrection, as satisfied them that he was a dangerous person, and not to be trusted. For these reasons, therefore, Mr. Burton was ordered not to preach any more at Morant Bay. This was the decision of the court; and if in any error, there was no objection against being set right by superiors, but it would receive no correction from inferiors." Soon after, the president's reply to the memorial was received, justifying the dispersion of the meeting, and intimating the necessity of a proper registry and certificate to authorize dissenting service. As the house had been registered at the time, Mr. Burton considered that he had become legally authorized to preach, and therefore proceeded to Morant Bay at the regular time. On his arrival, the constable was sent to him with a warrant for his apprehension, and he was taken before the magistrates. They produced some affidavits, which showed that he had been preaching on the 29th of July; and he was informed, that because of preaching, bail must be given for his

appearance at the quarter sessions in October, or he must be committed to prison, which was done; and he remained till the following Wednesday, when bail was offered and accepted for him. Miss Durham, proprietor of the house, was also bound over to answer to any charge that might be preferred against her at the quarter sessions; but when the sessions took place, the proceedings against her were stopped, and Mr. Burton's case was deferred till the ensuing assizes.

On the 13th of September, Mr. Taylor was cited before Messrs. Hannaford, M'Cook, and Robertson, magistrates, and threatened that if he preached any more in the parish of St. Dorothy, until he obtained a license at the quarter sessions, he should be sent to prison. On his pleading the toleration acts of George III, he was told they were guided by the act of William and Mary; and when he expressed his readiness to take the oaths of allegiance, they refused to administer them, saying, that they were not a constituted body, and had not the power. In deference to the authorities, he desisted from preaching. At the October quarter sessions in Spanish Town, he offered to take the usual oaths, when the sitting magistrates refused his application, as well as another of the same nature, made by a Wesleyan missionary.

A similar application was made at the quarter sessions at Montego Bay, October 30th. Three missionaries attended the court for this purpose,—Mr. Murray, Wesleyan, and Messrs. Nichols and Abbott; when they were told that the magistrates had made up their minds not to sanction any sectarians whatever, as there was no island law requiring them to do it; and when Mr. Murray was about to refer to the toleration acts, he was interrupted, and assured that they did not acknowledge any English statutes, and Mr. Plummer added, they never would.

On the 4th of June, Mr. and Mrs. Kingdon landed at Savanna-la-Mar, with the view of recommencing missionary work in that town. Having registered a house, he considered himself at liberty to preach; but Dr. Distin, a magistrate, having expressed doubts as to the sufficiency of his certificate, he deferred preaching till he might procure legal advice. The week after, the congregation were alarmed by the information that Mr. Thomas A. Mitchener (one of the chapel destroyers) was collecting a mob to pull down the house; but he was disappointed in the aid he expected. The next day, Mr. Kingdon was required to appear before the magistrates, to answer to a charge preferred against him for having held an illegal meeting of slaves the day before. The bishop's certificate was produced; but he was obliged to find security for his appearance at the ensuing Cornwall assizes, to answer for the breach of a law passed by the island legislature in 43 Geo. III, but which had been several years disallowed by the king! Mr. Kingdon travelled thirty-two miles to Montego Bay, to attend the court; when, after all, the matter was not brought forward.

When the Colonial Union met, a motion was made to expel all sectarian teachers and preachers. In the evening of the same day, a party paraded the streets; and after they had passed and repassed from about seven till nine o'clock, they wheeled round in front of Mr. Kingdon's lodgings, marched up to the house, and commenced battering the door. Some females threw out of the window upon the assailants a quantity of hot water, which providentially extinguished some combustible matter that had been placed underneath, for the purpose of blowing up the house, or at least setting it on fire. On this being done, the Colonial Union men who were outside, fired very frequently into the upper windows, namely those of the hall and study occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Kingdon; in the latter of which apartments, they very narrowly escaped being shot. After firing many shots, and being themselves fired upon, the Unionists went off and beat to arms, and having collected a larger force, renewed the attack. Just about this time, Mr. and Mrs. Kingdon escaped from the house, and hid themselves in the negro houses; by which means they providentially escaped being murdered. The work of demolishing the building then commenced. Subsequently, in order to appease the fury of a mob of whites, and prevent them from tearing him to pieces in the court-house, Mr. Kingdon was obliged to promise that he would leave the town and never return to it

again. The same night Mr. Whitelock, a magistrate, who only the day before had publicly pleaded for the expulsion of the sectarians, issued warrants against him and Messrs. John and Aaron Deleon, who, with other friends, had exerted themselves to defend life and property. They were committed to jail the next day, Friday the 10th; and but for the great exertions of the custos, Mr. John Deleon would have been murdered on the way.

Mr. Kingdon and his friends continued in confinement twenty-four days, and after having been closely examined by Mr. Davies, a gentleman from Kingston, deputed to inquire into the affray, they were admitted to bail, September 3d. Messrs. Kingdon and Aaron and John Deleon were required to find bail for their appearance at the Cornwall assizes in November, each in £500, and the like sum for their securities. The former asked and obtained permission to remain that night in jail for safety. Mr. and Mrs. Kingdon left Savanna-la-Mar on the evening of September 4th, in a canoe, for Black River, where they went on board the schooner *West Indian*, which conveyed them to Kingston.

On the night of their departure, their friends were compelled to hide themselves to escape assassination; and soon afterwards, they were obliged to fly, some into Hanover, others into the morass and woods. The Colonial Unionists committed various atrocities. Persons were frequently insulted in the public streets; night after night, a tarring and feathering party were engaged, and neither respectability, nor age, nor sex, could afford protection; houses were broken into for this purpose, and several aged and respectable persons compelled to leave their dwellings after dark, and spend the night in the open air, or wherever they could find a shelter. Two instances of suffering endured by members of churches are particularly mentioned by the missionaries as specimens of many others. One of the persons in question stated, that on the night of the attack, August the 8th, when driven from Mr. Kingdon's lodgings, she was obliged to flee to the morass behind the back street of Savanna-la-Mar. While running through and from the yard, shots were fired at her and others, they being pointed out to the rioters. She went from one house to another, secreting herself till the morning. On September, the 4th, the party who had been that day committed to jail, for assaulting Mr. Case, and had been let out in the evening, hunted about for her and others, to tar them: she was forced to hide at Mr. Deleon's sen., for three days. Mr. Deleon, on Friday night, the 7th, told her she must leave his house, as he was unable to protect her against Mr. Mitchener and his party, who were coming to search for her and others. She then went into an outhouse; and the rioters afterwards broke into and searched Mr. Deleon's negro houses. The next morning, at four o'clock, she went barefoot through a morass to a distance of three miles, and remained with an old woman about ten days, where she was almost starved, and could have no sleep, as the party were prowling about with the tar bucket. On the 18th, she returned to the Bay, where she had to hide, partly in a grass piece, and partly from house to house. On the 20th, she saw Mr. Medley, one of the rioters, in the back street, who said, "This night, every one of the Baptist houses shall be set on fire; for we'll burn them out." She put all her furniture and apparel into the bushes, and went, between seven and eight, P. M., to hide in a small house near the chapel, where she had been but a few minutes when she heard men running towards the house. Mr. Mitchener violently entered; and, with a fire-stick, searched the very room in which she and another female were concealed; but, providentially, did not find them. The next morning, about five, they both fled back to the country, after a heavy shower of rain, dangerous to health and life. The articles she had placed in the bushes were by this time stolen or destroyed, and she was without either hat or shoes. She remained there about four days, and then again removed to the Bay.

The statement of the other person is as follows:—On the 9th of August, in the evening, she and some of her fellow members had gone to the morass to save their lives, as the rioters said they would take down the house where they lodged. From thence they escaped to a small house, where they remained till they saw a poor man who was said to have engaged in the defence, taken out

of the opposite house and tarred, and hearing the rioters would next attack the house in which they were, they escaped to the morass. After returning to the house, they saw five men in disguise search the part of the morass where they had been; after which they saw them search the yard again, and the bushes on the premises, several times that night. The whole of the next day they were obliged to hide; half the night they spent in the morass, and the remaining part in a house kindly opened to them. For two weeks this person took refuge at different houses by day, and had to disguise herself every night in negro houses. In several instances she was refused admission into houses for refuge, because she was a Baptist, so that she was obliged to hide in bushes, having no house to go to, and being without food. She then walked to a place three miles distant from the Bay, where she remained about a fortnight.

The Cornwall assizes, held at Montego Bay, commenced on the 5th November, at which Mr. Kingdon, Messrs. J. and A. Deleon, and other of Mr. Kingdon's friends attended, together with several of the rioters who had likewise been bound over to appear. Bills were first sent before the grand jury against the rioters; all the capital indictments against them were ignored, and but few of those sent in for misdemeanors were found. The attorney-general, who must have been satisfied of Mr. Kingdon's innocence, did not prepare any indictment against him. True bills were found against Mr. John Deleon and Mr. Dolphy, who were accordingly arraigned. Bail was refused, and they were committed at once to the common prison, under harsh and unusual restrictions. In justice to the attorney-general, it must be stated that he pleaded hard for the liberation of those gentlemen on bail, but without effect. The chief justice asked if a precedent could be shown; the case of Mr. Knibb was mentioned, but Mr. Justice Gordon, who sat during the March court, when that case occurred, professed not to remember that Mr. Knibb was admitted to bail under similar circumstances. It is well known that Mr. Knibb was admitted to bail after he had been capitally indicted and arraigned. It is also well known that the late chief justice, G. L. Tuckett, Esq., at the Surry assizes for April, liberated Mr. Edward Jordon on bail, admitting that case as a precedent.

SECTION VI.

Vindication of the missionaries.

As the world is constituted, the calumniator possesses the greatest advantage over the innocent victim of his calumny. An assertion or an insinuation is the work of a moment, the falsehood of which may require a long train of evidence to disprove. There is a general proneness in the human mind to receive unfavorable representations with eagerness, and to give them a ready credence,—in some cases from jealousy or envy, in others from the innate love of slander,—so that evil reports fly with the rapidity of lightning, but are overtaken by effectual contradiction with incredible slowness. Even in the ordinary affairs of life, the most suspicious evidence is readily admitted, while that which is counteractive, reasonable and satisfactory, is sifted again and again, before the injurious impression is removed. Mankind are often governed by random conclusions and improbabilities; more especially in the estimate of character; and most of all, when antecedent prejudices spring from ignorance, self-interest, and irreligion. Never was this more fully, and we may say, more cruelly illustrated than in the treatment of the missionaries in Jamaica, during the revolt which has been described. There was a depth of hatred manifested which, when the facts are impartially considered, would seem to have been altogether unaccountable and incredible, did we not take into consideration the depravity of human nature, and the aversion of the carnal mind to truth and godliness, which, even by a little indulgence only, is wont to generate the most rancorous malignity.* Innocence is more natural-

* "Every calumny which ingenious malice could invent, and every ridiculous tale which folly could give utterance to, have been for months in circulation, and to this very hour, meet with a ready reception from men whose prejudices and whose credulity alike know no bounds. The public prints have been crammed with the grossest and most blasphemous libels: members of assembly have not scrupled to lend the sanction of their names to accusations which they must have known to be unfounded, and to apply language and epithets to the missionaries, which the legislative assembly of Jamaica *only* would tolerate: militia officers, of every rank, have echoed this coarse abuse: an officer of the British navy has suffered the tide of prejudice to sweep from his mind that sense of truth and justice which is the proudest boast of the service to which he belongs: parochial authorities, custodes, magistrates, and vestrymen, have convened local meetings throughout the country; and

ly the object of dislike than guilt; for it is a reproof to crime, and therefore stirs up all its venom. When no reason exists, the feeling of dislike is often the strongest; as it is said in prophecy by the Son of God himself, "They hated me without a cause."

The missionaries were continually prevented from bringing forward evidence in their own favor, abundant and incontrovertible, by the abandonment of the charges, and the failure of inimical proceedings, at the moment when their defence would have been required. Messrs. Gardner and Knibb, for example, were prepared with more than *three hundred witnesses* to substantiate their innocence. In publishing their vindication afterwards, they were obliged to suppress many names and circumstances which would have strengthened their statements, from the conviction that it would involve unprotected individuals in difficulty, danger, and even ruin: "yet," say they, "if in the presence of these difficulties and discouragements, we are enabled, in the first instance, to bring forward a considerable body of evidence, unequivocally tending to disprove the accusations against the Baptist missionaries; and if, in so doing, we exhibit besides, certain wicked and shameful means which their enemies employed to obtain evidence, to ensure, if possible, their destruction;—and, secondly, if we prove that causes existed, in which the missionaries were in no way mixed up, abundantly sufficient to originate the opinion, universally acknowledged to have been prevalent among the slaves,—that their freedom had been granted by the British government,—and as universally admitted to have been the immediate cause of the late insurrection,—our object will, we conceive, be sufficiently obtained, at least in the view of all, over whom truth and justice have any influence."†

They arrange the general charges against them into four general accusations, as follow—

"1. That the missionaries are 'tools of the Anti-slavery Society,' and their chief object the advancement of its interest and designs.

"2. That the missionaries have, in various ways, instigated the slaves to commit acts of rebellion, chiefly by inducing them to believe that their freedom had been granted by the British government; 'that they were free;' and that 'free paper' either 'had arrived,' or 'shortly would arrive.'

"3. That the missionaries have instilled into the minds of the slave population, principles dangerous to the safety of the island, while professing to instruct them in the doctrines and duties of Christianity; particularly, that 'their preaching and teaching had the effect of producing in the minds of the slaves a belief that they could not serve both a spiritual and a temporal master, thereby occasioning them to resist the lawful authority of their temporal, under the delusion of rendering themselves more acceptable to a spiritual master.'

"4. That the missionaries have 'adopted a system, in which exists a mischievous abuse,'—viz. 'the recognition of gradations of rank among such of the slaves as had become converts to their doctrines, whereby the less ambitious and more peaceable among them were made the dupes of the artful and intelligent, who had been selected by the missionaries to fill the higher offices in their chapels, under the denomination of rulers, elders, leaders, and helpers.'"

To meet the first of these accusations, it was sufficient for them to give a direct and total denial, and demand evidence of its truth, which, however, none of their enemies ever attempted to produce. The others were overthrown by an extensive induction of demonstrative facts embracing the following particulars.

1. Several instances of dying declarations affecting missionaries, shown to have been obtained by wicked means; several alleged confessions, proved never to have been made; and several others clearly refuted.

2. Many instances of endeavors used to extort evidence against them by like

after disgorging on the missionaries, all the bile and venom that their excited passions had stirred up within them, have adopted resolutions, in which it would be difficult to say whether intolerance or absurdity most prevails: nay, more—the grand inquest of the county of Cornwall, assembled to investigate the charges against some of these injured and enduring men, and 'bound to administer impartial justice by the solemn obligation of an oath,' have, notwithstanding the triumphant acquittal of the accused, thought proper to declare, 'that the Baptist missionaries, have, in a culpable degree, been the cause of the late rebellion!'" *Christian Record.*

† Christian Record.

wicked means, in which the agents met with failure.

3. The names of thirty-eight estates in the disturbed districts, the negroes on which (a large portion being Baptists) proved generally faithful.

4. The names of sixty-nine slaves of the Baptist persuasion, eminently distinguished for their fidelity, accompanied with anecdotes of their exertions in taking prisoners, defending estates, &c.

5. The names of twenty-five Baptists, out of seventy-four slaves in the county of Cornwall, rewarded by the house of assembly by manumission or otherwise, for their services during the rebellion.

6. Many instances showing the pacific tendency of the instructions, bearing immediate relation to the present subject, delivered by the Baptist missionaries to their flocks.

7. Numerous instances of the good effects resulting from their instructions. Among other testimony here adduced is that of Mr. Custos Miller, Mr. Samuel Moulton Barrett, and Mr. Robert Cron.

8. Numerous instances of endeavors, on the part of the Baptist missionaries, to suppress the spirit of insubordination when it began to show itself.

9. Names of thirty-six free persons, not Baptists, who, having frequently attended the Baptist chapels at the Leeward stations, witness to the peaceable tendency of the preaching there.

10. Notice of the report of the rebellion committee, and a list of fifty faithful leaders attached to two stations in the disturbed districts, brought forward to disprove the charge in it that the leaders caused the rebellion.

11. Extracts from the parochial resolutions and the leading journal, and many instances of the habit of taunting the slaves with freedom, clearly establishing that the slave-owners themselves caused the rebellion.

It will be necessary to subjoin statements by way of illustration, selected from numberless others. They will be quite sufficient without any further wearying details, to furnish affecting specimens of the Jamaica transactions.

The case of Robert Hall.—Mr. Richard Brown, an intelligent and respectable freemen of Falmouth, stated, "that he was on guard as sentry when Hall was led out to be shot at Falmouth; saw Mr. Jobson and Mr. Russell present; heard prisoner say that he did not belong to any church, was christened in the church of England; heard Mr. Russell ask him, 'what parson told him he was going to be free;' heard Robert Hall say, 'he never heard parson say so;' heard Mr. Russell say, 'What no parson?' 'No.' Heard Mr. Russell say, 'Say parson Knibb, you Sir;' heard prisoner say, 'Massa, I cannot go tell a lie; I never heard it.' Saw the prisoner tied to be shot; heard Mr. Russell say, 'Move away that man,' (meaning him, Brown;) heard the prisoner say, 'Me never hear it from minister myself; but the people that go to pray say we going to be free.' Does not know what other question was put to the prisoner, as he (Brown) was removed."

Mr. Lewis Williams, who remained after Brown's removal, stated, that "when they had bound the prisoner Hall, they went up to him to get him to tell the truth. Prisoner replied, 'he had told the truth already."

During the sitting of the Cornwall assize court, in the month of March, Mr. Knibb, at the request of, and accompanied by Major-general the Hon. William Miller, visited the jail at Montego Bay, for the purpose of examining the prisoners confined there, as to the causes of the late rebellion. Edward Hilton, of Mountain Spring, a negro, was one of those prisoners. Major-general Miller put to him and others this question—"Did any white person ever tell you to rebel?" to which they all answered, "No." Mr. Knibb then requested Mr. Miller to put the following to three of them, of whom Hilton was one:—"Did you ever hear it from the Baptist ministers,—from Mr. Burchell, Gardner, or Knibb?" and at the same time offered to leave the room, to which Mr. Miller objected. The question was then put as Mr. Knibb desired, Mr. Miller assuring them, if they told the truth, their lives should be spared; and that their reply was, "We cannot tell a lie upon the ministers; we had rather be hanged. They (the ministers) never did say a word about it, we kept it from them, knowing that they would not approve of it."

The following confession was made by Robert Gardner (known by the appellation of Colonel Gardner), while

confined in Montego Bay jail:—"I went to chapel on Christmas-day, and heard Mr. Gardner preach. His preaching made me stagger, and think freedom not come, and I made up my mind to work, whatever others did." Unhappily for himself, he was afterwards tempted to depart from this wise resolution.

The means resorted to for the purpose of extorting false evidence were sometimes of the most flagrant kind. The following confession of Samuel Stennett, the witness against Mr. Burchell, was made before John Manderson and T. Raeburn, Esqrs. of Montego Bay:—*Jamaica*,—Personally appeared before me Samuel Stennett, of the parish of St. James, county of Cornwall, and island aforesaid, being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, That the affidavit made by him against the Baptist missionaries, T. Burchell and F. Gardner, which led to their confinement in jail, was false and unjust; that he never heard from them such facts as he (the deponent) hath sworn against them. That he was instigated to do so by Messrs. George Delisser, George McFarquhar Lawson, jun., Joseph Bowen, and W. C. Morris; the former of whom assured him that he would be well looked upon by the gentlemen of this place, that the country would give him £10 per annum, and that he (George Delisser) would make it £50. This deponent further saith, that he is induced to make this declaration to relieve his conscience, as he knew nothing against the said missionaries, and that he never joined the Baptist society as a member until after Mr. Burchell had left the country. So help me God."

Dr. George W. Towton, of Lucea in Hanover, having taken prisoner a negro man, proceeded thus to interrogate him:—"Did not Mr. Burchell tell you to rebel?" "No, Sir." "Tell me the truth; confess that he told you so, or I'll blow your brains out," clapping a pistol to the man's head. Moved by so pressing an appeal, the prisoner retracted his previous denial of Mr. Burchell's guilt, and made answer, "Hi, for true, massa, me just 'member. Night before him go away, him tell me sinting tan so;" that is, "Yes indeed, I now remember, the night before he went away, he told me something of that sort." Such was this rebel's confession, and such the circumstances under which it was elicited.

To this may be added the following most melancholy and most disgraceful transaction. George Spence, belonging to Fat Quarter, was executed at Lucea early in January, 1832, for rebellion and rebellious conspiracy. He was apprehended on a Friday evening, and the following morning put on his trial before a military tribunal. Much was elicited from the man against himself, in answer to subtle questions proposed by the president of the court, and various attempts were made to induce the man to say something that would criminate Mr. Burchell. For instance, such questions as these were proposed: "Burchell told you you were to be free at Christmas, didn't he? didn't Burchell say you must fight for free?" In answer to these and other similar questions, the man stated, that he did not know Mr. Burchell, he never saw him; he was not a Baptist, he belonged to Mr. Watson's (Presbyterian missionary) church. The manifest injustice and partiality of the proceedings on the part of the president, induced an officer present, though not one of the court, to protest against them, but in vain, as he was given to understand he had no right to interfere with the proceedings of the court. The issue of the trial was, though they failed to elicit any thing against Mr. Burchell, the man was found guilty, and sentenced to be shot immediately. Whether sentence had been formally pronounced in the hearing of the criminal or not, certain it is, that when led out to execution, he was ignorant of the fate that awaited him. When taken from the court-room, seeing the soldiers drawn up in readiness to conduct him to the closing scene, he inquired of the marshal, with evident surprise and alarm, "Where are you going to take me? what are you going to do with me?" The brutal answer he received to these interrogations was, "You will see presently what is to be done with you." Arrived at the fatal spot, and beholding the awful preparations on the part of the military, he renewed his inquiry, "What are you going to do with me?" He was only answered by the too significant action of the officer commanding the detachment, snatching from his back the

short jacket he wore, and throwing it over his head, tying the sleeves round his neck so as for ever to exclude from his sight the things of the earth. The officer, with his own hands, secured the rope by which the man was tied, and then stepped back, and gave the command to fire. In a few seconds the wretched man lay a mangled corpse on the ground. The whole process of the trial and execution did not occupy three hours.

The case of Miss Emily M'Lennan is highly instructive. She was a free colored person, who lived at a place called Putney, about twelve miles from Montego Bay. Her statement is as follows:—

"Early in January, I received a message, by my brother, that Mr. Charles O'Connor wished to speak to me. I went to Mr. Robert Watt's house, where Mr. Watt and Mr. O'Connor were together. Mr. O'Connor said, 'I hear that you have letters from Mr. Burchell to go to different properties, particularly Seven Rivers and Hazlelymph.' I asked, 'What were the letters for?—I cannot read.' Mr. Watt said, 'We have good proof that you did receive them: now you must tell the truth; if you don't, there is a boat ready to ship you off.' I answered, 'I cannot tell a lie upon myself, or Mr. Burchell; I never did receive any letters.' Mr. Watt said, 'Now, my good woman, I won't send for a constable, but I will carry you myself to the court-house, so you had better tell the truth.' He took me to the court-house, and put me into a room with about a hundred or more negroes in hand-cuffs: and he said to the guard, 'Take charge of this prisoner.' Immediately, Mr. George Delisser took down my name in his book. I remained there from two o'clock that day till next morning. Mr. Watt came: I asked him, 'What have you put me here for?' He answered, 'Oh, I have nothing to do with you.' Lieut. Colonel Morris came, and sat down by me, and asked, 'Have you not letters from Mr. Burchell?' I said, 'No.' 'Are you not a Baptist?' 'Yes.' 'You see the gallows out there. If they were to hang up Mr. Burchell and yourself, how you would holloa, they must let down Mr. Burchell, and hang yourself.' Young Dr. Gordon came, and said, 'You have letters from Mr. Burchell; I know you have them.' Many others came, and asked me the same questions, and said in my hearing, 'her trial will be very hard; it will go very hard with her,' &c. At last, Mr. Manderson came: he asked me if I was a Christian; if I had not been to Hazlelymph, to Zincke, one of the members, with a message from Mr. Burchell?' On my denying it, I was discharged by him."

Here we have the testimony of a most respectable witness, to facts which give a clear insight into the manner in which evidence was sought for, and in some instances, though not in this, obtained. Mark the language of intimidation employed;—"There is a boat ready to ship you off;"—"You see the gallows out there;"—"Her trial will be very hard; it will go very hard with her," &c., &c.: then let it be remembered, that these expressions were addressed to a friendless and unprotected female, in the midst of armed men, and who had been compelled to pass the previous night among incendiaries and rebels!

The following facts, to which some reference has been made, are striking:—The whole number of slaves rewarded by the legislature in the county of Cornwall amounted to seventy-four. The slave population of this district of the island was estimated, in 1831, at 108,424. Thus the proportion which the number of rewarded slaves bears to the population of that part of the country is nearly as one to 1465; of these rewarded slaves, twenty-five were Baptists; and the whole number of slaves of that denomination, in Cornwall did not exceed 14,000. It appears, therefore, that the assembly rewarded one slave out of every 500 Baptists, and only one out of 1927 not Baptists.

If any further defence of the missionaries were needed than the abortive character of the charges which the malignity of their enemies produced, and the mal-practices to which they resorted, to compel a fraudulent evidence, it might be found in the successful advocacy of the press in England, even of that part of it which is not, and has never been prone to favor sectarians of any class. The language of the *Times* is worthy of preservation. "It is well known," says that journal, "that the sectarian missionaries who have

gone forth from this country to preach Christianity to the West India negroes, have been for many years objects of extreme jealousy to what is termed 'the West India interest;' and that no instance of insubordination or outrage has ever occurred throughout those colonies since the abolition of the slave-trade, whence prompt occasion was not taken to charge the guilt of it upon the unfortunate missionaries. In Demarara, not many years since, a preacher was tried by court-martial for an alleged participation in, or promotion of the rebellion of the blacks; and if we remember right, the poor man's life fell a sacrifice to the severity with which he was treated in prison. In the late insurrection of Jamaica, some missionaries were subjected to trial under similar charges; but, notwithstanding the clamor raised against them, and the excitement then prevailing in the island, no misconduct was substantiated against any one of them, not one conviction could be obtained, however ardently it was wished for, and diligently sought. The bitterness, however, which has been cherished against these sectarians, has been apparently strengthened by the bad success of its undertakings; and the planters composing 'the colonial union of the north-side parishes' of Jamaica, have signalized the impotency of their preceding attempts against the missionaries, by the resolutions to which we have already alluded, and which will be found in this day's paper. It is possible, that some of the Baptist missionaries may be men indifferently educated,—some, possibly, not of the highest prudence,—and that on one or two occasions the language employed by them for religious instruction or exhortation, may, as is not unfrequent here in England (ay, and in the established church, moreover), have been ignorantly perverted by their half-taught hearers, to temporal and mischievous meanings. But that does not make men incendiaries or rebels. Rebels and incendiaries may be punished by law. Why have not the missionaries been so punished? It is plain, that if they could have been fairly exposed to any legal penalty, the planters would never, in their desperation, have adopted, as one of their resolutions, a pledge 'to expel the sectarians, and other incendiaries, from the island.' Why the men are raving mad! What power in the United Kingdom, or in any colony under the crown of Britain, can lawfully expel the meanest human being from its territory, when he has committed no crime acknowledged by the law of England? But what despot, known to Europe or Asia, has, in modern times, so sinned against the human race, as to banish a man because of the peculiar sect of Christianity of which he was a member? The grand Turk,—nay, old Ali Pacha himself, the monster of Joannina,—would have spat upon the janissary who proposed it. Expel all sectarians from Jamaica? Try it, gentlemen; but prepare for a trial of strength, the next moment, with the people and reformed parliament of England, and see who will first be 'expelled,' the missionaries or their hateful persecutors.

"The truth must be told. These planters will not suffer their slaves to emerge, by the avenue of knowledge of any description, from the level of the beast, to which a long course of degrading treatment has reduced them. If men be once educated, or even shown the road to education, however imperfect, they will no longer endure the condition of quadrupeds. The Jamaica planters are well aware of this. Their resolutions are worthy of their system; but the attorney-general has commenced the lesson of *law*, which remains to be completed by the government and parliament of Great Britain."

We cannot help subjoining the very sensible and vindicatory remarks of Viscount Goderich, in a despatch to the Earl of Belmore, dated the 1st of March, 1832:—"The documents which your lordship has transmitted, ascribe the recent commotions, not merely to the erroneous belief amongst the slaves that some law had set them free, but to the influence of religious instruction, communicated by ignorant teachers, and received by a population unprepared by any previous education, to apprehend the real spirit of Christianity. Mr. Annand, the overseer, who was confined on the estate called Ginger Hill, attributes to the slaves the following language:—'that they were obliged to assist their brethren in the work of the Lord;' 'that this was not the work

of man alone, but that they had assistance from God.' A slave named Samuel Sharp, who is designated as a 'ruler of the sect of the Baptists,' is described by the same witness as having said, 'that it was but lately that he had begun to know much of religion, but that now he knew, and I knew as well, that freedom was their right, and freedom they would have. He said a great deal more, all tending to show that from the religious notions he had imbibed, he conceived that the slaves had a right to be free.'*

"Assuming that Mr. Annand correctly understood, and has correctly quoted, the language of the insurgent slaves, and that they spoke the common sentiments of the whole religious society of which they were members, this part of the general subject becomes of the highest importance. Amongst those who acknowledge the divine authority of our national faith, there is no room for controversy respecting the duty of imparting the knowledge of Christianity to all mankind, and especially to our own more immediate dependents. However the modes or seasons of instruction may be regulated according to the various circumstances of different classes of society, nothing can justify the systematically withholding from any men, or class of men, a revelation given for the common benefit of all. I could not, therefore, acknowledge that the slaves in Jamaica could be permitted to live and die amidst the darkness of heathen idolatry, whatever effect the advancing light of Christianity might ultimately have upon the relation of master and slave. Nor am I anxious to conceal my opinion, that a change in this relation is the natural tendency, and must be the ultimate result, of the diffusion of religious knowledge amongst them. For, although the great moral virtues of contentment and universal benevolence may be expected to appear amongst a Christian slave population, as the legitimate fruit of Christian principles, yet all probability justifies the belief, and all experience attests the fact, that the increased range of thought, the new habits of reflection, and the more lively perception of the duties owing by their fellow-Christians to themselves, to which the converted slaves will attain, will gradually produce in their minds new feelings respecting their servile condition. It is also well worth while to reflect upon the inevitable tendencies of the laws for the abolition of the slave trade. So long as the islands were peopled by the importation of native Africans, who lived and died in heathenism, the relation of master and slave might be expected to be permanent. But now that an indigenous race of men has grown up, speaking our own language, and instructed in our own religion, all the more harsh rights of the owner, and the blind submission of the slave, will inevitably, at some period more or less remote, come to an end. Deeply impressed with this conviction, his majesty's government have endeavored to make timely preparation for a change which they believe could not be made abruptly, without desolation and general ruin; and the calamity which we have at present to deplore, is but an additional proof of the necessity of acting on so delicate a subject with this provident foresight, and of repressing those unhappy heats and prejudices which have so long obstructed the advance of the indispensable improvement both of the law and state of slavery.

"I am not disposed to deny that the work of religious instruction may, in some instances, have been undertaken by men ill qualified for so arduous a task; and I am even ready, for the sake of argument, to adopt the improbable supposition, that the pure truths of Christianity may occasionally have been adulterated by instructions of a seditious nature. Assume all this to be the case, and what is the proper inference? Not assuredly that the slaves be left to their native superstitions and idolatry, but that renewed exertions should be unremittingly made to diffuse amongst them more just apprehensions of religion, and clearer views of those moral obligations, to the enforcement of which all Christian instruction should be subservient.

"It is not, however, merely to a misconception of religious truth, but to the direct instigation of some of the missionaries, that the recent insurrection is ascribed, in some of the documents

*Samuel Sharp was executed at Montego Bay, on the 30th of May, attesting, with his last breath, the innocence of the missionaries; and declaring, that if he had listened to their instructions, he never should have come to that awful end.

which your lordship has transmitted. I have observed, with great satisfaction, the efforts which you so judiciously made, to guard the persons to whom it would belong to sit in judgment on the missionaries, against the influence of religious prejudices; and I trust that the caution which you have given, will effectually prevent the manifestation of any intemperate or hostile spirit towards them, in any subsequent stage of the proceedings. I must distinctly avow my conviction, that the improbability of the charge is so extreme, that nothing short of the most irresistible evidence could induce a belief of it. The missionaries who engage in the office of converting the slaves in our colonies, cannot, with charity or in justice, be supposed to be actuated by any views of secular ambition or personal advantage. They devote themselves to an obscure, and arduous, and ill requited service. They are well apprized that distrust and jealousy will attend them, and that the path they have chosen leads neither to wealth nor reputation. If in their case, as in that of other men, motives less exclusively sacred than those which are avowed may exercise some influence on their minds, it were irrational either to feel surprise or to cherish suspicion on that account. The great ruling motive must in general be that which is professed, since, in general, there is no other advantage to be obtained, than the consciousness of having contributed to the diffusion of Christianity throughout the world."*

What, then, it will be naturally inquired, were the real causes of the Jamaica insurrection? Whatever they might have been, it is plain that religion and missionaries were free from all just imputation.† It was no part of their scheme to promote revolt: their entire purpose was to diffuse the knowledge of Christ and salvation. It does not appear that they ever deviated from their avowed object, or violated their compact, in this respect, with the Society by whom they were sent forth as agents. The insurrectionary movement was as great a surprise to them, as to any part of the community, and they were the first to aim at its suppression. An idea arose among the negroes, that they had a right to freedom, and that it had been conceded by the British government. This was abundantly elicited by the examination of the prisoners in the jail of Trelawney, undertaken by Mr. Knibb after his honorable acquittal, at the request of the chief justice and Mr. Miller, the custos. The two principal prisoners, called Colonel Gardner and Captain Dove, were promised their lives if they made a full confession. Both these men stated, that they first heard about freedom from the negroes in the neighborhood of Belvidere and Retrieve; and Gardner said he used his efforts to induce the people to disbelieve it. On Christmas day, they met Guthrie, Sharp, George Taylor, and others in the street as they left the chapel, who were talking on the subject. Taylor was advising Sharp not to refuse to work after Christmas, as it would bring disgrace upon the gospel; to which he replied, "What then is to become of the oath we have taken in the country?" He added, "I know we are *free;* I have read it in the English papers. I have taken an oath not to work after Christmas, without some satisfaction, and I *will not.*" This statement was confirmed by John Sharp, the individual who planned the whole. He confessed that several weeks before Christmas, they met at a house at Retrieve, where the insurrection was determined; and he put every one to the oath not to work after Christmas. A Bible was brought, and placed on the table, when he rose, and said, "If ever I witness any thing against my brother and sister concerning this matter, may hell be my portion!" They met again a fortnight before Christmas, and resolved and swore, "that as we know we are free, we will not work for buckra, unless he pay us for it." These people, and some others, afterwards held a meeting at Cunningham Hill, where very violent language was used. Afterwards, under Campbell, from Retrieve, as a ringleader, the work began; he having inspired them with the idea of *fighting for their freedom.*

But the question suggests itself,

*Parliamentary Papers.

† I deeply regret that the feelings of the country should have so strongly marked yourself, and the other Baptist missionaries, as objects of persecution. My opinion, an opinion resulting from my own frequent and confidential intercourse, not only with my own negroes, but with the negroes of various other estates, is, that religion had nothing to do with the late disturbances; but on the contrary, its absence was a chief cause of them."—*Letter from Samuel M. Barrett to Mr. Knibb.*

whence did the negroes derive the idea of *free paper*, or a notion that they were to be made free by an authoritative document from the British government? Their own account was, that the reports sprung out of the unguarded expressions of the overseers, and the newspapers. This will lead us pretty nearly or quite to the fountain head; and show, that so far from being the missionaries, it was, in fact, *the maligners of the missionaries themselves* who originated the rebellion, by the political meetings they held in August and September, 1831, and the wide-spreading dissatisfaction with the parent goverment, which they publicly and boldly proclaimed. In conformity with this sentiment, is the following language, used by the writers of the vindication before mentioned, in the *Christian Record*:—"We assert our deliberate conviction, formed upon no trifling grounds, and supported by no inconclusive evidence, that the slave-owners and managers,—those implacable foes of religion and religious men (we speak of the immense majority,)—have themselves been the authors of the late disastrous rebellion. Their foolhardy opposition of every measure proposed for the amelioration of the slave; their deadly hatred and unrelenting persecution of all who have attempted, or even advocated his advancement in the scale of moral being; their absurd and wicked declarations of a determination 'to resist, even unto blood,' certain opponents of what they term their indefeasible rights, among whom are invariably reckoned his majesty's ministers; and their continual taunting of the slaves with the countenance and support of 'their friends in England, and the near approach of freedom,'—thus not only cherishing the most erroneous notions in the minds of their ignorant dependents, but even goading them on to madness, by adding insult to injury;—these things we say, when duly considered, cannot fail to convince every reflecting mind, that to discover the causes of the late unhappy insurrection, we need not travel beyond the doors of the planters themselves."

These facts were distinctly mentioned in a despatch of Lord Goderich. After adverting to the obstinacy of the planters respecting the improvements proposed by government on the colonial slave code, he thus writes,—"In your (Lord Belmore's) despatch of the 6th of September last, which reached this office on the 17th of October, you transmitted to me copies of resolutions adopted at various parochial meetings, which you characterized as 'violent and intemperate,' observing that committees had been appointed in some parishes, for the purpose of corresponding with other districts, and had proceeded so far as to nominate delegates. These resolutions were published in all the journals of the island; and it appears that on most of these occasions, the custos of the parish presided. I will not engage in the invidious office of making extracts from the resolutions thus given to the public; nor do I, without sincere reluctance, observe, that in general they declare their allegiance to be no longer due to the government; pray that they may be permitted to seek protection from some other nation; predict a servile war, which they declare will be viewed with pleasure by their enemies; attribute to the government and parliament of this kingdom designs subversive of their property in the slaves, the execution of which, they maintain, must be resisted by force; and declare the inexpediency of proceeding in any further plans of amelioration, until their title to compensation is distinctly set at rest."

It is needless to pursue the subject further. No reasonable person can help perceiving that the missionaries stand completely free from all just imputation; and that they acted a part in the crisis as honorable to themselves, as it was to their enemies vexatiously wise. And wonderful were the workings of that providence which signally defeated the wiles and machinations of prostituted authority, the waves of whose mightiest malice were restrained and counteracted by Him who prescribes the ocean bounds, saying to its billows, "Hitherto shalt thou go, and no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

The whole truth of the matter, then, may be expressed in a single sentence. The West India resident planters, and their white companions in impiety, being at the time, from dissatisfaction with government, nearly in a state of rebellion by their private discontents at first, and then by their public proceedings, sug-

gested to the slaves the idea of their freedom; and when this was improved by them into a rebellion, which at once endangered the real traitors, and afforded them an opportunity to wreak an infidel vengeance on men whose religion and virtues were abhorrent to them, they sought to justify or to conceal their own political and moral delinquencies, —their sensuality, brutishness, atheism, and treason, in the innocent blood of devoted missionaries.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE INSURRECTION, UNTIL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM.

Deeply feeling their situation, and persuaded that mere epistolary correspondence was inadequate to afford sufficient information, or produce sufficient effect upon the minds of their friends at home respecting the evils of slavery, the general state of Jamaica, and the character of the persecution that raged against the servants of Christ,—the missionaries agreed that Mr. Knibb should proceed to England, to unite with Mr. Burchell in laying a just representation of the circumstances of the mission before the British public. The following resolution was therefore passed:—

"Considering the present distressed state of our mission, the impossibility of occupying several of our stations, the consequent redundancy of missionaries, the manifest improbability of obtaining redress here, we deem it expedient, for the just representation of our wrongs, and the advancement of the Society's funds, that one of our brethren be appointed as a deputation to proceed forthwith to England, to act under the direction of the committee; and that brother Knibb, on account of his intimate acquaintance with the mission in the disturbed part of the island, and his knowledge of circumstances immediately connected with the rebellion, be appointed for that purpose." Mr. Knibb and his family accordingly sailed from Kingston, on Thursday, April 26th, 1832, and arrived safely in the mother country in the beginning of June.

In the mean time, Christians at home were full of sympathy and fervent in their supplications to heaven. The committee circulated a brief abstract of the intelligence they had received, and recommended that the Baptist churches throughout the kingdom should assemble on Friday the 20th of April, "for the purpose of importunate and united prayer on behalf of the missionaries, and to give expression to that Christian sympathy with them in their persecutions, which at such a time they so especially need." This day was extensively and solemnly regarded throughout the denomination. An extraordinary public meeting was also held in May, for the purpose of communicating general information, and stimulating the friends of missions into general activity. Resolutions were passed expressive of gratitude to God for the preservation of the lives of the missionaries, asserting the improvement in the intellectual and moral character of the negroes that had been accomplished, denouncing the groundless and inveterate hostility which had been displayed, and appealing, with suitable acknowledgements for the past, to his majesty's government for prompt and effectual protection for the future.

At the annual meeting on the 21st of June, Mr. Knibb presented himself on the platform at Spa Fields Chapel. It was a period of unusual interest and excitement; it may be added, too, of *progress* in public opinion and feeling. Hitherto the committee and the denomination at large, though sympathizing individually with the movements of the Anti-slavery Society towards the great object of emancipation, had not deemed it desirable or proper to encourage any such direct efforts as a society. They had instructed their missionaries to avoid all questions which might appear to be of a political nature; to submit to the condition of society in Jamaica as they found it, interfering with none of the outward regulations of the colonial

assembly or the parental government; but, as missionaries, to go steadily forward in the course allotted to them of preaching and teaching the gospel of Christ. This they had done, as we have seen, with signal success,—a success too notorious to be endured by the enemies of Christianity, and too plainly bearing on the ultimate freedom of mankind, whether white or black, to be regarded with tolerance by the mercenary who would not abandon their gains, and the vicious who would not renounce their pleasures. The insurrection had now placed things in a different position; and in its advance had fairly brought slavery and Christianity into direct conflict, each in its own way beginning to contend for empire.

At this crisis, Knibb appeared in England to plead for Jamaica. Having given some details on a previous and more private occasion, he began his address at Spa Fields Chapel by saying that he should offer no apology before a British audience for what he might state, but he must fully and boldly declare that "the Society's missionary stations could no longer exist in Jamaica without the entire and immediate abolition of slavery." He had received a previous intimation, particularly from the secretary, Mr. Dyer, to be moderate, but he declared that he could not restrain himself from speaking the truth. "The Christians," said he, "had always been quiet, and never had he there expressed an opinion on slavery; nor would he now have spoken, but that their persecutors had taken from them their religious privileges. But amidst all, the piety and affection of the Christian slaves had supported the missionaries, and they anticipated spending an eternity with them, where none could offer molestation. He had for nearly eight years trod the burning soil of that island, and often had that meeting been gratified with the tidings of success; but all now had passed away, and they had hung their harps on the willows. Axes and hammers had demolished their chapels; a Church Colonial Society had been formed; the ministers were threatened with destruction; and infidels, clergymen, and magistrates, had been combined to banish Christianity from the island. He could assure the meeting that slaves would never be allowed to worship God till slavery had been abolished." At this instant, the secretary, apprehensive of his committing the interests of the Society by passing beyond the boundaries of the subject, considered merely in its religious aspects, pulled the speaker by the coat. It was a solemn moment, and the man was made for it. He paused,—gave a lightning glance at the awful atrocities of the past, the glorious possibilities of the future, and the grandeur of his own position, as encompassed with terrible responsibilities, standing on the brink of immortal fame or disgrace,—then concentrating all the energies of thought, feeling, and voice, he exclaimed, "Whatever may be the consequence, I *will* speak. At the risk of my connection with the Society and all I hold dear, I will avow this; and if the friends of missions will not hear me, I will turn and tell it to my God; nor will I desist till this greatest of curses, slavery, is removed, and "glory to God in the highest" inscribed upon the British flag!"

The meeting was decisive; an excitement was created, such as nothing could suppress, and a series of assemblies convened in different places in the empire, at which Mr. Knibb repeated his statements and appeals with such verbal variations as the circumstances of the case, or the inspiration of the moment, might suggest. The whole denomination was electrified; the Christian church, and the general Societies already active and assimilated in purpose, concurred in one fixed determination; public opinion rolled onward like a resistless tide; and the fate of slavery was sealed.

In the month of May, 1833, Mr. Stanley, then secretary of state for the colonies, introduced to the House of Commons the government plan of emancipation, entitled "An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies, for promoting the industry of the manumitted slaves, and for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves."* This act passed

* The following is an abstract of its provisions:—

All slaves in the British colonies who should be six years old and upward on the 1st of August, 1834, should become apprenticed laborers. (s. 1.)

The person who but for that act would be the owner of the slave, entitled during the apprenticeship to the services of the apprenticed laborer, (s. 2.)

Apprenticed laborers to be divided into three classes:—1. prædial apprenticed laborers attached to the soil, who as slaves were usually employed in agricultural labor on

on the 28th of August, 1833, and came into operation on the 1st of August, 1834.

The Earl of Mulgrave having obtained permission to return from his command in Jamaica, the Marquis of Sligo was appointed as his successor. Previously to his departure to occupy this important station, he granted an interview to a joint deputation from the Wesleyan Methodist, and Baptist Missionary Societies; and having listened with marked attention to their statements, expressed himself in a manner highly gratifying to them, respecting the importance of religious liberty, and his determination to uphold it. This pledge was fully redeemed: too much so, for the anti-missionary faction abroad, and the trimming politicians at home.

As the first of August approached, England and Jamaica rose into a state of powerful excitement; both beheld the dawn, if not the perfect day of freedom, —that, indeed, was somewhat deferred, yet was this auspicious time the beginning of joys. In England, the appeals of Knibb and Burchell for pecuniary aid on behalf of the Society, were nobly met. Government was solicited not in vain; and the Baptist denomination, urged by the committee, and thus aided by the agents of the Society, exerted its energies to supply the necessities of Jamaica. At the annual meeting in June, Mr. Burchell gave some interesting statements, and concluded by an awakening address.—"There were now," he said, "twenty-four churches in Jamaica; and the conduct of the negroes belonging to them, during the late disturbances, gave a testimony to the purity of their faith; for he never heard one of them, throughout the whole, use a harsh expression respecting their persecutors. Whenever they spoke of them, they did so in terms of compassion and pity, and they prayed heartily for the forgiveness of those who were hunting them to death. Their sympathy for their ministers was so intense, that they quite forgot themselves. During his incarceration, he was allowed to walk for an hour each day in the prison-yard for air, under the restriction that he should not speak to any of the imprisoned negroes.

A man, seventy years of age, one of eleven that formed the first church at Montego Bay in the year 1824, called to him from the grating of his cell; but remembering the restriction, he took no notice; and this was continued for three days. On the fourth day, he determined, at all risks, to speak to this old disciple, and proceeded to the cell, but he was not there. He called him: he heard the clanking of his chains, and in an instant he came to the grating, and with tears in his eyes, said, 'Minister, what make me feel is to see minister in trouble; me can bear it myself; me willing to suffer what God see fit; but when me see my minister, him leave father and mother and country to come to teach me, it be more than me can bear. Never mind, massa, bear up, keep good heart, you know we Saviour suffer more than we suffer.' He little expected such an interview, but on the contrary, that the poor man would apply to him for a

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the land of their owners; 2. prædial apprenticed laborers not attached to the soil, who as slaves were usually employed in agricultural labor on lands not belonging to their owners; 3, non-prædial apprenticed laborers: those under twelve years of age to be included in the 3d class. (s. 4.)

Apprenticeship of prædial laborers to continue till the 1st of August, 1840; of non-prædial till the 1st of August, 1838. (s 5. 6.)

Apprenticed laborers might be discharged by their employers before the expiraton of their apprenticeship; but in case any apprenticed laborer so manumitted should be fifty years of age or upward, or incapable from disease of gaining a subsistence, the person so discharging them should continue liable to support them. (s. 7.)

Apprenticed laborer entitled to purchase his discharge against the consent of his employer, at the appraised value of his services. (s. 8.)

Apprenticed laborer not removable from his own colony; and the husband not to be separated from the wife, nor the parent from the child, by any contract, sale, &c.; and prædial apprenticed laborers of the 1st class not to be removed from the plantation to which they were attached without the consent of two special magistrates. (s. 9. 10.)

Employer bound to maintain, and provide apprenticed laborer with necessaries; and where that should be done by the use of ground for the cultivation of necessaries, time to be allowed them for such cultivation. (s. 11.)

Subject to the provisions of that act, all slaves in the British colonies to be emancipated on the 1st of August, 1834. (s. 12.)

Children under six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834, or who should be born to any female apprenticed laborer after that time, who should become destitute, to be bound apprentice by a special magistrate till he shall be twenty-one years of age. (s. 13.)

Special paid magistrates to be appointed by the crown to carry the act into effect. (s. 14, 15.)

Colonial legislatures empowered to make further regulations for carrying the purposes of the act into effect, so as the same be not inconsistent with the provisions of the act, and as that none but special magistrates be authorized to act in respect of such regulations.

Apprenticed laborers not to be compelled to labor on Sundays except in works of necessity, nor be hindered from attending anywhere on Sundays for religious worship. (s. 21.)

Provisions for the raising and distribution of the £20,000,000 compensation fund.

Certain acts repealed; and quakers and other dissenters placed on the same footing, as to the exercise of religious worship, in the colonies as in England. (s. 61.)

The act not to extend to the East Indies, Ceylon, or St. Helena. (s. 64.)

This act to come into operation and cease to operate, four months later at the Cape of Good Hope, and six months later at the Mauritius, respectively, than the periods provided by this act in respect of the other colonies. (s. 65.)

word of consolation. On his liberation, the negroes crowded around him, and his feelings were overpowered with their sympathy. They said, in reference to their persecutors, 'We know they wicked, but we must pray for them.' * * * Where were the sanctuaries of the living God? They had been burnt with fire, and levelled to the ground; and their ashes were now trodden under foot by the adversary. Thirteen of them were in ruins, and nearly twenty thousand negroes were deprived of a place in which to meet and worship God. Should this desolation be allowed to continue? * * * He appealed to them on behalf of thirteen scattered churches, comprising five thousand members and ten thousand inquirers, and in behalf of thousands of perishing negroes. The first of August was approaching. Let not, then, the shouts of the liberated negroes be mingled with the lamentations of twenty thousand of their number over the ruins of their chapels. Let not the joyful train of the conqueror be brought up by thousands in the rear refusing to be comforted for Zion lying waste. Let the approaching day of jubilee be one of holy festivity and unruffled joy; not a tear be shed, not a sigh be heard; and let the chain, the whip, and the whole paraphernalia of bondage be burnt with fire, while angels renew the song, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will to men.'" Mr Knibb moved a resolution to the following effect:—

"That government having consented to recommend to parliament to grant a sum of £5510, to meet existing liabilities on chapels and other property belonging to this Society destroyed in Jamaica, and confident hope being entertained, that if this Society will raise £6195, being one half of the remaining amount of damages incurred in consequence of the outrages in that island, his majesty's ministers will also recommend to parliament to grant an equal sum,—this meeting deems it most important to make an immediate appeal to the friends of religion to realize the desired amount, and thereby reinstate the negro population in the possession of religious privileges which they so justly prize, and also lay the foundation for more vigorous and extensive operations." He mentioned the cheering fact, that the Bible Society had determined on presenting every negro with a New Testament and a copy of the Psalms on the day of jubilee, and depicted the anticipated delight of that day, when each negro mother would call her child her own. "In the district which he occupied sixty prayer-houses were demolished, and in Mr Burchell's no less than a hundred. These places were built by the voluntary efforts of the poorest classes of Christians; but they were now without the means of rebuilding them, and must be assisted. The governor of Jamaica had gone round himself, not entrusting the business to other hands, and explained to the assembled negroes the nature of the bill; and on the very spot where a hundred and fifty negroes suffered on one gallows, he had proclaimed, 'On the first of August, you, your wives, and children, will all be free!'"

The public meeting realized, by extra donations, more than *two thousand seven hundred pounds*, and jubilee cards were prepared for general circulation, to be returned on the 7th of August, to a meeting convened at the City of London Tavern, for the purpose of their reception. That was a day of great and hallowed excitement, when Knibb and Burchell again took a prominent part in the proceedings. It appeared that the amount of collections and subscriptions, raised in seven weeks since the committee informed the public that £6000 were required for the rebuilding of the chapels in Jamaica, exceeded *ten thousand pounds*. Before the end of the month, however, contributions continuing to pour in from every quarter, the sum subscribed was nearly *thirteen thousand pounds*. This was the more remarkable, as the committee had at first felt considerable hesitation about making the appeal at all, because extra subscriptions of more than £2000 had just been presented to defray the expense of missionaries returning to their stations and sending others; and the Society was, at the time, encumbered with a debt of nearly £3000. This was surely "the Lord's doing," and it was truly "marvellous in the eyes" of every friend of the mission; one of those great occasions which it was a privilege to have lived to witness. Vain were the attempt to describe, in adequate terms,

the emotions of that evening,—the smiling countenances, the mutual welcomings, the devout aspirations, the kindling raptures, of the busy throng, as they rushed forward with emulative eagerness to pour their collections into the treasury of the Lord, acknowledging, with tears of joy, they found it "more blessed to give than to receive."

In the meanwhile, affairs proceeded in Jamaica much after the old fashion; the hostility of the colonists seemed to suffer no abatement; and in addition to others who, on various pretexts, were forbidden the exercise of their ministry, Mr. Baylis of Port Maria was silenced. It was nothing to the purpose that the place of assembly at Oracabessa was licensed, and that he was in possession of an island license himself; the warrant under which he was arrested charged him with preaching and teaching in an unlicensed house. Mr. Dendy removed from Spanish Town to Port Royal at the commencement of the year, where he lost his only child at the age of six months; and subsequently to Anotta Bay, where he had scarcely entered upon his labors before he was arrested and conveyed to prison, on the same ground of preaching without a license. The local authorities even avowed their determination not to acknowledge any English statute securing toleration to protestant dissenters. Messrs. Nichols and Abbott having resolved to be present at the quarter sessions, and to regulate their conduct by the decision of the court in the case of the Wesleyan missionary, Mr. Murray, who they knew would apply and offer to qualify, proceeded to Kingston. Murray did apply, and was peremptorily refused. One of the magistrates declared that they were determined not to allow any sectarian minister to preach; that there was no law granting it to them as a right; and that he, for one, did not and would not *allow any English law* to be in force in that island. On the 22d of February, Nichols and Abbott wrote from the jail of Montego Bay, saying, "You will regret to perceive that we are deprived of our liberty for the present, but will rejoice that it is for no worse crime than that of publishing the gospel of peace." They were committed on the 18th, with their friend Mr. Lewin, for meetings held at his house; but came out on the 25th, upon giving security, each for himself, in the sum of £100, to appear and answer at the quarter sessions in the ensuing April.

Previously to the regular dissolution of the House of Assembly by the governor, a committee was appointed to examine whether any amelioration had taken place in the condition of the slaves since 1823, and whether any impediments had been put in the way of their religious instruction. The object of this farcical show of legislative inquiry, was simply, as it seemed, to afford an opportunity of pouring contempt upon the missionaries, by subjecting them to examinations of the most arbitrary and irrelevant description. It was inexpressibly satisfactory to them, however, that in the midst of these proceedings religion triumphed; and many presented themselves for Christian communion, undismayed by the perils to which they were exposed by their profession. The state of the church under Mr. Tinson's care afforded him much encouragement. He had resumed his occasional services at the station of Yallahs, where the congregation consisted almost entirely of slaves; and though threats had been employed, he persevered in his labors. The school connected with the church and congregation in East Queen Street (Kingston) was in a state highly creditable to the master, and confounding to the pertinacious assertors of negro stupidity.

Mr. Gardner reported that notwithstanding the detrimental effect of persecution in producing coldness in some, the "constancy of others was beyond all description."

Mr. Whitehorne, writing from Mount Charles, represented that there were gratifying indications of a growing attachment to the gospel. "I am glad to say that the number of attendants has so much increased, as to oblige me to give up exactly one half the accommodations hitherto reserved for the minister. I have not done this hastily, for almost every Sabbath for the last six months, the chapel has been completely filled, and very frequently there have been nearly as many outside as within. The number of members and inquirers in my book at present is nearly six hundred. I am sure that five hundred

of them attend several times each month. I have accurate means of ascertaining the attendants by name once a-month. The tickets used at the ordinance have the names of members written on them, and I always make a note on them whether the parties have attended or not, which serves to mark the general regularity of attendance or otherwise. And on another day, I meet the whole of the inquirers, about a hundred and fifty in number, whose names I call over, and bestow an hour or two in talking to them in various ways, and informing myself of their lives and proceedings."

In Spanish Town, although it was the seat of government, as well as at the subordinate stations of Vere and Old Harbor, Mr. Taylor was exceedingly molested in the performance of his duties: but after the issuing of the royal proclamation, these annoyances had abated. The proclamation in question was directed against the "colonial unions;" and this was accompanied by a circular letter from the governor, dated January 25th, 1833, requiring the prompt obedience and co-operation of the magistrates in enforcing it. But the daring contumacy of the planters was not to be so easily suppressed. A spirit of determined adherence to the resolutions of the Union displayed itself in several parts of the island, especially in the parish of St. Ann's, where the persecuting scheme originated. In various places, the king's proclamation and the governor's circular were torn down, and placards substituted, such as the following:—"Down with Mulgrave—no sectarians—independence of Jamaica—no whigs—success to the colonial unions!" The daily papers were full of the abuse of the king and his representative. The governor was called "the Baptist loving earl, the heartless whig, the namby-pamby novel-writer," &c. &c.; and was treated with as little ceremony as the missionary, short of personal violence. These demonstrations of hostility were met by Earl Mulgrave in a spirit of calm and dignified firmness, becoming his character and office; but it became more and more obvious that the entire framework of society there required to be remodelled.

At the meeting of the House of Assembly in December, 1833, the governor delivered a speech which was characterized by the happiest union of dignity, firmness, and mildness: and it was answered in a conciliatory tone. A considerable change had now occurred in general feeling with regard to missionaries; and many striking instances of mortality among those who had signalized themselves by the violence of their hostility, had excited public attention. A beneficed clergyman who was the foremost to destroy one of the chapels in the parish of Hanover, and to rouse his neighbors to second him in the sacrilegious deed, soon after fought a duel with one of his most zealous coadjutors on that occasion, and received wounds of which he died in a few weeks. A planter near Montego Bay, who in the time of the insurrection carried off the sacramental wine belonging to the churches in that district, triumphantly regaling himself and his boon companions with the same, and loudly declaring that if he could find Mr. Burchell he would shoot him with his own hands, be the consequences what they might, was himself shot unintentionally by an overseer, and expired in three days.

It was stated in a letter from Mr. Abbott, not only that the worship of God was peaceably conducted at Montego Bay, Falmouth, and Lucea, but that, on the last Sabbath day in September, he had among his audience at the first named of these towns, upwards of twenty persons who had been actively engaged in destroying the former chapel. These individuals behaved with great decorum, and contributed liberally at the close of the service.

At Kingston, the congregations were large. The school proceeded well under the care of Mr. Samuel Whitehorne; but had been visited by a calamity of an unusual character. On the morning of October the 11th, the roof of the school-house was struck by lightning, which set the wood work of the roof on fire, and descending a pillar into the school-room, instantaneously killed two little boys who were sitting near it, and considerably injured several others of the children. Damage to the amount of about £120 was done before the flames could be extinguished, and the public manifested their interest in the institution by contributing for the necessary repairs. The Earl and Countess

of Mulgrave were among the foremost to countenance the subscription, as well as to show humane and liberal attention to the poor children who were injured by the shock.

Early in the year, Messrs. Coultart and Phillippo, with their families, returned; and Messrs. Benjamin Dexter, who was designated at Olney, January the 21st, 1834, and John Hutchins, appointed at Bedford on the 6th of February, went from England to strengthen the mission. Most of the stations were in a state of prosperity.

Mr. Kingdon reported a steady increase of hearers at Manchioneal and Morant Bay. At the latter station, a piece of ground had been offered him for the erection of a chapel.

In consequence of the return of Mr. Phillippo to Spanish Town, Mr. Clarke had removed into the interior, and taken up his residence at Kenmuir, in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, where it is much cooler than on the coast. To his former station at Constant Spring, where he preached in a low thatched hut with mud walls, to a congregation of four or five hundred persons, though not half that number could find room within the walls, he added another station in the same parish, in what is called the Bove Rocks district, together with Garden Hill and Retirement, in the adjoining parish of St John's; and more recently, Fairfield, in St. Ann's. At all these places, the spirit of hearing was good, and considerable facilities were afforded by several influential persons among the white proprietors.

Seventy-three persons were baptized by Mr. Baylis at Oracabessa, on the 25th of May, and many more wished for admission, whom he judged it proper to keep back for the present. He had commenced a new station at Bagnal's Vale, twelve miles from Oracabessa.

St. Ann's Bay, and its subordinate stations, Ocho Rios and Brown's Town, were supplied by Mr. Coultart, who was much pleased with the happy results of the labors of his predecessor, Mr. Nichols. At the earnest desire of several negroes who came from thence, Mr. Coultart had visited and preached at Pedro Plains, twenty-five miles from St. Ann's. These poor people had never seen a white minister before, and such was their anxiety to hear the gospel, that not fewer than a hundred and fifty of them went over to St. Ann's to entreat to be visited.

From Falmouth, Mr. Dendy stated, that in that town, and also at Rio Bueno and Stewart's Town, the houses in which they assembled for worship were inconveniently crowded; so that they were painfully anxious to have their ruined chapels rebuilt. Opportunities for preaching in the week evenings, in the country places, were multiplying.

Mr. Dexter remarked, in writing from Montego Bay, under date of June the 24th, that the hostile feelings formerly indulged, appeared to be fast dying away. The congregations were very large, so as to render it quite impossible to afford them adequate accommodation. Eighteen persons were baptized by Mr. Abbott in the river, on Lord's day, June the 22d, being the first time of administering the ordinance there since the insurrection, and the whole service passed off without the slightest disturbance. By a judicious distribution of labor between Mr. Abbott and Messrs. Dexter and Hutchins, the stations at Lucea, Green Island, Gurney's Mount, Salter's Hill, and Savanna-la-Mar, had been re-occupied. At these and the other stations, the missionaries had publicly explained to their congregations the nature of the change about to take place in their civil condition, and to prepare them for it.

When the first of August, 1834, arrived, it was celebrated in the Jamaica churches in a pious and suitable manner. At Falmouth, Mr. Dendy states that they held a prayer meeting at six in the morning. At half past ten, a sermon was preached, when not fewer than sixteen hundred people were present. Previous notice had been given that a collection would be made, as a thank-offering to God for the change effected, and the proceeds applied towards the re-erection of the chapel. The people, though poor, contributed £82 currency. There was no noisy ebullition of feeling during the day; but every countenance beamed with gladness, and every heart beat with joy and gratitude. On the following Sabbath, Jamaica witnessed such a Sabbath as was never before seen. "The eye was no longer pained, or the heart grieved," says Mr. Dendy,

"by seeing the country people with baskets of provisions on their heads for sale, or in beholding the stores and shops for the vending of different commodities; but all was quietness and repose, while decently dressed people passed to and from different places of worship."

Mr. Abbott gives an account of the same kind from Montego Bay. A preparatory prayer-meeting was held on the 31st of July, which was well attended; and on the following day, the chapel, yard, and streets about the chapel, were crowded to excess. On the next day, in the evening, the chapel was full, and many in the yard at a prayer-meeting; and on the third, the congregation was even more numerous than on the preceding Friday, amounting, on the most moderate computation, to three thousand persons. After the morning service, thirty-five were introduced to the church, which assembled at the table of the Lord, to the number of twelve hundred members.

Similar services were held at Lucea, where Mr. Dexter officiated, at Savanna-la-Mar, the sphere of Mr. Hutchinson's labors, and other places.

Mr. Tinson, in writing from Kingston, adverts to several gratifying facts. "By four o'clock in the morning, the chapels in town were thronged; we had services during the day in every place except the church and the kirk; in some parts of the country the national and Scotch churches were also opened. In the evening, we held our monthly missionary prayer meeting at East Queen Street chapel, and Mr. Thompson, agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, gave an address to a very large and attentive audience. The quietness of the day was surprising; I went into town between services, and every thing seemed more still than is usual on the Sabbath, and the people seemed disposed to make it quite a religious day. In the evening, there were a few joyous groups about the streets; one passed our house, chiefly young persons and children, adorned with green leaves and flowers, and carrying branches in their hands, dancing, and singing, 'Tankee, Massa, fus a' Augus! Hurra! hurra! fus a' Augus come! fus a' Augus for eber! We da 'prentice now, God bless de king! Hurrah! hurra! fus a' Augus for eber!' It was truly surprising, and very delightful to the Christian, to see how completely the Sunday markets ceased on the very first Sabbath in this month. I baptized twenty persons on that morning, and in going to the sea at day-break, I had to pass along the road where a large public market has been kept by the country people for many years; and where formerly at that hour on Sabbath morning, it would have presented the appearance of a large country fair in England; but now there was not a person to be seen, except those going to the baptism, and not a vestige of the market. I was told by some of our members who went to see, that it was the same in the city, where thousands used to assemble. Surely God has heard the prayers of his people in England! This is his doing, and marvellous in our eyes."

Mr. Phillippo furnishes an enlarged and very interesting account from Spanish Town, some portions of which could not with justice be suppressed. "On the joyful morning, the apprentices were seen at an early hour clothed in clean and neat attire, flocking from all parts of the country into the town. Most of them repaired to the houses of their respective neighbors and friends for rest and refreshment, after which thousands repaired to the different places of worship open to receive them —almost literally as 'doves to their windows.' At ten o'clock, the chapel in which I officiate was so crowded that I could scarcely find my way into the pulpit; and by the time service was commenced, multitudes could not get within reach of the doors or windows. This was before intimated to be a meeting of devout acknowledgement to God for the great boon the principal part of my sable congregation had that day received; and never shall I forget my feelings when I saw them for the first time in my life standing before me in all the consciousness of freedom. It seemed as though I was in a new world, or surrounded by a new order of beings. The downcast eye, the gloomy countenance, and, strange as it may seem, even the vacant, unintellectual physiognomy had vanished. Every face was lighted up with smiles, and I have every reason to believe that every heart re-

joiced. After such an introduction as the occasion would naturally dictate, I called on several of my sable brethren to lead the devotions. Their addresses to the divine footstool, which they approached with great reverence and self-abasement, were a mingled flow of supplication and gratitude, adoration and love. * *

"Said one, '—O Lord, our gracious Saviour, what we is meet togeder for dis mornin' when we don't usual do so on dis day of de week? We is come to bless and to magnify dy great and holy name dat dou has done dis great blessin' unto us, to bring us out of de house of bondage dis day. O Lord, what is dis dat we eye see, and we ear hear? Dy word tell we dat king and prophet wish to see de tings dat we see, and to hear de tings dat we hear, and die without de sight. O Lord, if we desperate wicked and tubborn heart won't prais dee as dey ought, pluck dem up by de root! Here Lord, we give dem up unto dee; melt dem wid de fire of dy love, wash dem in de pure fountain of dy blood, and make dem what dou would have dem to be.'

" 'Blessed Lord,' said another, 'as dou so merciful pare we, to let we see dis blessed mornin', we want word, we want tongue, we want heart to praise dee. Debil don't do de good to us, but dou do de good to us, for dou put into de heart of blessed European to grant us dis great privilege. O derefore may none of we poor sinner praise de debil by makin' all de carouse about de street, but flock like dove to deir window, to praise and glorify dy great name.'

" 'Since dou has done dis great ting,' said a third, 'O dat we may love dee and dy gospel more; may we neber turn dy blessing into a curse, may we be diligent in our proper calling, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. O Lord, now do dou make thine arm bare, and turn de heart of all de people unto dee. We bless dee dat dou has incline so many poor dyin' sinner to come up to dy house dis day. O Lord, teach deir heart, turn dem from deir own way, same as dou did de city of Nineveh. Now make them throw down deir rebellious weapon, fight against dee no more, for dou say, Who eber fight against dee and prosper? Our eye is up unto dee, we cannot let dee go, except dou bless us wid dy grace: dou only canst change de stubborn heart,—turn it like de river of water is turned, dat all may serve dee from de least even unto de greatest.' * * *

"The service concluded, Mrs. Phillippo having a considerable number of pin-cushions, bags, &c., sent by kind friends from England, left on hand after the sale, I gave notice that I would distribute them as far as they would go, among the female part of the congregation, on condition of their keeping them in commemoration of the day; and that on presenting them when the term of their apprenticeship expired (that is, those who survived), they should each be presented with a gift more worthy their acceptance. Happy should I have been to have distributed among the more intelligent part of them the munificent gifts voted them by the British and Foreign Bible Society; but they had not arrived. Personally undertaking the distribution of these articles, I occupied an elevated spot for the purpose. My situation, I soon found, was far from enviable; to retreat was out of the question. I was in a moment surrounded by my sable fair as by a flight of bees; so beset was I with importunities, so obstructed for want of elbow room, so stunned by their incessant volubility of tongue, vociferating, 'Please massa, gie me one bag to 'member fus a' Augus,' &c., that I was so overcome with heat, fatigue, and abstinence, the distribution occupying nearly an hour and a half, that my legs almost failed to support me; but my task was by no means performed.

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"By this time (nearly two o'clock), the children, to the number of four hundred, had again assembled, and had seated themselves in the centre of the chapel; they especially having been led to accept some little memento from Christian friends in England, on this never-to-be-forgotten day. They were clothed in their best attire, and looked remarkably clean and neat. We distributed among them medals, pin-cushions, bags, and books; completely exhausting the little remaining stock of these articles we possessed. The closing devotional exercises being attended to, they then returned in an orderly man-

ner to their homes. After a short interval of refreshment and rest, the hour arrived for evening service. The congregation was again overwhelming, and exhibited, as usual, every grade of color, and I was about to say, every diversity of creed, and circumstance, and character. I preached as well as my exhausted energies of both body and mind allowed, and thus closed the services of one of the most interesting and glorious days that has ever adorned the page of history.

"On the following Sabbath I was to baptize. * * * At four o'clock in the the morning the whole neighborhood around presented a moving picture of life. Every thing being announced as ready at a little after five, I soon found myself at the water's edge, between two parallel lines of candidates clothed in white, extending along the aisle to the extremity of the chapel, and amidst a concourse of people that below resembled one vast unbroken body. * * * The preliminary services being completed, I took the first candidate by the hand, led her down into the water, and baptized her, and the rest in succession, to the number of one hundred and five, great order and solemnity prevailing throughout the ceremony. The chapel yard, for hours after, presented one of the most gratifying sights that could be beheld. Every heart rejoiced, every tongue was loosened, and every countenance wore a smile. Groups were sitting or standing beneath the shade of the trees that adorned the premises, exchanging mutual congratulations, or engaged in more sober converse. Every thing, indeed, seemed to say that this was the dawn of brighter days, the birthday of liberty, and the earnest of the speedy and universal reign of righteousness and peace.

CHAPTER V.

1834 TO 1838.

After the apprenticeship act came into operation, the negroes, to the extreme disappointment and mortification of those who were inimical to their freedom, evinced the most industrious as well as pacific dispositions; and whatever were the oppressions they still continued to suffer, their deportment was a perpetual refutation of the calumnies heaped upon them, and of the sinister predictions that were diligently circulated.

In the autumn of 1834, Messrs. Knibb and Burchell returned, and were welcomed by their respective congregations with enthusiastic demonstrations of joy. The former relates the following impressive fact. "As soon as the boat could be made sea-worthy, we embarked for Rio Bueno, which we reached in safety the same evening. On entering this lovely little bay, the first object that attracted my attention was the ruins of the chapel in which I had many times proclaimed the words of eternal life. The person who set fire to the chapel is beneath the clods of the valley. Shortly after, he left his home for a ride, and was missed for two days, when he was accidentally discovered by a negro, hanging between two rocks, *quite mad*, from whence he was carried home, where he died in the same state." In narrating the circumstances of his landing, he thus proceeds:—"Some pushed off in a canoe, into which I got, with my family, and soon landed on the beach. Verily we were nearly pushed into the sea by kindness. Poor Mrs. Knibb was quite overcome. They took me up in their arms—they sang—they laughed—they wept; and I wept too. 'Him come, him come, for true.' On they rushed to the chapel, where we knelt together at the throne of grace. On the following morning we started by land for Falmouth: the poor people in the pass all knew me; and had I stopped to shake hands with all, I should have been long on the road. As I entered Falmouth, I could scarce contain my feelings, nor can I now. I was, and am, completely overcome.

They stood—they looked—'It him, it him, for true; but see how him stand; him make two of what him was when him left.' Soon the news spread, and from twenty to twenty-five miles distant they came. In the evening we held a prayer-meeting. The chapel was crowded."

Mr. Burchell's account of his return is equally interesting. "When we were three miles distant from the town (Montego Bay), we had to pull up to shake hands with some who were come out to meet us; as we proceeded onwards, the numbers and frequency of the groups of friends increased. It was almost more than we could bear. The poor people looked at us as though they could scarcely believe their own eyes, and then they clasped their hands, blessed God, and burst into tears. When we entered the town, a crowd of recollections burst upon my mind as I looked upon the spot where the *Blanche* was anchored when I was first taken prisoner; but my attention was soon aroused from reflection, for as we passed along the streets, many of the inhabitants came to their doors and windows, congratulating us as we passed by. As we proceeded more into the town, the doors and windows became crowded, and many were the kind congratulations of our former townsfriends; some expressed their feelings by their remarks, some waved their handkerchiefs, and others their hats. As we entered the centre of the town we were recognized by one who had been a very stanch friend in our difficulties; he took off his hat, and greeted us most cordially; this excited the attention of the negroes in the market, and one of them recognizing us, exclaimed, 'Bless God, —and him come for true! Massa Burchell, him come for true!' Others now joined him, and began clapping their hands, when the whole multitude, consisting of three or four thousand, waving their hands and hats, set up their shouts, and made the whole town resound with their thundering huzzas."

For a long period they found it scarcely possible to alight from their gig; the yard and street were crowded; and Mrs. Burchell could with difficulty escape from the oppressive kindness. "The whole of Saturday, the 22d, was spent in receiving the congratulations of the people, whose remarks were frequently affecting. Many threw themselves down at my feet, and wept aloud. Some looked at me, and then said, 'Hi, massa, and it you for true! and you for we, massa Burchell! and me see you with me own eye! blessed God!' and then they burst into tears. After speaking to a party and shaking hands, I was compelled to request them to leave, in order to give place to others; when one said, 'No, massa, me no go, me no able to believe yet,—and is it Massa Burchell for true?' Another one said, 'Now massa, me know dat God him true—him hear for we prayer—but him take him own time—and him work him own way—but him do every ting quite good.' Indeed, I could fill a sheet with their interesting sayings. One poor afflicted negress came down from the country (a distance of twenty miles) the next Saturday, the 29th; and when she saw me, looking upon me, as the tears rolled down her face, she said, 'Massa, me hear you come—and me *hungry* for see you—and me cry for see you—me take two day for walk for see you—and now me believe—God him too good—me now willing for die, for now me know God him true.'"

During the Christmas week after his return, Mr. Knibb baptized one hundred and thirty-four; and he assures us that their conduct had been consistent for five, and some seven years, and that more than half of them referred their first religious impressions to "poor Massa Mann," as they expressed it. What a glorious testimony to the usefulness of that eminent and departed missionary! In referring to the state of the negro population, Mr. Tinson speaks with great satisfaction of their growing thirst for information; which he had labored successfully to impart. The missionaries generally experienced much encouragement; but their first efforts were directed to the re-erection of the chapels, in doing which the spirit of the people was nobly manifested. In several instances they emulated each other in carrying materials to the places where the new buildings were to be reared. Mr. Tinson furnishes a pleasing specimen of this alacrity in relation to his place at Yallahs. "I believe I told you that all the materials were prepared in Kingston. When every thing was ready, we freighted a large sloop, and took the

whole at once. I sent round to the different properties to inform the people when it would be landed, requesting them to come and carry it from the wharf to the mission premises, about half a mile—this I did to save expense of cartage; and last Saturday fortnight, upwards of 100 persons assembled early in the morning for the purpose; and never did I see work done more cheerfully. By three o'clock in the afternoon every piece was on the mission ground. It was really pleasing to see the cheerfulness, as well as energy, with which they labored. Some of the pieces of timber were very long and heavy, to remove which the builder said I must get a wain; but the people seemed determined to do all themselves; three men would get under one piece, and though evidently oppressed with their load, would sing as they went. The women, too, were equally zealous; but who ever knew *them* backward in labors of love? I think their number exceeded that of the men; some of them brought their piccaninies also to help in the good work, and even their donkies were employed, —these they loaded with shingles, and drove before them, carrying a load themselves at the same time. I have mentioned this circumstance, not as any thing wonderful, or as being in itself an evidence of superior piety, but as a pleasing expression of the people's interest in the cause of Christ, and which, I have no doubt, in many instances originated in sincere religious feeling and principle. The conclusion of the business pleased me much. I was not on the premises when they finished, but one came to call me, saying they had done, and wished me to dismiss them with prayer. I went immediately, and found them all seated in the house, prepared to join in adoration and praise to that God whose temple they had been preparing to erect. We read several portions of Scripture, sang, and prayed; and they all departed to their respective habitations."

On the 7th of February, 1835, the foundation-stone of the new chapel was laid at Montego Bay; and on the 14th, that at Falmouth. On both occasions emotions of holy joy and thanksgiving prevailed; the missionaries from different places assisting on the occasion.

Mr. Clarke's correspondence proves that amidst the laborious and exhausting avocations of chapel building, a divine blessing rested on his labors. Considerable additions were made to the church under his care. He mentions having members and inquirers from one hundred and fifteen estates and settlements in three parishes, and from the parish of St. Mary. In these estates there were about ten thousand. Having, during some months, been engaged in examining candidates, he was privileged to conduct a hundred and nine to the water of baptism. At Port Maria, Mr. Baylis describes the prospect around him as being most cheering. The church at Anotta Bay, under the care of Mr. Barlow, received large additions. On the 8th of April a new church was formed at Green Island, by the union of fifteen members dismissed from Lucea. Both these stations were under the care of Mr. Abbott. The foundation-stone of a new chapel at Green Island was laid on the 9th of May; and on the next day, eighty-one candidates were baptized in the river at Lucea, in the presence of a large and attentive audience. A church was also formed at Endeavor, of ninety-two members dismissed from Falmouth and Salter's Hill. At Shortwood, a country station in connection with Montego Bay, there was a church of two hundred members, besides a thousand inquirers.

At this time, Mr. William Shotton of Darlington went from England to take charge of the school at Spanish Town, under the direction of Mr. Phillippo. Amidst various difficulties and much opposition, Mr. Coultart proceeded with the erection of the chapels at Brown's Town and Ocho Rios. The committee sent Mr. John Clark, a member of the church in Devonshire Square, to his assistance, as the number and distance of his stations rendered it quite impossible for him fully to supply them. He sailed for that purpose on the 7th of July, and reached his destination in due course.

In referring to the enlargement of his chapel, to accommodate six hundred additional hearers, Mr. Phillippo says that a second enlargement was immediately afterwards as much required as the first; for the chapel was crowded to suffocation. He speaks of the first Sabbath in July as a high and hallowed

day. "Not only did a thousand (more or less of us) sit down and commemorate the dying love of our once crucified but now risen and exalted Saviour, but I had the happiness of introducing to that 'feast of love,' and of giving the right hand of fellowship to one hundred and seventeen persons who never before enjoyed the privileges of their high and holy relationship, and to whom I had just administered the sacred rite of baptism, on a profession of their faith in Christ, in the presence of a great cloud of witnesses. Some of these were young and interesting; had been nurtured almost from childhood in our Sabbath school; had been 'turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God,' chiefly through the instrumentality of instructions there received; and, above all, were among the first-fruits of that blessed institution unto Christ. No less than six of these interesting young persons were now before me. And there were, connected with their early dedication to God, other elements of interest. Though once scholars, they were now Sunday school teachers; and under the influence of feelings and principles which sound scriptural education inspires, they seemed so fully aware of the nature of the vows they had vowed, and of their deep responsibility to God and to his church, that they continued bathed in tears during the greater part of my address to them. These circumstances seemed to awaken the sympathies of the whole assembly; and while all eyes were turned towards them, many and fervent, I doubt not, were the prayers offered up that God would preserve them from all the future dangers of their pilgrimage, and at last administer unto them an abundant entrance into glory. There was a third circumstance of interest connected with these youthful converts, and which I must not omit to mention. Three of the females had been slaves; one of them had been redeemed under circumstances of painful interest, by friends at Reading; the others under circumstances of interest no less painful, by friends in Jamaica. Two of them are the active and efficient assistant school-mistresses in the 'Jamaica Metropolitan School,' and the other is training for the same department of usefulness."

Mr. Clarke informs us, that on the 27th of June, the foundation-stone of the chapel at Springfield was laid by John Thomas Bell, Esq., magistrate and coroner, who had shown great kindness, and from whom he purchased the land.

The foundation-stone was laid for the chapel at Jericho on the 1st of August, when an address was delivered by Mr. Phillippo, which deeply affected most who were present. The collection, on that and the following day, amounted to upwards of fifty pounds, and a warm interest was shown by some who before were unfriendly; indeed, opposition in every place around had nearly ceased, and all was peace and quietness not only in that neighborhood, but throughout the island.

Mr. Baylis, also, in writing from Port Maria, adverts to the state of the negro population. The people had gone to their work as usual, and the first year of negro apprenticeship had passed away in a much more favorable manner than had been anticipated.

Mr. Dexter, in writing from Stewart Town on June the 26th, describes the chapels as going forward there and at Rio Bueno. The corner-stone was laid at the latter place on the 23d of May, when Burchell, Knibb, and Dendy were present; and the poor people exerted themselves nobly, raising on that and the following day sixty pounds. At Christmas, when Mr. Dexter took charge of the stations, there were in each church about a hundred members. Since that time there had been added to the one in Stewart Town a hundred and twenty-four, and to that at Rio Bueno a hundred and sixty; making a total of two hundred and eighty-four during the half year that had just closed. Every thing in the conduct of the members towards each other, had, with only one exception, been characterized by peace and love.*

*A beautiful incident is related by Mr. Knibb, in relation to Rio Bueno. When, on his return, he visited the ruins of the chapel, he found them covered with an herb called "the tree of life." On communicating this fact to Mr. Montgomery, the poet transmitted to him the following lines:—

"When flames devoured the house of God,
Kindled by hell, with heaven at strife,
Up sprung spontaneous from the sod
A forest of the tree of life;
Meet emblem of the sanctuary
Which there had been, and yet should be.

"Now on the same thrice-hallowed spot,
In peace a second temple stands,

Mr. Dendy states that on the 12th of July, he baptized thirty-four persons; the first that had ever been baptized at Salter's Hill (the former church met at Crooked Spring), and the first baptism he had performed in the country. The remembrance of former days rushed into the minds of many of the old members, having been destitute of a full supply of the means of grace since the latter part of December, 1831; and during this vacancy, no fewer than ninety-two members had been called out of time into eternity; several by the hands of violence, others by the visitation of God. This number of deaths formed an eighth part of the whole number of the Salter's Hill church.

His secondary station, Endeavor, afforded great encouragement. The church, which was formed on the 26th of April, then consisted of a hundred and sixty-one members. The number of attendants was about nine hundred; and in consequence of the grant of the Society, he was seeking an eligible spot for the erection of a chapel. "We are still exposed," says he, "to calumny and reproach, and to evil reports concerning us, by newspaper attacks, &c.; but all this we care not for; if God be with us, all will be well."

Savanna-la-Mar seemed to maintain its unenviable notoriety for opposition to religious instruction. Mr. Hutchins says, July the 14th, "Our poor people are persecuted beyond measure. Scarcely a Sabbath passes but my blood runs cold at hearing the heart-rending tale of one or more, who were coming to the temple of God, and calling for a brother or a sister to travel with them, —while in the very act of singing or praying to God, have been arrested by some daring zealot, who has caused their feet to be thrust into the stocks. But amidst it all, we are prospering. Our congregation here continues to increase, and prospects are as pleasing as the persecutions are severe."

Mr. Taylor, whose churches at Old Harbor, Ebony Chapel, and Four Paths, had received great accessions, was indicted for interfering with an apprentice in the execution of his duty, and employing his pastoral authority in a manner prejudicial to the colony. It appeared on the trial, that he had remonstrated with Davidson, a deacon of his church, for flogging a fellow-member, who had been adjudged by a magistrate to receive twenty lashes; and as he afterwards neglected to attend public worship, he was, conformably with the established rule, excluded from church fellowship. The jury sustained the charge, but no proceedings ensued. The missionaries investigated the affair, and published a declaration, showing its true character as an insidious attempt against their religious liberty, by preventing the regular exercise of discipline in their churches. In this view, Christians at home and the government concurred.*

The general circumstances of the mission were auspicious; numerous additions to the churches continued to be made, enlarged places of worship built, and new stations occupied. Both Mr. Burchell and Mr. Knibb had given much attention to plans for promoting education. To this subject the former had been stimulated by the suggestions of the friends of religion during his visit to England; and having obtained young men to be prepared as teachers, he undertook Lancasterian and Sabbath Schools. The foundation-stone of a Lancasterian Institution was laid in Trelawney on the 26th of September, 1835, and the building was reared under the superintendence of Mr. Knibb. The advantages of the Institution were to be available to all children, irrespective of the religious denomination of their parents.

In the beginning of the year 1836, Mr. Burchell says that the scene exhib-

And God hath said, 'Destroy it not!'
For lo! the blessing he commands,
As dews on Hermon's hill of yore,
Life, even life for evermore!"

* Extract from the report of the committee of deputies of the protestant dissenters to the general meeting, on the 28th of December, 1836:—

"*Resolved*, That this committee have considered with much regret the proceedings that have occurred in the grand court of Jamaica, by the prosecution of the Rev. Henry Clarke Taylor, Baptist missionary, for a misdemeanor, as those proceedings appear to violate the principles of religious liberty, which should be every where and anxiously maintained; and that this committee apply to his majesty's government to discountenance such persecutions, and to take all measures in their power to prevent their renewal."

The resolution was transmitted to Lord Glenelg. The following is part of his reply, through his secretary:—"His lordship has desired me to acquaint you, that a copy of your note, and of its enclosure, has been forwarded by his lordship to the Marquis of Sligo for his report thereon, accompanied by such instructions as appear to his lordship best calculated to prevent the recurrence of any such invasion of the religious liberty of the dissenters from the established church in Jamaica, as is represented in your communication to have taken place in the case of Mr. Taylor."

ited from Sabbath to Sabbath carried back the spectators' thought to apostolic times. His own congregation had increased at least one half since the 1st of August, 1834; and he had added between five and six hundred to his church in Spanish Town; of whom many were young and interesting characters. Since the establishment of the Sunday school, forty-one scholars had become teachers, who had declared themselves to be the disciples of Christ.

The periodical press, though hostile to the evangelization of the negroes, could not refrain from bearing testimony to their moral improvement. The close of the year had formerly been distinguished by riotous disorder, but "the Christmas holidays were beginning to be remembered like the emotions of a by-gone dream. In the towns all were quiet; in the rural districts every thing proceeded in admirable order."* "The cage has not had a solitary inmate for some time past. The specials, clerk of the peace, and constables, all declare they have nothing to do. To what a pass things are come! what a contrast to the good old times of guard-keeping, military movements, and John Canooing!"† This was in the precise locality where the mission had a much greater amount of agency, and a larger number of adherents than in any other part of the island; the district of Burchell, Knibb, Dexter, Dendy, and others.

Many fears had been expressed in England, lest admissions into the churches had been made too easy, and that discipline was not sufficiently enforced. The chief, if not the only ground of these apprehensions, appears to have been the rapid and extensive increase of members. Nor was the feeling unnatural or unworthy of being regarded as a reason for inquiry. Accordingly, a statement was elicited from Mr. Knibb, which proved highly satisfactory. After describing the very careful and personal examination, by himself, of each candidate, and of Mrs. Knibb in addition, of every female, and of the public announcement of the names at a church meeting, allowing the interval of a week for any objections to be reported, he adds;—"Since the first of January, 1835, I have baptized, after having been thus examined, 385 persons, and in referring to the receiving book, containing 305 of their names, I find they have attended as inquirers as follows:—six, for nine years; ten, for eight years; eighty, for seven years; fifty, for six years; forty-seven, for five years; thirty-three, for four years; seventy-six, for three and two years."

Once in the year, the church deputed some of the deacons or other active members, to visit every property where they had members; and the investigations were minute and important, as the reports demonstrate. They are all concluded with the statement—"love prevails." The entire letter sent to England, containing these and other encouraging facts, was read at a church meeting where eight hundred members were present, and unanimously adopted as their own. Similar testimonies were borne by Mr. Phillippo, Mr. Dexter, Mr. Clarke, and others, of their respective communities.

In the month of March, the first meeting of the "Jamaica Baptist Association" was held at Kingston. It occupied three days. The services were well attended; and the spirit of Christian harmony and affection exemplary. The number of stations was fifty-two, comprising 13,795 members, of whom upwards of two thousand were added during the year. In the Sunday schools, 3,493 children had received instruction; 25 attending daily, and 461, chiefly, adults, were taught in the evening schools after the hours of labor. As evidence of the increasing regard paid to the important sanctions of marriage, it appeared that 1457 instances had occurred of its performance by the missionaries.

On the first of July a public meeting was convened at the new metropolitan school room, when Mr. Phillippo presided. Under the superintendence of Mr. Shotton, the valuable character of the Institution was clearly manifested. The scholars went through the forms prescribed in their daily course of instruction. The younger class, composed of children from two to five years of age, excited particular attention, from their age, their discipline, and their acquirements. The scholars at large went through a short examination in the general principles of some of the sciences, in grammar, and the knowl-

* Cornwall Chronicle. † Falmouth Post.

edge of the derivation and meaning of words. The proceedings of the day gave general satisfaction; and afforded a happy omen of the future condition of the people, when knowledge and religion shall walk hand in hand through the length and breadth of Jamaica.

Mr. Samuel Oughton, who was designated as a missionary in the month of February, after having escaped extreme peril in the channel at the commencement of his voyage, arrived safely with his family in Montego Bay, early in July. He assisted, in the same month, at a baptism, when one hundred and seventy were united to Mr. Burchell's church. He reported that two thousand persons assembled at a prayer-meeting, at the early hour of three in the morning; and "I think," says he, "I never heard petitions so delightfully characterized by simplicity and earnestness, as those offered on that interesting occasion; nor witnessed gratitude so exuberant and overflowing, as was displayed by the poor people, while praising God for the temporal and spiritual privileges which they then enjoyed, and to which they were looking forward." The principal sphere of Mr. Oughton's labors included Gurney's Mount and Fletcher's Grove; in both which places were overflowing congregations.

Two events of an affecting description occurred simultaneously on the 12th of July; namely, the death of Mr. Nichols, at Tor in Devonshire, who had been a missionary, first in Jamaica, and then in the Bahamas, and had returned in decayed health; and the death of Mr. Coultart, who had succeeded to his former station. Mr. Coultart had resided in Jamaica longer, by several years, than any of his brethren, having entered upon his labors at Kingston early in 1817. His personal and domestic afflictions were great, and for many years he had to endure much opposition; but the hand of the Lord was with him, and few have been more successful in awakening and converting sinners from the error of their way. In two or three years after he settled at Kingston, he was under the necessity of providing increased accommodation for his numerous hearers; and the spacious premises in East Queen Street, including a chapel capable of seating two thousand persons, a dwelling-house for the minister, and a school for the daily instruction of poor children, were built under his personal superintendence. Subsequently to his last return to Jamaica, he had been stationed in St. Ann's; whence accounts of his progress and extending efforts were continually reported. But the simple piety, transparent integrity, and warm benevolence of Mr. Coultart, were all insufficient to overcome the rooted prejudices still cherished, in some quarters, against the missionary name and character. The immediate occasion of his decease was the rupture of a blood vessel, consequent upon spasmodic affection. Mr. Clarke of Jericho, who was nearest to Tydenham, hastened thither to conduct the funeral solemnities; and the event was generally noticed, on the following Sabbath, in special sermons by the missionaries throughout the island.

In consequence of the decease of Mr. Coultart, Mr. Abbott removed from Lucea, to share with Mr. Clarke in the labors and stations in St. Ann's. The chapel there was advancing, and that at Brown's Town, though it contained a thousand persons, was found too small.

In the work of Messrs. Sturge and Harvey, entitled "The West Indies in 1837," an unequivocal testimony is borne to the moral power of the missionary undertaking, as exhibited at that period. "Representation," they say, "cannot picture the happy result of these efforts; description can convey no idea of their excellence and magnitude. A few years ago, the negroes were heathen and benighted; now they are to a great extent enlightened and Christian. The Sabbath, once desecrated, is now devoted to public prayer and thanksgiving, and to the enjoyment of Christian communion. A few years ago, education was unknown; now it is making progress under many disadvantages, and waits but for freedom to become soon more generally diffused than in our own country. The success of missionary labors among the servile population has been general and striking; much has been done, yet more remains to be done. The work requires to be deepened, strengthened, and extended; and we earnestly commend these benefactors of the human race, the missionaries, to the more earnest prayers, the deeper sympathies, and the

yet more liberal support of British Christians."

The opening of the year was signalized by the afflictive event of the death of Mr. Baylis. He expired on the third of January, after having been engaged on the first in his usual ministerial services. The next day only, he was taken ill, while in the midst of his usefulness, and full of earnestness for the advancement of the cause. He was an enterprising and valued servant of the Society, a faithful and zealous pastor, and an affectionate coadjutor with his fellow-missionaries.

Early in the same month, the committee sent Mr. James Reid, of the university of Glasgow, to strengthen the mission in the stations of Vere and Clarendon, in connection with Mr. Taylor of Old Harbor. At the former of these stations, he had recently received 143 members, and 214 at the latter.

The net increase in the associated churches in 1837, was 1882; the number of members, 18,720; and of inquirers, 17,781.

Several chapels were opened during the year, with services replete with the deepest interest. Some it may be proper to notice, as specimens of the spirit of the people, and the progress of religion. In March, the large chapel erected at Montego Bay under the superintendence of Mr. Burchell, was solemnly devoted to the worship of God. In the early part of the morning, meetings, to supplicate the blessing of God were held, and the children of the schools, amounting to full two thousand, were addressed by Mr. Oughton. By ten o'clock the number of people so increased, that it was calculated nine thousand were in the old and new chapel, and in the yard and mission premises. Such a scene was never before witnessed. Mr. Abbott delivered a sermon, which was listened to with profound attention; in the afternoon the Lord's supper was administered to full two thousand communicants; and in the evening Mr. Knibb preached.

The dedication of the new chapel in Falmouth on the 16th of April was attended with circumstances of unparalleled interest. Long previously to the dawn of day the streets and avenues of the town were lined with neatly clad apprentices and others from the country repairing to the spot so hallowed and endeared to the hearts of many by the recollections of other days. At six o'clock, several ministers having taken their seats in the chapel, which was at this early hour literally crammed, the services of the day commenced, and prayers were offered up by Messrs. Dexter and Clarke, and Mr. Abbott delivered an address suited to the occasion. At nine the children belonging to Mr. Knibb's congregation, amounting to at least two thousand, many of whom were, owing to the crowded state of the chapel, and the rush made to the doors by the anxious multitude without, unable to gain admittance, were addressed by Mr. Dendy. With the hope of giving satisfaction to those who were unavoidably beyond the reach of any one man's voice, the Lancasterian school-room was thrown open and immediately filled with persons who were addressed by Mr. Dexter. This additional accommodation being found quite inadequate for the forenoon service, Mr. Knibb applied to the magistrates for the use of the court-house, and his request having been promptly granted, this spacious building, including the piazzas and passages, was speedily crowded to excess: three congregations were formed, and addressed respectively by Messrs. Dendy, Dexter, and Ward. Mr. Vine, independent minister, preached a sermon from Zech. 6: 13; and while thus engaged in the new chapel, Mr. Clarke preached in the school-room, and Mr. Abbott under a shed and tent to some hundreds who were unable to find a place in either of the above-mentioned buildings. Thus at the same moment no fewer than six ministers were breaking the bread of life to the several branches of the same congregation in different parts of the town. "To the inhabitants," says a spectator, "the appearance and decorous behaviour of so large a mass of persons of all ages and colors and classes was perfectly astonishing." At the close of the several services of the forenoon, at which it is computed that six thousand persons at least were present, a considerable portion of those who were not members of the church quietly returned to their houses. At three the ordinance of the Lord's supper was administered; Messrs.

Oughton and Dexter addressed the communicants, and each of the other ministers present took part in the service. Mr. Oughton, in the absence of Mr. Burchell, preached to a large and respectable audience; and thus terminated the services of a day which will be remembered by thousands with gratitude and holy joy to the latest period of their existence. The collections and donations received toward liquidating the debt on the chapel, including some small ones from friends to the cause unconnected with the congregation, amounted to £839.

In May, a very neat and substantial edifice, forming a real ornament to the town, was opened at St. Ann's Bay; and notwithstanding heavy and unintermitted rain, vast multitudes crowded the place, and the overflowings occupied the house which had hitherto been used as a temporary sanctuary. Messrs. Knibb, Dendy, and Clarke officiated. The Lord's supper was administered, and eighty-nine persons, who had been baptized in the morning, received into church fellowship.

The 8th of May was mournfully distinguished by the death of Mr. Gardner. His disease was congestive fever, occasioned, in all probability, by exposure to a heavy fall of rain immediately after travelling several hours beneath the unmitigated rays of a burning sun. In a day or two he complained of pains in different parts of his body, and felt quite unwell during his evening service on the following Thursday. He retired from the pulpit to his bed, and left it no more till he was carried to the house appointed for all living. He was in the vigor of youth, only thirty-one years of age, and was removed from an extensive sphere of labor and of usefulness, with which he was just become thoroughly acquainted, and in which his influence was widely felt. "Until," says Mr. Tinson, "within a few hours of his death, before the disease reached the brain, he was perfectly collected, and spoke of his approaching dissolution with composure. After requesting me to make various memoranda relative to his secular affairs, he endeavored to comfort and encourage his deeply-afflicted companion, from whom, as her earthly stay and support, he was so soon to be removed; directing her mind to that all-sufficient Saviour, who is a father of the fatherless and a judge of the widow. I said to him, 'Brother, I hope Jesus, whom you have preached to others, is now precious.' He replied, 'Yes he is; his grace is sufficient for me.' In this solemn dispensation, the church has lost an active and devoted pastor; the widow, a kind and affectionate husband; the helpless orphans, a tender and indulgent parent; and the community, a useful member."

One of the most interesting occurrences of the year was in connection with the church at Falmouth. After having revolved the matter in his mind, and praying earnestly for divine direction, Mr. Knibb mentioned to his church his conviction of the sinfulness of holding apprentices, who were really slaves, and desired them to think upon the subject. All, excepting three, promised at once to free them; which involved a considerable pecuniary sacrifice on the part of those who were already poor. They assured their pastor that they had long thought of it, but as it was their *all*, they were fearful of not being able to procure food for their children. A firm conviction, however, of the sin, determined them in the self-denying resolution, and their noble example was very extensively imitated.

On this occasion there was one present who might be called *the martyr of joy*. It was William, the son of Mr. Knibb, the intensity of whose sympathies with the oppressed children of Africa, overcame a frame already enfeebled by exertions in their cause; and he sunk under a fever produced by the excess of his delight. This extraordinary youth was only twelve years of age, having been born on the 8th of August, 1825. He had accompanied his father to England, when he repaired thither to represent the wrongs of Jamaica, and the infatuation of the enemies of Christianity. He evinced the deepest interest in the mission during his stay, and returned with the family in the autumn of 1834. He gave a very remarkable proof of his zeal for the negroes' improvement, when sent on a visit to his cousin, Mrs. Dexter, during the meeting of the ensuing association at Kingston. Mr. Dexter had resolved, on his return, to attempt some plan of instructing the people at Stewart Town,

according to their own eager desire; but to his astonishment, he found that during his absence, William had organized a school on the British system; and under the presidency of this youthful schoolmaster, he beheld thirty tolerably well trained scholars; a number that was speedily doubled. It was not, however, till afterwards, that unequivocal indications of real piety were visible; and this happy appearance presented itself while at Savanna-la-Mar, the scene of his father's former labors, chiefly through the wise and kind assiduities of Mr. and Mrs. Hutchins. In this place, when Mr. Hutchins was prevented by illness, he would often read the Scriptures and give out the hymns in the worshipping assemblies. From this visit he was summoned home to attend the funeral of his little brother. Decided in religion, he was very active in the Sunday school, ever anxious to promote the improvement of the swarthy race he loves. While in the great congregation, he took a lead in the singing, and played the eolophon, with whose tones his own fine voice sweetly blended.

No sooner was the manumission of the slaves in Mr. Knibb's church determined, than the heart of William leaped for joy; and hastily bounding away from his father, he sketched a British ship in full sail, with the word "Liberty" on her flag, chasing two slavers, who were in the act of striking their colors. On the pendant was written, "Slavery must fall." The excitement brought on a fever in the night, in the delirium of which, his rambling words showed a mind filled with ideas of negro emancipation, and the triumphs of humanity, law, and religion. He died on the 25th of July, and was buried in the chapel-yard at Falmouth, amidst the lamentations of many a mourner, fulfilling the language of Job, which Mr. Burchell adopted as the text of his funeral discourse, "he cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down."*

To return to the general narrative. The intelligence from Spanish Town continued to be very cheering; and notwithstanding assistances granted by draughts of members, or separate services in subordinate stations, the whole presented the appearance of a field which the Lord had blessed. One hundred and seventy-six were added to the church in Spanish Town, and one hundred and fourteen to the recently established station of Sligoville. In the district more or less connected with Mr. Phillippo's church were 2191 members, 1900 inquirers, nineteen schools, ten teachers of day and evening schools, twenty young persons in training, fifty-three Sabbath school teachers, and 1588 scholars, two native assistants, and six stations.

St. Ann's Bay, Ocho Rios, and Coultart's Grove, had the efficient superintendence of Mr. Abbott. He had given the latter name to a station in a populous part of the interior of the parish called "the Pedro district," about twelve miles from St. Ann's Bay, and fourteen from Ocho Rios, as commemorative of his esteemed predecessor. A strong thatched shed, forty-five feet by twenty-five, was erected there, closed in with wattle and plaster. "I look," says he, "at this humble, unpretending sanctuary with feelings of peculiar interest, when I remember that it owes its existence to the self-denying efforts and praiseworthy zeal of a few apprentices, who voluntarily gave a portion of the little time they could call their own, for several weeks in succession, to rear a house in which the mighty God of Jacob will deign to dwell."

During a considerable part of the year, the labors of Mr. Clarke at Jericho had been interrupted by serious illness; and at one period it was apprehended that he would be compelled to leave the island; but this was prevented by partial restoration. In the time of his affliction and that of his family, he had obtained valuable assistance from Mr. Merrick and his son Joseph, who conducted the schools.

Mr. Oughton having removed to Lucea, and the urgent necessities of that station and Green Island being thus supplied, Mr. Day succeeded to Gurney's Mount and Fletcher's Grove; at which places, though recently formed, existed a church of four hundred and eighty-six members, and nine hundred and twenty-four inquirers.

Looking at the state of the mission throughout the island, it never before had presented so pleasing an appearance. The missionaries were all dili-

* See "Memoir of William Knibb, son of the Rev. W. Knibb, missionary," &c. By James Hoby, D. D.

gently at work, and with ever-growing success. But in order to estimate it aright, it is not sufficient to contemplate the gross amount of numbers converted, or missionaries employed. "Perhaps," says one of them, "our friends at home overlook the vast amount of moral agency they keep in operation, by supporting one missionary in this country; and the broad and extensive foundation they lay for carrying on the work in future years. In the support of one missionary, they aid in the erection of permanent buildings, chapels, and school-rooms, and indirectly assist in providing other preachers, school-masters, and instructors. I will just instance my own case. Including myself, there are three of us constantly employed on the Sabbath in conducting public services; three schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in my day school, six estates' evening schools (and will soon be eight), several Sunday-school teachers, and about fifty leaders or catechists. A missionary's house is, moreover, a depot for the publications of the Religious Tract Society, as well as for Bibles and Testaments. Although, therefore, Jamaica is such an expensive country to reside in, it may be questioned whether so much agency is made to bear on the kingdom of Satan at a cheaper rate to the supporters of our benevolent institutions, in any part of the world."

THE DAY OF FREEDOM.

Reflection, aided by appalling facts which every channel of communication conveyed to the British public, soon convinced the well-wisher of the slaves and of missions, that in the emancipation act, as it was called, which established the apprenticeship system, slavery did not find a grave but a shelter. The right of property in man was still recognized, and unrequited labor exacted by compulsory means. There are ample proofs that the wrongs and sufferings of humanity in the persons of the negroes were even greater than heretofore; nearly every vestige of their legal rights was trampled under foot, the planters possessed the most absolute control, and the threat of sending for a magistrate was terrible enough to silence every complaint against the basest injustice and cruelty, since they knew too well they would protect—not *them*, but their *oppressors!** After the seeming concession that was wrung from the national councils, which was ratified by the sacrifice of twenty millions of money, it was believed that civil, social, and religious freedom had been secured for the slaves; but the eyes of a deluded people began in a few months to open to the melancholy truth, that British treasure had been squandered, and British legislation evaded or defied. The struggle, therefore, was once more renewed, and the final triumph achieved by the energy, union, and perseverance of abolitionists, in the entire extinction of the negro apprenticeship, and the bestowment of absolute and unconditional liberty. An act was passed to amend the late act of emancipation; and on the first of August 1838, which had been fixed for the deliverance of non-predial slaves only, *all were declared free.* In order to prepare them for this measure, Sir Lionel Smith issued a proclamation in the beginning of July, which, while it expressed his personal gratification in anticipating the glorious day of the negro's perfect emancipation, contained important suggestions for the future, which were not lost upon their willing and obedient minds.†

* See "A statement of Facts illustrating the administration of the Abolition Law, and the sufferings of the negro apprentices in the island of Jamaica" Also "A Narrative of events since the first day of August. 1834. By James Williams, an apprenticed laborer in Jamaica."

† The following is the proclamation referred to above :—

"PRÆDIAL APPRENTICES!

"In a few days more, you will all become free laborers,—the legislature of the island having relinquished the remaining two years of your apprenticeship.

"The first of August next is the happy day when you will become free—under the same laws as other freemen, whether white, black, or colored.

"I, your governor, give you joy of this great blessing.

"Remember that in freedom you will have to depend on your own exertions for your livelihood, and to maintain and bring up your families. You will work for such wages as you can agree upon with your employers.

"It is their interest to treat you fairly.

"It is your interest to be civil, respectful, and industrious.

"Where you can agree and continue happy with your old masters, I strongly recommend you to remain on those properties on which you have been born, and where your parents are buried.

"But you must not mistake in supposing that your present houses, gardens, or provision grounds, are your own property.

"They belong to the proprietors of the estates, and you will have to pay rent for them in money or labor, according as you and your employers may agree together.

"Idle people who will not take employment, but go wandering about the country, will be taken up as vagrants, and punished in the same manner as they are in England.

"The ministers of religion have been kind friends to you; listen to them,—they will keep you out of troubles and difficulties.

"Recollect what is expected of you by the people of England, who have paid such a large price for your liberty.

"They not only expect that you will behave yourselves as the queen's good subjects, by obeying the laws, as I

The Christian church hailed with inexpressible delight this great Sabbath of the slave; and met in every place, to mark it with appropriate celebrations. There was joy without riot; triumph without reproach; multitude without confusion; while religion assumed the undisputed presidency over the soul-exhilarating scene. A few specimens may be selected.

On the last day of July, in the evening, large congregations assembled for the purpose of prayer and praise, at *Salter's Hill* and *Bethtephil*, formerly called *Endeavor*. On the following day, about two thousand five hundred of the laboring population assembled at Salter's Hill, a meeting for prayer and praise was held in the early part of the day, and the people were addressed by their pastor, Mr. Dendy, from Nehem. 12: 42, 43,—"And the singers sang loud, with Jezrahiah, their overseer; also that day, they offered great sacrifices and rejoiced, for God had made them rejoice with great joy; the wives also, and the children rejoiced, so that the joy of Jerusalem was heard even afar off." The people were exhorted to act as became freemen; to remember the position in which they now stood, and not disappoint the expectations of their friends. At Bethtephil the congregation was addressed by Mr. Pickton, from the words of the Israelites, upon their being released from the Babylonish captivity,—"The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." On the 2d, the children, under the care of Mr. Russell, at Bethtephil, enjoyed a day of celebration. They spread along the road as far as the Chatham intersection, bearing the banners of "August the first, 1838,"—"This is the day of Jubilee,"—"Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God."—"Freedom."

On the 3d, at Salter's Hill, the children, to the number of five hundred and fifty-two, assembled for the purpose of commemorating the day. The chapel was tastefully decorated with branches of palm-trees, fruits, and flowers. A hymn being sung, preparations were made for the burial of slavery. The whip, the chain, and the shackle, were separately produced, and the question asked, "What is to be done with the old slave-whip?" "Cut it up," was the reply. It was done. "What with the chain?" "Break it." This was also done. "What with the shackle?" "To be destroyed." After each was exhibited, three enthusiastic cheers were given, that they were no longer liable to the evils of slavery, but released from its terrors. The question being asked, what was to be done with the remains of slavery, "Bury them, bury them," was the universal cry. "Where?" "On Salter's Hill?" "No!"—"Yes!" "No; we will not have the remains of slavery so near us." However, this was overruled by its being remarked, that Salter's Hill would be the most appropriate place, as its grave could be watched, so as to prevent its rising again. The emblems were carried to the hole dug for them, and consigned for ever to the dust.

At *Brown's Town* a meeting was held in the chapel on the night of the 31st. Hymns of praise were sung, and prayer offered by the deacons of the church; after which Mr. Clarke delivered a brief historical sketch of the rise and fall of West Indian slavery. Just before the midnight hour, the large assemblage knelt down, and in solemn silence supplicated the blessing of God on the freedom they anticipated. A few minutes after twelve, all arose and lifted up their voices in a song of praise to him who had broken the chain of slavery. The ordinance of the Lord's supper was then administered to the members of the church.

On the morning of the 1st, another numerously attended meeting was held, when a sermon was preached by Mr. Clarke, from Psalm 113: 25,—"O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity." An address to the governor was read, and unanimously adopted. It was then resolved to commemorate the total abolition of slavery, by making a large addition to the chapel, so as to accommodate the many hundreds who every Sabbath day were unable to obtain

am happy to say you always have done as apprentices; but that the prosperity of the island will be increased by your willing labor, greatly beyond what it ever was in slavery. Be honest toward all men; be kind to your wives and children; spare your wives from heavy field work, as much as you can; make them attend to their duties at home, in bringing up your children, and in taking care of your stock; above all, make your children attend divine service and school.

"If you follow this advice, you will, under God's blessing, be happy and prosperous.

"Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Saint Jago de la Vega, this ninth day of July, in the first year of her majesty's reign, anneque Domini, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight. "LIONEL SMITH."

admission to hear the word of God. To accomplish this object, the members and inquirers of the church resolved to set apart the first-fruits of their free labor, and thus express their gratitude to the "God who had done such great things for them."

The next day, the children of the Sabbath school joined in a commemorative festival, and each child was presented with a book from the London Religious Tract Society.

On the 3d and following day, services were conducted at *Bethany* (Upper Dry Harbor Mountains). A very large congregation assembled in and around the temporary place of worship. A sermon was preached by Mr. Clarke, from Ezra 9: 9,—"We were bondmen; yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy unto us." It was resolved to erect, as soon as possible, a large substantial chapel as a monument to commemorate the total abolition of slavery. Contributions for this purpose were immediately given in by the emancipated negroes, to the amount of £240. On the following day, a united meeting of the Wesleyan and Baptist congregations was held in the Wesleyan place of worship.

At *Trelawney*, on the evening previous to the *glorious morn*, several hundreds of persons from the country repaired to their respective places of worship. Over the front gate of the Baptist chapel, was raised a transparency, having the inscription FREEDOM, brilliantly illuminated. The Wesleyan and Baptist chapels were lighted up, and soon filled with their respective congregations. At the latter, just as the clock struck eleven, Mr. Knibb announced for singing a few verses of a dirge composed for the occasion, commencing thus:—

"The death-blow is struck—see the monster is dying,
He cannot survive till the dawn streaks the sky;
In one single hour, he will prostrate be lying,
Come, shout o'er the grave where so soon he will lie."

Portions of Scripture were read, and several then slaves, though nominally apprentices, offered prayer and thanksgiving to God. For a few moments before twelve, perfect silence reigned; when Mr. Knibb commenced a few remarks. It is impossible to describe adequately the scene that followed; every eye glistened, every bosom heaved with emotion. As the clock struck, Mr. Knibb begged the congregation, more than two thousand in number, to listen—"*The hour is at hand*," said he, "*the monster is dying!*" As the twelfth peal vibrated, he exclaimed—"THE MONSTER IS DEAD! THE NEGRO IS FREE! THREE CHEERS FOR THE QUEEN!" At the moment when the last word was spoken, and the clock had struck the last stroke, they simultaneously rose up, and broke out into one loud and long-continued burst of exultation and joy. "Never," says Mr. Knibb, "did I hear such a sound: the winds of freedom appeared let loose—the very windows shook at the strange, yet sacred joy." The congregation then sung the hymn:—

"Restored the negro's long-lost rights,
How softened is his lot!
Now sacred, heart-born, dear delights
Shall bless his humble cot."

About half-past five in the morning, a large assemblage of persons collected near the Suffield school-room, when a coffin, containing a chain, handcuffs, iron collar, &c., "the hateful ensigns of usurped command," were produced, and lowered into a hole dug for the purpose, whilst the following verse was sung:—

"Now *Slavery* we lay thy vile form in the dust,
And buried for ever, there let it remain;
And rotted, and covered with infamy's rust,
Be every man-whip, and fetter, and chain!"

At this ceremony, the flag of FREEDOM, with the British union jack at the corner of it, was hoisted up to the top of a high mast, and the people gave three hearty cheers.

On one side of the coffin, was painted in large letters "*Cornwall Courier*," on the other side, "*Jamaica Standard.*" On the plate was inscribed "Colonial Slavery died July 31st, 1838, aged 276 years;" and on the lower part the name of "Sir John Hawkins," who first brought Africans into the colonies as *slaves*. At the head of the coffin was planted a young cocoa-nut tree, the token of victory, whose speedy growth will soon cause its lofty branches to wave over the emblems of cruel tyranny. At the planting of the *tree of liberty*, the people again gave three hearty cheers.

At the usual hour of divine service, the several places of worship were opened, and each one was crowded with a devout and grateful congregation,

who assembled to return thanks to Almighty God for the extinction of colonial slavery.

At the Baptist chapel, Mr. Ward read and prayed, and Mr. Knibb preached from Nehemiah 12: 42, 43; at the Wesleyan chapel, Mr. Ritchie delivered a discourse founded on Hebrews 7: 25; and at the kirk, Mr. Thorborn dilated on 1 Kings 20: 11. The thanksgiving service being ended, a public meeting was held at the Baptist chapel, at which all the speakers except Mr. Knibb, who was in the chair, were descendants of Africans.

"The meeting was convened," said the chairman, "for the purpose of not merely expressing their united thanks to Almighty God for the boon of freedom which they were that day in the enjoyment of, but also of recording that expression of gratitude, and of extending it to those whom God had honored in making them the instruments in his hands of doing his will. A set of resolution embracing these objects was read, and then proposed *seriatim* by speakers in the following order:—

Mr. Richard Brown.—"This resolution I hold in my hand is to express thanks to God for the gospel. I am thankful to Almighty God, and to the Lord Jesus Christ, who was rich, but he became poor that through his poverty we might be rich, who came from heaven to enlighten the earth with the light of righteousness. I praise the Father, I praise the Son, I praise the Holy Ghost; I praise God for the gospel,—the gospel is truth, and the truth shall make us free."

Mr. Andrew Dickson.—"I stand here for the purpose of seconding this resolution. I do truly thank God for the light of the everlasting gospel. I present my thanks to the people of England for the gospel. I know that once I was blind, but I thank God, that I now see; I do offer my sincere thanks to the Lord Jesus Christ for his blessed gospel, and I call on all my brethren here to do the same."

Mr. William Kerr.—"I stand up to give hearty thanks to the people of England for send us the gospel. The gospel bring we to see this day, the gospel bring we free. No one can tell what we see one time, and what we was suffer; but the gospel bring us joy. We bless God, we bless the queen, we bless the governor, we bless the people of England for the joy we have. Let we remember that we been on sugar estate from sunrise a-morning till eight o'clock at night; the rain falling, the sun shining, we was in it all. Many of we own color behind we, and many before; we get whip, our wives get beat like a dog, before we face, and if we speak we get the same; they put we in shackle; but thank our heavenly Father we not slave again!"

Mr. William Smithson.—"My dear friends, we did not expect to see this day, but God has spared us to see it. If it was not for the gospel, the freedom would not have come. The people of England, who did not know us, cared for our poor immortal souls, and send us the gospel, and they send us ministers to preach the gospel to us. We pray for better freedom, for that good part which shall never be taken from us. We pray God that we and we ministers may be together in heaven, where shall praise God for ever."

Mr. William Gibson.—"My good friends, brethren and sisters, we truly thank God for this opportunity we have to praise his name. We cannot forget that you and I had not such a blessing at one time. We remember when we had none to feed us, when we were persecute because we pray; but remember what God says about Zion. He will not leave her nor forsake her,—and must we forsake God? No: we must thank God for freedom, we must thank the people of England for freedom. Let us pray that our brothers and sisters in other lands may be made free, and let us look for a better freedom; if we do not be free from sin, we shall be slaves in hell for ever."

Mr. Thomas Reid.—"I thank God for this day, I thank God for freedom. I remember the time of persecution. Brown and black, all say dis religion will soon come to an end. Yes, Mr. Henry said, he hoped they had shot them fellows, for we ministers; they drive them away, but the gospel return. We thank God for the glorious light which we eye see."

Mr. Richard Kerr.—"I will say, thanks be to God for the freedom which the gospel bring. God have feeling heart, God send the gospel and mission-

aries into the world; without the gospel, the world is in darkness. The first time the gospel come, it give we light; the second time it come, it give we light and freedom."

Mr. Edward Barrett.—"My good friends, we are meet together here to show our gratitude to a certain gentleman and the people of England, who felt for us when we did not feel for ourselves. We have been made to stand up and see our wives flogged, and we could not help them. The people of England did not see us, but God see us, and God stir up their hearts to get us freedom, and now we are all free people! What shall we say? Let us lift our hearts and bless God; let us bless queen Victoria: yes, kings did sit on the throne, but kings did not make we free; no, that was left for a woman to do; when kings could not do it, Victoria did. When we lie down in the cool shade, must we not raise up our hearts and hands to Almighty God for the blessings he gives us? The overseers and the bookkeepers say the ships will come from England, and go back with nothing but ballast; but I say to them, 'Look out; we shall have more to send home than we ever had; sugar, pimenta, ginger, and coffee.' Another thing I have to say is, that not long ago there were two particular gentlemen who came to see how the apprenticeship work (Messrs. Sturge and Harvey). They laid out so much money to buy we free, and they came themselves to see us whether we free or no. They come out to see what them magistrates doing that they send out; they reported the wicked ones: some of them very good magistrates, and some of them very devils. And now, my friends, ought we not to throw up something to support we church, and support the gospel? Let the good friends in England see that Jamaica can now support its own ministers."

Mr. George Prince of Wales.—"My dear friends, this is the day for us to rejoice. I hope we shall never do any thing to put our friends to shame. Walk upright. Remember it is your duty to support our pastor, his wife, and his children; if you do not support religion, you are not worthy of religion."

Mr. John White.—"My dear free brothers, the ladies of England heard of us that were living under the cursed chain of slavery. We cannot see them, they cannot see us; but there are many ladies here to-day who, with the kind ladies in England, have done great things for us. And now they expect to hear something good of us; we must try to behave ourselves as other ladies and gentlemen in this island do. Let us ask that Redeemer who sits on his throne, for grace to behave ourselves. Let us show the people in England that more sugar can be made by free ladies and gentlemen than was made by slaves. Let us be kind to our ladies. Let the friends in England hear something worthy of us."

Mr. Thomas Gardner.—"My dear brothers and sisters, now the black man can unite with the white: no distinctions now, only of character. If any man will not behave himself, he is not free yet. O may the whole multitude in Jamaica bless God, and thank the people of England for freedom. I rejoice I am slave no more, and you are slaves no more,—Jamaica is slave no more. Amen."

Mr. James Wallace.—"My Christian friends, a resolution is placed in my hand, I thank God. The first resolution that was placed in my hands was when I was a little boy; that resolution was a *hoe*. They put a hoe into my hand to go and clean grass. I remember crying because they put it into my hand to work with; but I was a slave. But now, thanks be to God, my Christian friends, I am free, and another resolution is placed in my hand; it is in black and white; and though I may not be able to read it myself, I have a little boy at the school, and he can read it for me. I was told, when I took Christ to be my friend, I would become a beggar; but, my Christian friends, the gospel make me work better than I ever did before I embraced it. The gospel was a light before me. We seldom have the opportunity to meet together, only on the Sabbath; but this is not the Sabbath, it is the day of joy and gladness. Remember your children, my Christian friends. We must support our minister and our schools. We must not work on the Sabbath day; we must take our minister's advice, do our masters' work, and attend to our grounds. Some people say the gospel will make us poor,

and that we give all our money to the minister: it is not so. These people don't remember that they had our bodies to satisfy their soul, but never looked after our souls; no, our ministers did that, and we must not forget them. Let us endeavor, my Christian friends, to train up ourselves and our children to good conduct. 'Every tree is known by its fruit,' and every one will judge of us by our conduct.

Mr. M'Laughlin.—"I would ask, what would be liberty,—what would be freedom without religion? Look round the heathen world,—they are free, they are at liberty; but are they conscious of the liberty which you feel? We are truly thankful, I trust, for the gospel, and we ought to be very thankful for ministers of the gospel. Dark, dark, dark, indeed, would be this world without the light of the gospel. Blessed be God, that he had sent us ministers to preach the gospel to us. We ought to show our gratitude for the blessings of the gospel. How? By coming forward as men to do what freemen do. We speak about freedom,—I rejoice with you on this occasion; but let us not be satisfied with the freedom purchased with English gold,—let us seek that freedom purchased by the precious blood of Christ."

On the 2d, the town was again thronged with hundreds of youth, who repaired to the Suffield school-room, whence, about ten o'clock, upwards of a thousand scholars issued in grand procession, under the direction of their several teachers. The train was preceded by a carriage, in which were six children, sons and daughters of ministers, drawn by two horses gaily caparisoned. One caparison had emblazoned on it, "LIBERTY TO THE SLAVE;" the other had, "THE DAY OF JUBILEE." Four banners were displayed by the children: one with the inscription, "The chain is broken," with the representation of a broken chain; another had, "Africa is free, August, 1838;" a third had "Holy Bible," encircled by a wreath of laurel; and the fourth had, "Infant School," circumscribing a small house. The main body of the procession, which occupied almost a whole street, was enlivened by numerous banners.

When they arrived at the Baptist chapel, the gallery was completely filled with youth. The chapel was tastefully decorated with branches of trees, with flowers, and with the pictures of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, &c. Several ladies and gentlemen were present, and the lower part of the chapel was crowded by parents and friends, whose glistening eyes bespoke the inward delight of their souls. Mr. Knibb delivered a suitable address; after which, the children returned in order to the school-room, the whole play-ground of which was covered with boards, and beautifully adorned with boughs, branches, sugar-canes, pictures, festoons, Scripture prints, cloth prints, and a variety of other ornaments. Portraits of her majesty the queen, and the venerable Thomas Clarkson, both encircled with wreaths of flowers, were placed in the most conspicuous situations, the flag of freedom waving over all, from the long staff, to the top of which it was hoisted. Tables were provided for a thousand children, who sat down to an ample banquet. Nothing could exceed the order, cleanliness, and general appearance of so many children, several hundreds of whom had only the day before emerged from slavery.

On the 3d, a procession was formed at Wilberforce station, which proceeded to Oxford estate, where, seated on the green sward, under the wide-spread branches of a tamarind tree, the children, near six hundred in number, surrounded by their parents and friends, received an address from Mr. Ward; and there they kneeled and prayed to the God and Father of all their mercies, whose bounties were as freely bestowed on them as the air they breathed. After experiencing the hospitality of Mr. Philpotts, the overseer of Oxford, the children returned in order to Wilberforce, "making the welkin ring" with their loud huzzas and cheers. There they enjoyed their freedom's festival with great glee, during which a tree of liberty was planted by E. B. Lyon, Esq., who expatiated on the topic of civil liberty.

A similar procession of between two and three hundred scholars was next day organized near Waldensia station, which, with banners flying, proceeded from the intersection of Forest estate to the chapel, which was decorated with considerable taste. An address was

delivered by Mr. Knibb to a congregation of young and old that filled the chapel; after which a beautiful young palm, as a tree of liberty, was planted by Mrs. M. Nichols and Miss Kitching, not far from the foundation-stone of the chapel; where three hearty cheers were given.

And what Christian heart does not even now respond to those acclamations, which one seems still to hear, as imagination renews the scenes and the sounds of that glorious day? Superior worlds might look upon those vast assemblies with commingling pleasure; and future ages will rejoice to read the story of the conflicts and victories of noble principles, attested in the blended congratulations of the givers and receivers of heaven's noblest birthright, and legislation's richest boon,—*civil, religious, and universal* FREEDOM.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BAHAMAS, BELIZE, AND SOUTH AFRICA.

In January, 1833, Mr. and Mrs. Burton embarked at Port Royal for the Bahamas, and in a few days arrived at Nassau in New Providence. The object of this visit was twofold,—to try the effect of a change of air on the declining health of Mrs. Burton, and to examine the state of the Baptist churches in those islands. The population was supposed to amount to about 16,500; of whom 4200 were whites, 3000 free colored persons, and the remainder slaves. About one third of the whole number resided in the town of Nassau. The number of Baptist churches was considered to be about twenty in all the islands, and they manifested an earnest desire to receive further religious instruction.

Mr. Burton was received with the the greatest cordiality, not only by the various congregations of his own denomination, who regarded his visit as an answer to their prayers for some one to come and teach them the way of the Lord more perfectly, but by the resident clergyman and the Wesleyan missionaries, the latter of whom had been proposing among themselves to request such a visit. The governor gave Mr. Burton full permission to preach any where, both in New Providence and the adjacent islands, avowing his thankfulness that any ministers of the gospel would come thither and undertake such arduous duties.

The black people generally were in a most benighted state, though there was much profession of religion. The Wesleyans had been there nearly twenty years laboring with some success among the white inhabitants and some of the respectable people of color; but had done exceedingly little among the black population. At the close of the American war, proprietors with slaves left the United States, and received land in the West Indies. Many of these proprietors settled in the Bahamas, and among the slaves they brought many were Baptists. They collected congregations, and continued worship; but not being able to read, and not having any one who cared about teaching them, though their numbers increased, their knowledge and piety diminished. "I never met with one of them," says Mr. Burton, "able to read a chapter correctly; and the first prayer which I heard offered by one of the members of one of the most influential churches in the colony was partly offered to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob! It pleased God, however, to dispose them to welcome me, and to welcome religious instruction."*

It soon appeared, however, that a single missionary was insufficient; and in November, Mr. Milner Pearson was sent to aid Mr. Burton. Mr. Nichols also had gone from Jamaica for this purpose, in connection with the hope of restoring his health; but he was compelled to abandon the West, and return to his native land. Two of the churches in Nassau, were, at their own request, formed afresh after dissolution; and into one fifty-two, into the other fifty-

* Letter to the author.

three, including some recently baptized, were received after close examination. Mr. Burton and Mr. Pearson visited several of the islands, and were well received by the planters, particularly at Exuma, where the latter found the people desirous of further instruction, and deeply deploring their privation of religious ordinances. He afterwards went to St. Salvador and Turk's Island; but his valuable life was terminated by a fever in the month of December. Mr. Ebenezer Quant afterwards proceeded to Nassau to supply his place. Mr. Bourne, also, was directed by the committee to remove from Belize to the mission in the Bahamas; but subsequently his connection with the Society was dissolved in consequence of moral delinquencies; Mr. Alexander Henderson of Hemyock, Devon, being sent to occupy his station at Belize.

In 1835, both Mr. Burton and Mr. Quant were attacked by frequent illness, which prevented excursions to the smaller islands so frequently as they desired; still many were visited, and every where their reception was most favorable. They found the people entirely ignorant of Christianity, but willing to receive instruction; and upon ten of the islands twenty-three churches were constituted, comprising 540 members. The following summary will give a general view of the state of this branch of the mission.

Turk's Island. About the middle of the year, Mr. Quant went to reside at Grand Key, Turk's Island, where his exertions were blessed. At Grand Key the congregation was numerous, and the church had received a clear increase of fifty-eight, including the addition that was made when the station was visited in the early part of the year. The Sabbath school formed since Mr. Quant settled there, prospered, having about 135 children.

The *Caicos Islands* had been visited twice since Mr. Quant settled at Turk's Island. The word was preached at almost every settlement; two Sabbath schools were commenced.

Heneagua was visited in May, when a church was formed consisting of sixteen members.

Rum Key was visited in January and May. The church on the north side had greatly needed assistance and guidance. There was necessarily renewed attention to the importance of some one being stationed on the island. There had been fourteen members added to the church on the south side, and thirty to that on the north side of the island. The two Sabbath schools were continued, and that on the north side had received the assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Whitehead.

St. Salvador was visited in October and November. Mr. Pearson had previously been there; but sickness at the time prevented him from travelling and almost hindered him from preaching. On his second journey, most of the settlements in the island were visited. The people heard the word gladly, and expressed much thankfulness for it. Many of them were found very ignorant. After repeated examinations forty-one were baptized, who with thirty-one others previously baptized, were formed into four churches. Golden Grove had twenty-eight members; Tennan Hill, eight; Pigeon Bay, twenty; and Prospect Bluff, sixteen. A Sabbath school was commenced at each station.

Long Island was visited in January and February. For years before, there had not been any one to preach the word of God to the people. Some of the white, as well as many of the black and colored population, had never heard a sermon before in their lives; and very many of them were utterly ignorant of Christ, though they had heard him named. Several Baptist societies existed throughout the island, among which there were some who knew something of the Saviour, and who appeared to rejoice when they were told more of him. The word of the gospel was received by some with devout thankfulness. Through the kind assistance of the inhabitants, and especially of the different branches of Mrs. Rahming's family, almost every settlement was visited. Many were married who had never before had an opportunity; and churches were formed in the north district, at Mr. Adderley's place, consisting of ten members; in the middle district, at Mr. Millar's, consisting of five; and in the south, at Great Harbor, consisting of fourteen.

Ragged Island was visited in February. In the recollection of the oldest inhabitants the gospel had never been

preached there before by any minister. The Baptist society, though considerable in number, was in a very deplorable state. The word of God was, however, heard by most of the people on the island with great attention. Through the accommodation which Mr. Wilson afforded to the missionary, he was able to stay long enough to marry a great number who were desirous of being so united. A church was formed, consisting of twenty-four members; and a Sabbath school was begun which has since received the constant assistance of Mrs. Wildgoos. Two of the members had been separated from the church.

Eleuthera was visited in April and May. At Tarpum Bay, there were four added to the church, and one was excluded from it. At Governor's Harbor, there had generally been a good attendance. Six had been added to the church during the year, including one who had been received in Nassau.

At the Bogue and Current, one who had been excluded in the preceding year, had during the last year been restored to the church, and two others added. At the Cove a small church had been formed, consisting of seven members.

Exuma was visited in July and August. Two years before, Mr. Pearson scattered the good seed through this island; and in almost every place it had been springing up, and bearing a rich harvest. In several populous parts, feasting, and dancing, and drunkenness, had given place to the worship of God. Many spoke of the great change which had taken place since Mr. Pearson's short stay among them; and were very desirous that they might be visited very often if it was not possible for a missionary to be stationed among them. The people were hungering for the bread of life. Ninety-one persons were received on this occasion; and added to the seven whom Mr. Pearson had previously received. These ninety-eight were formed into two churches,—one at Stephenton, for the principal part of Great Exuma, having in it seventy-five members; and the other at Little Exuma, having twenty-three members, for the Salt Ponds and Hog Key. A Sabbath school was begun at Stephenton.

Andros Island was visited in December. To the church at Quarter Master there were seventeen added. As the inhabitants of that part of the island particularly needed some one to teach them and their children to read, an application signed on behalf of sixty-two persons was prepared that it might be sent to the Board of Education, requesting that a school might be established among them. The church at Conk Sound had been in a disordered state for some time; there were, however, some who had been seriously attending to the word of God; and though one of the members was excluded from the church, there were seven persons added to it. To the small but united church in Secunder Symonet's house at Blanket Sound, two were added. To the church at Fresh Creek three were added.

In *Nassau* the work of the Lord had been gradually advancing throughout the year, though often they had to mourn over the sins or the negligence of those whose conduct had been irregular. As many as sixteen had been excluded from the church during the year. There had been an increase in most of the classes, and a hundred and forty-eight added to the church. Two additional Sabbath schools had been established during the year,—one at Grant's Town, and the other at the New Chapel. The commencement of these two had necessarily lessened the number of children in the Old Chapel Sabbath school; but all of them exhibited symptoms of prosperity and usefulness. The general attendance at the three Sabbath schools was about 250. Much concern had been felt for the salvation of the young; as was evinced by the special prayer-meetings and the class-meetings held for them, and the manner in which they were remembered in the regular prayer-meetings. A number had been added to the church, and many others were desirous of union with it. In the month of August the new chapel was opened for the worship of God. The cost of this building, including the purchase of land, was about £1000 sterling, of which not quite £100 remained unpaid.

To the small church at *Good Hope Hill* three were added during the year. The Sabbath school was regularly taught by Mr. James Rutherford, and had in it about thirty children. The

members of the church and some friends in the neighborhood had for the last few months been engaged in building a chapel there, giving their time and labor to this object as opportunities occurred.

The church at *Carmichael Village* had received an addition of seven during the year. Their Sabbath school consisted of thirty-five. The minds of some in this small church had been deeply impressed with a sense of the duty of humbly seeking an increase of their number by the conversion of sinners around them. They lamented their want of prosperity, and made a covenant among themselves, that both in private and public they would earnestly seek the mercy of God for their neighbors. Already four had since that period been added to the church.

Most of these small churches manifested their pious zeal for God in sending contributions to the mission, each according to its ability; and upon the whole there appeared cause for gratitude and motive to effort, in their general condition.

BELIZE.

The church at Belize, under the care of Mr. Brown, continued in a state of external peace and union; and though undistinguished by great enlargement, had opened two small places of worship in two villages, with a Sabbath school attached to each. Subsequently, upon his removal to Nassau, his successor, Mr. Henderson, who labored diligently on the spot, and in excursions into the interior, enjoyed considerable success. The congregation at Belize soon doubled in number, while several schools were established, and prospered. This happy state of things continued in 1835 and 1836; and the settlement seemed to derive spiritual benefit from the temporal chastisement of cholera, many of the hardened and the reprobate being driven to the house of God. In a journey to Bacalar, a large town in the neighboring settlement, Mr. Henderson had opportunities of circulating many copies of the Scriptures in the Spanish language, and was generally well received. In 1837, the schools were attended by upwards of two hundred children daily, but with the double disadvantage of a want of sufficient room and adequate assistance. A Spanish gentleman from Guatimala went to Belize to ascertain whether Mr. Henderson could receive and educate his son, being quite disposed to forego his Catholic prejudices; and three individuals of the same nation were with thirteen others, united to the church, whose numbers then amounted to sixty. From their contributions and schools nearly £200 sterling were subscribed towards the expense of the mission. In March, a competent assistant was sent over for the schools, Mr. Henry Philpot, of Canterbury, who had studied the British system of education at the Borough Road school. After entering upon his work with holy zeal, and endearing himself to all his friends by his amiable deportment and pious spirit, he was removed by death, four months only after his arrival.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Some urgent representations having been made to the committee by persons connected with the Baptist denomination at Graham's Town, in the district of Albany, South Africa, seconded by missionaries of other societies, it was resolved, in 1831, to attempt the establishment there of a missionary station; and Mr. W. Davies, pastor of the church in Lake Lane, Portsea, devoted himself to the undertaking. A considerable time elapsed before he could obtain a vessel to Algoa Bay. At length he embarked with his family on board the *Eclipse*, in January, 1832; but having been wrecked in April, off one of the Cape de Verd Islands, under circumstances of peculiar distress, he returned to England, but with the steady purpose of resuming his voyage as soon as practicable. This he was able to do early in the ensuing summer, and arrived in September at Table Bay. From Cape Town he proceeded to Algoa Bay, where he commenced his labors with pleasing hope of success.

Fourteen members were added to the infant church in November, 1833; and a Sunday school of a hundred children, was formed under competent teachers, most of them members of the church. Mr. Davies experienced much countenance and friendship from ministers and people of various denominations previously settled at Graham's Town; and began, with promising appearances, a subordinate station at Kareiga, or

Karega, sixteen milest distant. Some encouraging progress was made, till, at the close of 1834, it was checked by the invasion of a numerous horde of Caffres, who committed great devastation. Mr. Daveis and his family, however, were preserved, and some time afterwards, he erected a small place of worship at Karega. In November, 1836, he suffered a severe domestic bereavement, in the death of his wife. In 1837, he resumed his visits to the Karega station, and was encouraged by the prospect that presented itself at that place. The state of his own church, also, was pleasing. Fourteen were prepared for admission at the close of the year; of whom two or three were young persons of thirteen years of age.

In the spring of 1838, Mr. Davies died in peace, after having suffered for some time a declining state of health. In the last letter he wrote to the secretary, he refers to recent manifestations of a revival of religion in the church and congregation; especially to a hallowed excitement among the young people. The excellent state of his own mind will be seen in the following extract:—"For two months I have not been able to preach. . . . . If it is the will of God, I should like to live a few years longer for the sake of my children, and of our little church, in the welfare of which I feel much interested. But I would lie passive in the hand of God: he is not to me an unknown God; I have committed my all into his hand. Year after year, he has been to me 'good, immensely good;' and I can truly say that 'all his ways are love.' I am not conscious of any remains of enmity against him: I love him; yes, I think I can say, if I love any thing, I love our merciful God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Yet I thoroughly feel my unworthiness; I would humble myself before him in dust and ashes; with Job, I know—I feel that 'I am vile.' Living and dying, I would be found lying at the foot of the cross, 'looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.' Let me have an interest in your prayers that 'to me to live may be Christ, and to die gain.' "

At the earnest solicitation of the church, another pastor was sent them, the Rev. George Aveline of Maidstone, who, having left England in September, arrived in Graham's Town about the end of the year.

PART IV.

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE RESTORATION OF UNION IN THE SOCIETY, AND OF NEGRO FREEDOM, TO THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE MISSION.

The progress of the Society, in the various branches of its operations, has now been traced from its commencement to an important crisis in its concerns, both in the East and West. A few more years only remain to complete the period of the intended narrative; and it is proposed to introduce the detail of events in such a manner, that the history shall advance in distinct lines converging in the year of Jubilee. The reader will thus be enabled to take a clear and comprehensive view of the mission, in the several quarters of the globe where it has fixed its standard.

CHAPTER I.

THE EAST INDIES.

When a comparison has been drawn between the operations of the mission in the East and West Indies, it has been frequently to the disadvantage of the former; so that the public mind, attracted by the splendid successes of the missionary and anti-slavery operations in Jamaica, seemed, for a long period, to be *cooling* in interest and sympathy with regard to the East.

This was the more to be lamented, not only on account of that country being the primary seat of the mission abroad, and having for a long succession of years attracted universal attention by the unparalleled exertions of Carey and others, but also because the amount of good accomplished, though different in kind, was perhaps equal in degree to that of any part of the great undertaking. The results of labor were more immediate, more rapid, and, if it may be so expressed, more personal in the West Indies than in the East, as made known in converted thousands and tens of thousands, and in the far-resounding victories over slavery; while in India, the work was, and still is, in a measure preparatory and prospective, as traceable in the cultivation of native talent, the extermination of native and European prejudice against the gospel, the improvement of the young, the diminution of the power of idol gods and their advocates over the popular mind, and above all, in the circulation of translated portions of the sacred Scriptures among the teeming myriads of Asia, in their vernacular languages.

And this consideration leads to the mention of the very important visit of the Rev. W. H. Pearce to his native land. His presence, soon after his arrival, on the platform at the anniversary meeting of the Society in 1837, produced emotions of deep and universal interest; while the immediate cause of his temporary withdrawment from the sphere of action was sufficiently apparent in his feeble and debilitated appearance. Unable to take a public part in the proceedings of the day, and subsequently incapacitated, for many months, from much of physical or even of mental exertion, he nevertheless employed himself most beneficially, in first preparing an appeal on behalf of India, both for men and money, and then following it up by personal applications for the needful supply. In that appeal the subject was presented in a lucid and impressive manner; in sufficient detail to impart information, and yet with an adequate brevity and condensation to ensure effect. From these pages may be gained a comprehensive view of the general state of the Indian department of the mission at the time. He claimed attention to the circumstances of his brethren, especially in Calcutta and the neighborhood, and urged the critical state of the people.

With regard to the first point, he remarked that the "Calcutta brethren," as they were called, did not confine their labors to the city and its immediate suburbs, for some of them extended to thirty or fifty miles beyond. Without dwelling on other labors, he referred particularly to those of a more direct missionary character which were performed at the time of his departure. "At the end of last year, they had under their pastoral care distinct churches of native brethren in Calcutta, Chitpur, and Howrah, as we llas at Luckyantipore and Khari. They were occupied in daily services to the heathen in the native languages, in Calcutta and its vicinity, as well as at fairs, markets, and other assemblies, held at numerous villages near our distant country stations. They had under their care two most promising boarding schools, on the plan of the American brethren at Ceylon, containing respectively nearly fifty boys and forty girls, all the children of native Christians, who are boarded and clothed, as well as educated, at the institution. They superintend a very flourishing seminary for Hindoo youth, in which there are no less than two hundred and fifty boys and young men, receiving an excellent education in English as well as Bengalee. They have also under instruction two distinct classes of catechists, as students for the native ministry; some converted in middle life, who are diligently instructed in their own language; and others, pious youths who have been educated at the boarding school in English, and are afterwards supplied with additional instruction on theological subjects. The first class are designed for usefulness in villages, and among the great mass of the population; while the latter will be prepared to labor, and defend the truth, when necessary, in the city, among the better educated part of their countrymen. Both classes are instructed to preach fluently in Bengalee. The efforts of the brethren in the translation of the Scriptures, are important and responsible. Missionaries of all denominations have adopted their version of the Bengalee Testament, and have affectionately urged them to further exertions in

this department; and they have now to carry through the press a new version of the Old Testament, just translated, and are pledged to the publication, as soon as possible, of the whole Scriptures with marginal references in the same language. They are also preparing a version of the New Testament in Sungskrit, the learned language of the Hindoos, and in Hindostanee, the dialect most extensively spoken by the Mahometans, throughout Hindostan. Desirous to aid the usefulness of the Religious Tract Society and the American Sunday School Union, they are engaged in translating and carrying through the press various tracts and larger religious works, to be printed at the expense of those excellent institutions. In addition to the above, the brethren have the management of a large printing office, in which upwards of a hundred persons are employed in casting types, and in printing and binding useful and religious works in various languages. At this establishment, thousands of gospels, and above two hundred thousand tracts and school books, have been lately printed every year; and by means of its labors, considerable pecuniary aid is afforded to the benevolent operations of the mission."

Mr. Pearce adverted, also, to the earnest solicitude which he and his brethren felt for the extension of the cause; as well as for the maintenance of operations then in progress. He mentioned especially the *upper provinces of India*; in which vast district of country were only three missionaries, considerably distant from each other, and each of these having the care of an English church and congregation, which would of course restrict his direct purposes of usefulness among the heathen. One station at least, therefore, seemed desirable in which preaching to the heathen, efficient day schools for their youth, boarding schools for the children of native Christians, and systematic exertions to prepare a body of native preachers and catechists, should be provided; whence, as in the lower provinces, branch stations at convenient distances might be established.

In speaking of the peculiar circumstances in which the native population were placed, he thus unfolds the then existing condition of the people:—"It is evident to all acquainted with the state of native society in Calcutta, that a great and interesting change in the Hindoo mind has been long going on; but it has been lately far more clearly and rapidly developed than before, and now requires corresponding exertions on the part of Christians to give it a right direction. A new era, it is evident, is now bursting on India. The labors of former years are producing an extensive and beneficial influence, and an impetus has been communicated to the native mind which can never be repressed. In some places, the institutions of caste are generally, though not openly, violated; and in others, they have already fallen into contempt. A taste for European science and literature has been excited, which, in its influence, promises to be most important. Such ridiculous statements with regard to geographical and astronomical facts are given in the sacred books of the Hindoos, that every youth who acquires only elementary scientific knowledge, soon suspects them to be false; his religious opinions being derived from the same works, doubt is gradually excited, which the increasing knowledge of every day tends to strengthen, till before his education is completed, Hindooism is discovered to be utterly an imposture. Hence the pupils who receive an English education, are all becoming, or have already become, complete unbelievers in the popular religion, and must either settle down as atheists and deists on the one side, or as Christians on the other. Many thousands of youth are taught at the expense of different missionary institutions; these are all instructed in the great principles of Christianity, and some almost every month acknowledge the Saviour. But many young people are in very different circumstances. Four colleges in Calcutta, and twenty-three colleges and superior schools in other large cities, have been established at the expense of government, in twenty-three of which, at least five thousand native youths are now receiving an English education of a superior order. No instruction in the principles of Christianity, however, is afforded in these institutions; so that as they begin to see the folly of Hindooism, they become acquainted with no better system of religion, and are thus exposed to the

contagion of infidelity and vice. Among the youth of this class, the writings of Paine and Voltaire have been diligently circulated by skeptical Europeans, and works of the most licentious character have been sold by unprincipled natives. Rejecting, with its puerile mythology, the moral precepts of Hindooism, uninfluenced by the truths of Christianity, and led to deny even those of natural religion, these young men are in a most dangerous state; and on the efforts of the Christian church at the present moment, must depend, under God, whether they shall pass from the darkness of heathenism into the light of Christian truth and holiness, or be precipitated into the gloomier depths of infidelity, sensuality, and eternal death.

"I may add, that their salvation or destruction will not take place alone,—it must involve that of many others. The late governor-general Lord William Bentinck, and his successor, Lord Auckland, having very judiciously encouraged the English language, in preference to the Persian, in public business, the desire for education in this language throughout India, is greater than was ever known before. As an illustration, I may mention, that at the latter end of last year, when a new college was opened at Hooghly, a few miles above Calcutta, fourteen hundred native youths enrolled their names as English students within a few days. Several native princes, with their chief officers, are already learning our language, and are frequently applying to Calcutta for instructors. To supply the demand from all quarters, numerous teachers are required; and the pupils who are now under instruction in Calcutta, in the government as well as the mission schools, being the most advanced, will without doubt be engaged, and in a few years be scattered over all the country as instructors of their countrymen. Even now, almost every boy who receives instruction in English in the day time, communicates it to a class of his relations or acquaintance, at night; and several advanced pupils, who are still pursuing their studies, unite in superintending a large free school for the benefit of their countrymen. How lamentable will it be, if these young men, becoming infidels, should proselyte their pupils, as they emerge from heathenism, into the same destructive sentiments! How delightful will it be, if through the active exertions of missionaries, many of them should now be brought to God, and in various situations of influence, which from their superior information they must occupy, should widely diffuse among their countrymen, a saving knowledge of the blessed Redeemer!"

On these grounds, Mr. Pearce entreated that *ten* missionaries should be sent as a reinforcement to India; and that means should be provided for the erection of a chapel and school-room for the benefit of the more intelligent and respectable Hindoos. The amount required was £6000. In making the request he anticipated the objection that was likely to be at once started,—the more than exhausted state of the funds, and the aid that had been promised to the West India missions. His full belief, however, that no obstacle would prevent the ultimate accomplishment of his wishes and prayers, was realized. Mr. Robert Bayne was set apart as the first of the number solicited, in January, 1838, at Liverpool; whence, after long detention he at length sailed for Bengal. Mr. Joseph Harris, also, was designated on the 28th of March, at St. Albans, and soon after sailed with his family for Ceylon. On the 31st of July, Mr. George Parsons was solemnly appointed to India, in a public service at Frome. His destination was Monghyr. Others followed.

In a letter to the contributors, expressive of thanks for their liberality, Mr. Pearce relates the following circumstance. "When Mrs. Pearce and myself were leaving India, Mr. Carapeit C. Aratoon, one of the Society's earliest missionaries, handed me a copy of Rennell's Indian Atlas, desiring me to present it in his name to the committee. It was accompanied with the following message, expressed in his usual simple and touching manner,—'Pray show this large map of Hindoostan to the committee, and tell them that they and British Christians in general must surely have forgotten *how large* India is, or *how few* missionaries they have sent to labor for its salvation.'" He further adds, "The native Christians, in a touching appeal to their British brethren, have earnestly solicited fresh laborers from England;

and when I asked a number of interesting children what I should bring them from Europe, even *they* begged for 'more missionaries to instruct themselves and their countrymen.' With what pleasure and gratitude, then, will all receive the brethren who have already sailed, and those who, we hope, will shortly follow them? In the name, therefore, of the European missionary brethren who have long been suffering from the pressure of accumulated labors; of the valuable native preachers, promising candidates for the ministry, and infant Christian churches, who yet look to foreign agents as their guides and instructors; of the rising Christian, Hindoo, and Mahometan population, who now long for Christian instruction—all of whom *solicit* your aid; as well as in the name of the vast multitude of natives, not yet wishing your assistance it is true, but on that very account the more in need of it, and yet, we trust, to be benefited by it, —I affectionately thank you for your generous contributions."

CALCUTTA AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD.

The congregations of all, or nearly all the chapels, were increasing at the commencement of 1838. Mr. Robinson, assisted by Mr. W. Thomas and four native preachers, occupied the Lol Bazar chapel. The number of members who had joined from the villages, was about fifty; and one hundred and thirty were connected with the station altogether as members and inquirers. Some who had been cut off by cholera, among whom was his own wife, died triumphantly. The boarding-school, since named the Baptist Missionary Institution, under the care of Mr. Ellis, was never more prosperous. A theological class was formed, consisting of pious youth only, who met three days a-week, to proceed, in addition to their school duties, with a regular course of theological study. There were three native chapels,—at Banda Ghat, Howrah, and Goladarga. The Female Christian Institution at Seebpoor, near Fort William, under the superintendence of Mrs. G. Pearce, was removed in July to Calcutta; buildings having been erected for the accommodation of the children on the mission ground, adjoining the Circular Road chapel. Great assistance was given by Ramkristoo, the native Christian school-master, whose pious example and diligent exertions proved eminently useful to the Institution.

On the 22d of August, Mrs. Yates died at sea. Mr. George Pearce, who had gone to Bombay in vain for the restoration of his health, found it necessary to proceed to England, leaving Mr. Williamson to supply his place.

A few of the youths who were educated in the Chitpore mission school, joined the Circular Road chapel; and among those who gave a very satisfactory and interesting account of themselves, were particularly two, named Gunga Narayun Sil, and Hurry Hurr Sandal. Subsequently, the wife of the latter also renounced her home, friends, relatives, and jewels, to unite with him in the service of Christ. Chitpore having been abandoned, from its insalubrity, premises were obtained at Entally, and the school was then called "the Calcutta Native Christian Institution;" and the church in Chitpore became a church in Entally.

On the 30th of September, twelve Hindoos were baptized; eight of whom were young persons from the girls' Christian boarding-school under the superintendence of Mrs. G. Pearce.

The second month of the year 1839 witnessed the painful event of the death of Mr. Penney, by cholera. He was attended with affectionate kindness to the last, by the brethren Yates and Ellis, to whom he spoke of his peace of mind, though it was an unexpected visitation. He was about forty-seven years of age, and had resided twenty-two in Calcutta, occupying a sphere of eminent usefulness as superintendent of the Benevolent Institution, for which he was eminently adapted. But he also took part in preaching and in other missionary labors. He was secretary of the Auxiliary Missionary Society, deacon of the church in the Circular Road, and president of the Ladies' Society for Female Education. "His predominant qualities as a man," says Dr. Yates, "were goodness, uprightness, cheerfulness and activity. As a husband, father, and friend, he was invariably kind; as a Christian, he displayed sincerity and love, zeal and constancy; as a preacher, he was simple and pointed; as an instructor of the young, affection-

ate, but firm in the maintenance of authority, he made his pupils feel he was both their master and their friend." He was twice married; and his surviving widow was the eldest child of Felix, and consequently the grand-daughter of Dr. Carey.

On their arrival, and during their stay in Calcutta, Messrs. Parsons and Bayne gave the most pleasing account of the state of the missionary operations, which they found to be on a more extensive scale than they had anticipated. "I see," says the former, "that the amount of labor connected with a central station is not to be estimated by regarding the calls of that station alone. In a measure, the care of all the out-stations alights here. Preparations for missionary work there, must be made here. The printing office is an immense concern. I never go over it without admiring the calmness and quietude with which brother Thomas bears the ponderous weight of its management. There is an incessant stream of proofs pouring in to be corrected."

He speaks of the Native Christian Institution for raising up native preachers, as an excellent undertaking. Contentment seemed to live in undisturbed possession of the place. The order observed was admirable, and the whole of the elder students gave indications of incipient piety; all above thirteen years of age being, or about to become members of the church.

Mr. Bayne writes,—"Our missionaries are found in every thing: translating the Bible, in whole or in part, into different languages; preaching to Mussulmans or Hindoos in all parts; educating heathen children and the children of Christian parents; cherishing those who are driven by persecution from their home; and training up pious young men of talent for the ministry, as well as preaching the word of life to the English."

Messrs. Francis Tucker and John Wenger, who were designated to the work at Camberwell, June the 7th, having sailed on the 18th in company with Mr. and Mrs. Phillips, Mr. and Mrs. Morgan, and Mr. and Mrs. Pearce, arrived safely at Calcutta on the 25th of September. They found the missionaries, and (with the exception of Ram Krishna, who had died triumphantly) the native laborers all well. On holding a meeting to assign each one his post, it was agreed that they could only spare Mr. Phillips for the Upper Provinces on account of the necessities of Calcutta. Mr. Parsons was appointed to Monghyr, to supply the place of Mr. Leslie, proceeding to England. Mr. Tucker having taken the church in the Circular Road, enabled Dr. Yates to devote his whole time to the important work of translation. Mr. Bayne remained at Bow Bazar; Mr. Morgan repaired to Howrah; Mr. Thomas resigned the printing office to Mr. Pearce.

That last-mentioned and excellent servant of Christ was not, however, permitted to resume his labors long. He died, at a full age in labors, if not in years, of that awful scourge of India, the cholera, on the 17th of March, 1840; an event which deeply afflicted the friends of missions both at home and abroad.

The very name of Pearce is hallowed in the Christian church; and that so eminent a man as the pastor of the church in Cannon Street, Birmingham, who was the friend and coadjutor of Fuller, Sutcliffe, Ryland, and Carey, at the formation of the missionary scheme, should, though dead, have survived, as it may be said, in the person of his son, W. H. Pearce, who had much of his countenance, and more of his qualities, may well be reckoned among the rare, but merciful dispensations of Providence; for how much more frequently have we to contemplate a contrast, rather than a coincidence of this kind in the history of Christian families! All the sweet and lovely graces that distinguished his father, bloomed afresh in him, with only somewhat less of impassioned ardor in his mental constitution, and of animal vigor in his physical temperament.

He and his wife quitted their native shores in the spring of 1817, in company with Mrs. Ward, who had been some months in England for her health, with her son and daughter. His primary object was to serve the mission in the capacity of a printer; and he soon found abundant employment at Serampore, where, as he says in representing his earliest impressions, he was "surrounded by and engaged with the most devoted of men in the best of causes."

Mr. Pearce subsequently united him-

self with the junior missionaries, and took an active part in all the measures they adopted for the establishment and extension of the mission. In the printing department he commenced operations on a very limited scale, with only one press, in a mat hut adjoining the house where he lived. This establishment he continued to enlarge as Providence enlarged his means, and raised it from the most insignificant to one of the most efficient in the city.

While conducting the annually increasing business of the office, he was not unmindful of the state of the heathen, but was continually planning for their temporal good, writing for their spiritual instruction, or persuading others to exert themselves on their behalf. In the early part of his course he often addressed the Bengalees in the different native chapels of the city; though his chief exertions were directed to teaching, and doing good in a private manner.

In the beginning of 1819 he began to take a decided part in the cause of female education in India. He drew up a paper, and exerted his influence in the formation of a Society among the young ladies under the care of Mrs. Lawson and Mrs. Pearce; and in May of that year, the Calcutta Juvenile Society for the support and establishment of Female Bengalee Schools was formed.

In the autumn of 1824, he took a missionary tour of some extent with his friend Yates and a native preacher. During this excursion he arranged the papers for a new edition of his father's Life, by Fuller, and wrote the preface. His mind, ever active, would allow him little relaxation; and hence, in journeys of this description, he always contrived to have some object to which he could devote his leisure moments, or the time not engaged in preaching to the natives. He had great skill in filling up the intervals of time, and by this means was enabled to accomplish an immense amount of labor.

At the beginning of 1827, Mr. Yates being necessitated to take a voyage for the benefit of his health to visit his native land, Mr. Pearce became his substitute as secretary to the School-Book Society, and assisted the native church in connection with Carapeit Aratoon. These duties very much increased his labor and anxiety for two years; but he sustained them with cheerfulness, and performed them with delight.

In 1829, when Mr. Yates on his return took the pastoral charge of the English church in Circular Road, Mr. Pearce was requested by the native brethren to supply his place as pastor of the native church. For several years previously he had cherished concern for their spiritual welfare; but so fearful was he of thrusting himself into the sacred office without suitable qualifications, that after receiving a pressing invitation to accept the charge, he asked a year's trial, and when at the expiration of that time the call was repeated, he required the sanction of all his missionary brethren and of the English church to which he belonged, before he would accept it.

In connection with the personal charge of the church in Colinga, the chief care of the villages to the south of Calcutta devolved upon him, and his journals show his activity in promoting the welfare of the people.

He acted for several years as one of the editors of an English periodical, the "Calcutta Christian Observer;" and many valuable pieces under the name of "Beta" were his composition. In the midst of these labors he still found time to assist in the translation of the Scriptures, and to compose and edit useful books and tracts. His assistance in the work of translating the New Testament into Bengalee was very valuable, as he had a very accurate acquaintance with that language, and also with the original. His particular department was the final correction of the proofs; and no eye was ever quicker than his in discovering a typographical error.

His Geography in Bengalee and Hindee has been extensively used in the native schools, and contains a vast quantity of useful information, communicated in a manner best suited to impress it on the native mind. His "Satya A'shray," or "True Refuge," a tract printed in Bengalee, Oriya, and Hindee, has been circulated and read more extensively than almost any other; it has also been the means of leading several to abandon idolatry, and embrace the gospel.

In 1836, after a residence in India of nineteen years, it was thought important

that he should be released for a season from his laborious duties, to enjoy the benefit of a colder climate; accordingly he left Calcutta on the 1st of January, and arrived in England on the 4th of May, 1837. His valuable and successful labors during that visit have been already detailed. He found the winter extremely unfavorable to his health, and at the end of the second year of his sojourn he seriously apprehended the termination of his life; but being considerably though not wholly restored, he re-embarked for India on the 20th of June, 1839. His health during the passage was somewhat improved. His time was wholly occupied in teaching Bengalee, and in learning Hindostanee or Urdu.

After the first ardent welcome from his brethren to the scene of his former labors, he re-commenced his work; but sensible that his strength was not equal to what it had been, he wisely determined to circumscribe his efforts, and to confine his attention to his office and the native church. On the first Lord's day in October he resumed his duties in the native church by preaching in Bengalee and administering the Lord's supper, though at the church meeting held on the Wednesday of the same week, he informed the members, when they invited him to resume the pastoral care over them, that he could not do so fully till the beginning of the year. The works on which his heart was most set were the Bengalee Bible with headings to the chapters, and references and literal renderings at the foot of the page, and a reprint of Martyn's version of the New Testament in Persian; but he did not live to see the first form of either of them through the press. The Bengalee had been kept waiting for him three years.

March the 16th, the day before his death, was spent in writing to the Society in England, drawing up an appeal to the American and Foreign Bible Society, and conversing with the members of his church. About ten o'clock in the evening he retired to rest, and in the night was seized with cholera. Being acquainted with the nature of the disease, he applied the usual remedies, but without effect. Early in the morning the physician was called, and other means tried, but in vain.

"In the forenoon," says Dr. Yates, "conscious that his end was approaching, he said to his beloved partner and another dear friend, who were giving him some assistance, 'Love one another; live near to God; win souls to Christ.' A Christian friend observing to him that he had been commended to God, and that his will would be done, he replied, 'Serve God in your day and generation.' His beloved partner then asked for a parting word; he said, 'Stay in the mission, and do what good you can; and the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with thy spirit for ever; amen.' As his strength was very rapidly diminishing, his most intimate Christian brother asked him if he thought the disorder would terminate his earthly career. He said, there could be no doubt of it. He then asked him if he felt peaceful in the prospect. He replied, 'Peaceful, but not joyful; peaceful but not joyful.' His friend asked him why he was not joyful in the prospect of entering into glory. He said, 'Why, I thought there was something more for me to do for the good of India before departing.' His friend rejoined, 'God has work for his people in another world besides this.' He replied by nodding, and seeming to whisper 'Very true.' At this moment the doctor came in, and looking at him, said, 'I hope, Mr. Pearce, you feel happy.' He replied, holding him by the hand, 'Doctor, I have a good hope through grace.' A little while after, another friend came in, and after quoting some consolatory passages of Scripture, to which he responded by occasionally raising his hand, asked him how he felt. He replied, 'I hope in Christ, I hope in Christ.' His friend quoted, 'Unto you that believe he is precious.' He answered, 'I know him to be so—infinitely.' Perceiving that all would soon be over, his friend said, 'You are going to your Lord and Master,'—he instantly replied, 'a most unworthy servant.' These were nearly the last words he spoke audibly. The powerful medicines he had taken seemed to confuse his mind, and impair his utterance. There was one incident, however, which occurred soon afterwards which those who were present will not soon forget. Being raised suddenly in bed to relieve the oppression on his chest, his eye fell on one who stood at the foot of the bed, who had been born and reared in all the delusions of Mahometanism,

but who had for many years proved, through the grace of God, a very consistent and devoted Christian. A heavenly smile instantly broke over the wan face of the sufferer, which was instantly responded to by the converted Mussulman in the true spirit of the text, 'Bhay kario ná bhay kario ná; Prabhu nikate dáráitechhen.' (*Fear not, fear not; the Lord is standing by thee.*) The dying saint nodded his assent; and deeply were all around affected with the spectacle of one in the garb and mien of an oriental, and in a strange tongue, helping to soothe the death-bed of a British Christian with the sublime consolations of the word of God. After this, Mr. Pearce seemed gradually to sink into insensibility, and about nine o'clock the scene was closed."*

The gospel now continued to be proclaimed among the heathen with persevering zeal by Aratoon, Sujatali, Bishwanatti, and Gunga Narayun Sil, in the native chapels, and in the public places of the city. The Native Christian Institution also furnished its quota of assistance by the elder students, who were thus preparing themselves for the office of evangelists. In the north-east of Calcutta, a new chapel was erected, and Bengalee services were conducted in two places for the Roman Catholics, who had been much neglected.

At the commencement of the year 1840, the native church in Entally, under the superintendence of Mr. Ellis, consisted of twenty-one members; and this small community formed a Native Missionary Society, in connection with the Calcutta Auxiliary. The Native Christian Institution continued to be very prosperous; five out of fifty-four pupils were baptized on a profession of faith, and others were expected to follow their example. The value of this institution was justly appreciated and admirably exhibited by Mr. Morton, of the London Missionary Society, who presided at the annual examination; from whose report a few sentences may be advantageously given. "The first class, in particular, composed of young men, all Christians and members of the mission church, who are under preparation for the work of evangelists among their countrymen, acquitted themselves in a most creditable manner. They were questioned, among other important matters, in the entire range of Christian evidences, both internal and external; in the laws of moral evidence generally; in doctrinal theology, Scripture history, and political economy; in all of which, particularly in the first, they showed themselves to have acquired a very large mass of information, at once accurate and full.

"Nor was it simply the amount of information actually attained, but rather chiefly, the readiness with which it was produced in detail, and in portions severally but slightly connected, as well as the evident familiarity with the subjects of inquiry which they had acquired, that proved so gratifying to our minds, and forms so conclusive a proof of the efficiency of the plan of study pursued in the institution.

"Yet more refreshing was the pleasing evidence afforded of the lively interest taken by the pupils themselves in those high and holy subjects which entered into the principal matters of examination. There was a seriousness, and feeling, and personal devotion evinced, that were, indeed, the best comment upon the paramount importance and unquestionable utility of such a course of study, so conducted and pursued, that is, in invariable connection with the discipline of church communion, and under an all-watchful solicitude to excite and ever maintain the principles and practices of vital godliness and personal religion in the students. * * *

"My own mind was powerfully impressed with the vast importance of thus furnishing so many young native youths with so large a mass of multifarious information, on topics of equal interest and utility,—of such direct bearing on not only their own welfare, present and eternal, but on that of their countrymen also. It is a most interesting fact, indeed, that Hindoo youths, only just emerging themselves from the darkness of the grossest ignorance and most debasing superstitions, should now be found extending their inquiries over the most valuable department of universal knowledge, especially over a wide range of historical and moral knowledge. More particularly is it a subject of thankfulness and hope, when viewed as concurrent with the wide extension of education, without religion, in the government and other schools and colleges

* Life of Dr. Yates.

of the city and elsewhere, and daily almost augmenting in number and influence,—that in the Baptist Missionary Institution in Entally, as in the General Assembly's School in Cornwallis Square, and the Christian Institution of the London Missionary Society at Bhawanipore, the conductors make it their similar and constant aim, while bestowing that knowledge which is emphatically power, to provide, at the same time, as far as human instrumentality can do so, for the securing to its possessors of that only conservative and regulating principle, a just religious belief. Who can estimate the mischievous uses to which this vast power may yet be turned in the unskilful hands of those who are but just awakening to its acquisition from the long, long slumbers of ages of mental inactivity? And who, in like manner, can form any adequate conception of the happy and hallowed influence which young men like these, furnished at once with extensive information, and actuated by sound religious principle, may,—nay, must exert upon some no inconsiderable portion of the mass of their yet unenlightened, and superstitious, and degraded countrymen? In such instruments as these, indeed, it is, under God's providence and grace, that our missionary societies at home, and their European agents here, must look for any very wide dissemination of our divine faith. An indigenous agency alone, whether we regard the vast number of laborers required, or the immense resources necessary for their support—numbers and resources which our father-land never could supply—can ever be adequate to the evangelization of the innumerable population of India.

"The true economy of missionary expenditure, then, whether of men or labor, of time or money, will be far best consulted in the training up of fully-qualified native evangelists,—men who, to an acquaintance with the native mind, habits, and domestic manners, scarcely attainable under any circumstances by foreigners, superadding a sound general and Christian education, always supposing the indispensable qualification of deep personal piety and devotion to the cause, will be able, with an efficiency which to us, their pioneers and trainers, must be of hopeless attainment, to carry the blessed light and sanctifying leaven of the gospel of Jesus Christ through the length and breadth of the land, and to realize instrumentally, under the conduct and power of the Divine Spirit, the great enlightener, quickener, and sanctifier, the largest and holiest expectations and prayers of the churches of our father-land,—the fullest, and most benignant of the prophetic announcements, and promises of holy Scripture."

The school-room, capable of accommodating between four and five hundred pupils, was opened in February. It measures, inside, ninety feet by forty, with a verandah the whole length; and at the east end are two large and commodious class-rooms, twenty-six feet by sixteen. Some hundreds of native youth attend, of whom many belong to the higher classes. The chapel adjoining, neatly fitted up, is capable of containing about three hundred persons. When Mr. W. H. Pearce was in England, an anonymous donation of £1000 was presented to him, to assist in the erection of these buildings, which are contiguous to the Circular Road, and not far from the mission press.

Mr. Robinson having removed to Dacca, after some interval Mr. Bayne accepted the pastoral office. As sixty-five native members resided at Nursingdarchoke, and other villages, fifteen miles distant, a separate church was constituted there, and Mr. W. Thomas with three native teachers were constantly employed at the station. There were chapels in four villages.

Luckyantipore and Khari were placed under the superintendence of Mr. Wenger. Worship was regularly maintained by the assistant missionary, Mr. De Monte and four native preachers, in several neighboring hamlets. The church in the former place consisted of about 48, and in the latter of 35 members.

The report respecting the translations at this time contained the following particulars. The versions completed were:

1. An edition, being the first, of the New Testament in Hindostanee, with marginal references, in 8vo, 1000 copies.

2. Another edition of the New Testament in the same language, but in a smaller size, and without marginal references, 500 copies.

Of this version, extra copies of each of the Gospels, and of the Acts separately, and of the four Gospels and Acts

together, making an aggregate of 9500 volumes, were printed. The extra copies of the Gospels and Acts constituted, in fact, the first edition of that part of this work, as after they were struck off, and the marginal references were inserted, the text was subjected to repeated and severe revision; when some inaccuracies, which had previously escaped observation, were corrected, and some important alterations made in the rendering of particular passages or expressions. The second edition was then struck off, after which the matter was set up in another form, and subjected to another close revision, by which means a still greater degree of accuracy was secured in this portion of the impression.

Respecting this version, very gratifying testimonials have been received from individuals, both native and European, well qualified to judge of its merits.

3. An edition of the Psalms in Sungskrit verse, 2500 copies. To this impression an advertisement is prefixed, showing that the structure of the Sungskrit language is such as to admit of a metrical version as close and faithful to the original as any prose version could be, and at the same time much more easily understood.

4. The third edition of the New Testament in Bengalee, octavo, 1500 copies, with 6000 copies extra of each of the Gospels, 2000 of the Acts, and 500 of the Gospels and Acts together, making a total of 28,000 volumes.

5. The fourth edition of the New Testament in Bengalee, in royal 12mo., 3000 copies, with 2000 extra of the Gospels and Acts together. This beautiful edition of the Sacred Word is in extensive circulation, being much in request for its great portability.

6. An edition of the New Testament in modern Armenian, with numerous marginal references, 6000 copies. This important work was carried through the press by Mr. Aratoon, who bestowed great care in selecting the references, and in securing its general accuracy.

7. An edition of the Gospel of Matthew, in Hinduee Nagree characters, 6000 copies. It was proposed to execute an improved translation of the whole New Testament into this language, but the remainder of the work was deferred for a time, in order to ascertain how far the version was likely to be understood and appreciated by those for whom it was intended.

In this, as well as in the other versions, it has been the constant object of the translators to present the word of God in simple, but pure language, and in an idiomatic style, so that the sacred volume might be readily understood by the poor and unlearned, as well as acceptable to the educated part of the community.

The following works were in progress:—

1. The New Testament in Sungskrit, octavo size, 1000 copies, with 3000 copies extra of Matthew, and 4000 each of the other Gospels. Matthew and Mark have been some time in circulation, Luke had just left the press, and the printing had proceeded to about the middle of John. In this version a metrical rendering has been given of the quotations from the poetical parts of the Old Testament, by which they are readily distinguished from the other parts of the New Testament writings. As all the copies of Matthew intended for separate distribution have been disposed of, it has been determined to distribute in this form the thousand copies originally intended to be bound up with the Testament, and to reprint this Gospel.

2. A new edition of the Gospels and Acts in Hindostanee, consisting of 4500 copies, the printing of which has proceeded to the middle of John.

3. As considerably more than four-fifths of the two editions of the New Testament in Hindostanee had already been disposed of, a third edition, to consist of 3000 copies of the entire Testament, and 1000 copies of the Gospels and Acts together, had been put to press. In this edition it was proposed to reduce the size of the volume as much as possible; and it was expected the whole would be comprised in 500 small duodecimo pages.

The number of volumes the printing of which had been completed during the past year, is 40,600. Of these 6600 were entire Testaments, 2000 the Gospels and Acts bound together, 2500 of the Psalms in Sungskrit, and 29,500 single Gospels; which, added to those of previous years, make a total of 92,000 volumes. The works then in hand, or about to be put to press, would

not fall short of 60,000 more. In aid of this undertaking, so intimately connected with the ultimate and permanent success of the preaching of the gospel, a renewed donation of five thousand dollars (in English money £1025. 1*s*. 2*d*.) was made by the committee of the American and Foreign Bible Society, whose repeated liberality has been most distinguished. A contribution of £400 towards the same object was presented by Robert Haldane, Esq., of Edinburgh, whose early patronage of our oriental translations introduced them to the notice and extended support of our fellow-Christians in the north more than forty years ago.

On the 18th of May, Mr. John Parsons was designated at Frome, as a missionary to India; and on the 21st, at Hackney, for the same destination, Mr. W. W. Evans, assistant secretary of the mission, member of the church in Mare Street, and Mr. George Small, of Edinburgh. Mr. Evans was sent more immediately with a view to his undertaking the Benevolent Institution, as successor to Mr. Penney. In addition to this, he subsequently took the pastoral charge of the Lol Bazar church. They reached India, with Mrs. Parsons and Mrs. Evans, in the month of November; and were met with the afflictive tidings that Mr. George B. Parsons had expired in Calcutta, one week only (November 13th) before his brother's arrival. He had come from Monghyr, under an interdict of six months' labor, to seek the renewal of his health; exposure in the rainy season having superinduced an inflammation of the throat. He was ardent and laborious, and inspired with the love of souls. A recent letter written to his widowed mother, evinced a well-prepared mind for the solemn crisis that awaited him.

The prolonged and dangerous illness of Mrs. Bayne compelled her return to Europe, and it was deemed necessary for Mr. Bayne to accompany her. Mr. Tucker, also, was obliged from entire failure of health to relinquish his very encouraging prospects in the Circular Road Chapel, and to return to Europe, hopeless as to any resumption of oriental labors.

In July, 1841, the missionary band was again reduced, by the enfeebled state of Mr. Ellis, demanding his withdrawment to England. Mrs. Ellis, for a similar reason, left with their children in March. It was with extreme reluctance that he quitted the important station to which he was so earnestly devoted; but there was no alternative. And thus did the providence of God exercise the faith of his missionaries; but the frequent removals that occurred tended to display to the world the irrepressible ardor of his servants, and the sublime character of Christianity which animated them successively to follow in the field of labor, suffering and death.

On the removal of Mr. Ellis, Mr. and Mrs. Small took the charge of the Native Christian Institution. Mr. Evans writes in feeling and deploring terms respecting these various changes, and his own overwhelming labors, and with earnest entreaty for sympathy and aid, which the Society was equally anxious to render. He experienced, however, much success in the addition of members to the church, whose number exceeded a hundred. Mr. Wenger also communicated his anxieties in a similar strain of earnestness. He was much devoted to the work of biblical translation, and the superintendence of the native churches in the villages. In August, he baptized a few persons at Luckyantipore. At Khari, the church displayed much steadiness. At Nursingdarchoke, missionary efforts had gradually extended; several families had abandoned caste. But in these places, no inconsiderable opposition was excited, while several of the members apostatized. At one time, no fewer than five law suits, all equally unjust, were brought against some of the Christians there, by adherents to the Propagation Mission, whose missionaries, being Puseyites, maintaining the doctrines of apostolic succession and episcopal ordination as essential marks of the true church, engaged in open warfare with the *unauthorized* teachers of Christianity.

About the close of September, the mission was reinforced by the return of Mr. G. Pearce from England, when he relieved Mr. Small of the Native Christian Institution, and Mr. Wenger of the native church at Entally, Luckyantipore, and Khari. He, also, in writing from Luckyantipore, where he was enjoying the pleasures of a first visit after

an absence of four years, refers to "the *havoc* made at all the village stations by the missionaries of the Propagation Society." He says that "by bribes and promises they had drawn off not fewer than sixty families." Many individuals, however, speedily returned, and reunited with the church. The female department of the Native Christian Institution was committed to Mr. and Mrs. Wenger in November, upon the removal of Mrs. Penney to Serampore. About the middle of December, also, Mr. Gibson, having been sent from England for the purpose, became pastor of the church in Circular Road. Dr. Yates continued to devote himself to biblical translation, and the supervision of the native church in South Kalinga; Mr. Thomas superintended the press and Scripture depository; Mr. Morgan labored diligently at Howrah; and the rest were occupied as before stated.

The printing press and type-foundry at Calcutta were erected at a cost of upwards of £20,000, without pecuniary aid from this country, and chiefly through the profits of the printing office. It is wholly the property of the Society, having been made over to them by our brethren W. H. Pearce and his coadjutors, for the purpose of carrying on the great work of biblical translations. This establishment not only prints largely in English, but in all the written oriental languages, and casts type in most of them. Seven presses on an average are constantly employed in printing the Scriptures; whilst the profits of the general business go to the funds of the mission. Out of the profits of the last few years £3000 have lately been devoted to mission work; one half to the various operations of the Society in the neighborhood of Calcutta, and the other half to the support of the widows and orphans of deceased missionaries. The presses had been engaged during the year principally in printing editions of the sacred Scriptures, as they are called for by the people. A new edition of the Hindostanee Testament had been begun; the Persian Testament finished; and in Sungskrit the Proverbs had been printed in a metrical but literal translation. In Bengalee there had been printed an edition of the New Testament, 5000; the Gospels and Acts, 2500; Acts, 3000; Luke and Acts, 3000; Isaiah and Daniel (newly translated), 5000; also a new edition of the Proverbs. The great work of the Bengalee Bible is steadily proceeding towards completion, the Historical Books (the only parts unfinished) being translated as far as the middle of the Second Book of Kings.

Exclusively of 1000 copies of the Psalms handed over to the committee of the Calcutta Bible Society in repayment of a loan to that extent previously obtained, the entire number of Scriptures sent from the depository from the 1st of January, 1840, to the 28th of February, 1841, had been *fifty-seven thousand two hundred and fifty-six;* which, added to those of the three preceding years, gives a total of *one hundred and fourteen thousand two hundred and fifty-six* volumes containing larger or smaller portions of the Scriptures, Testaments, Psalters, the books of Genesis and the Proverbs, or single Gospels, sent forth from the stores of the Baptist Mission during the last four years.

Editions of the Scriptures, tracts, and school books, are now perpetually issuing from the mission press at Calcutta, which are distributed, during the stated and itinerant labors of the missionaries, by thousands and tens of thousands. Since the first issue of the New Testament in 1801, the whole Bible, or parts of it, have been translated into forty-four eastern languages or dialects, spoken by at least, including China, *five hundred millions of people*, and nearly *five hundred thousand volumes* have been printed.

Melancholy tidings were sent from Calcutta in the early part of 1842. Within a few days of each other, W. B. Beeby, Esq., and the Rev. R. Gibson were removed by death. The former had just returned from England, where he had been for a few years in close alliance with the Society as a member of the central committee, and afforded valuable aid in its councils by his good sense and knowledge of Indian affairs and localities. Some important arrangements relating to the interior regulation of the printing department at Calcutta, and other matters were entrusted to his care upon his return, which, during the very brief space allotted him by Providence, were accomplished with admirable skill, and to the entire satisfaction both of the committee

at home and the missionaries at Calcutta. On the 24th of February, the twenty-first anniversary of the Auxiliary Baptist Missionary Society of that city was celebrated in the Circular Road chapel. Mr. Beeby occupied the chair, and contributed much to the interest of the occasion. He adverted with strong feeling to his having been spared, after an absence of ten years, to take part in the proceedings of an institution from which so many of its active members had been removed by death since he had joined it, two years after its formation in 1820. To that holy and heavenly company he was shortly to be united; for only on the following Monday, the 28th, he was seized with cholera, and expired in a few hours.

Mr. Gibson, who had been sent out to take the oversight of the church, as successor to Mr. Tucker, and had arrived so recently as the 14th of December, was present at the auxiliary meeting, and took a lively share in its proceedings; and in his speech, after referring to the importance of individual effort in seeking the extension of religion in the world, urged emphatically upon all, the necessity of "working while it was called to-day, for the night cometh when no man can work." On the morning of the 29th of February, he complained of some indisposition, which his friends attributed to the deep sorrow he felt at the sudden illness and death of Mr. Beeby. He considered himself, however, sufficiently well to attend his funeral. At the grave, Dr. Yates, in the course of his address, quoted the saying, "in the midst of life we are in death," "or rather," he observed, "death is in us." While this sentence was uttering, Mr. Gibson fainted, sat a few moments on a tombstone for recovery, and was then led to Dr. Yates's house. It was an attack of cholera; the next morning he followed his departed friend to the skies. In the last hours of life, he repeatedly expressed his reliance on the atonement of Christ; and to his bearer who was attending upon him, he said, with all the emphasis he could command, "If I could but speak your language, I would tell you about Jesus Christ."

As it was of great importance that some provision should be made for the Circular Road chapel, Dr. Yates undertook the temporary pastorship, with the assistance of Mr. Wenger, and the occasional aid of the other missionaries.

NORTHERN INDIA.

In estimating the moral power of missionary operations, we must not be satisfied with a superficial inspection. Effects of an incidental kind, and workings that lie below the surface, must be taken into the account,—secret and silent influences, and exertions of a preparatory nature. A casual observer, in glancing at an extensive plain, and seeing only here and there a tuft of vegetation, might be induced to pronounce it a region of infertility and utter waste; whereas, were he to take the trouble of examining well, instead of pronouncing so promptly, he would perchance discover that many of the fields were sown with valuable seed, and were only waiting the season and the sunshine, when they would burst forth into an abundant vegetation. And thus in considering the missionary operations, though the churches may be comparatively few and small, the seed of the kingdom has been widely sown, and the sowers, native laborers especially, are at work every day with Bibles, tracts, and the various modes of itinerant ministration, by which the moral waste is cultivated, and from which it may be expected, by God's blessing, an already springing vegetation will grow into a harvest of converted souls. Few may at present join a church, while many receive impressions which they carry with them into remote places, where they are instrumental in affecting other minds, or preparing them for a future missionary instrumentality; or they take with them the books that are given, which speak to them, and their families and neighbors, in distant solitudes, and perhaps to distant times. These remarks are especially applicable to northern India, to whose scattered communities we now refer.

Cutwa and Sewry.—The cause at Cutwa has for years continued in a languid state; but the native population seek after copies of the Scriptures with some avidity, and have not been inattentive to the preaching of the gospel. The same may be said of Sewry. Four were added in 1838, and one excluded. Thirty pupils attended in each

of the two schools, one of which was English, the other Bengalee. Three converted Hindoos assisted Mr. Williamson in the ministry, who visited villages, fairs, and markets, to address the natives, and distribute Bibles and tracts. One valuable native preacher, Bolaram, died in the faith of the gospel. In 1840, six were baptized in connection with Sewry; but in 1841 as many were excluded. The number of members was thirty-four. The two schools were in a satisfactory state.

Monghyr.—"The chapel erected many years ago for the natives, is now double the size of the English chapel, having once been enlarged, and on the Sabbath is generally thronged with natives both Hindoos and Mahometans, though the greater part of them are but fugitive hearers. They crowd the doors and passages, listen to a few sentences, and then walk away, making room for others. They pay much attention; and many of them, delighted with the native Christian band who always attend to sing the songs of Zion, are tempted to stop and hear the word of God. The knowledge of the gospel is carried far into the surrounding country by means of the services conducted in this little chapel, and more than one of the native Christians owes his first convictions to what he has heard as a mere passer by.

An instance of this kind may be recited of one of them lately deceased. Visiting Monghyr on one occasion as a religious Hindoo mendicant, and passing the chapel at the hour of worship, he was inclined to enter, and his heart was opened to receive the word preached. So convinced was he of the truth of Christianity, and so great was the power of the gospel on him, that he determined at once to carry the tidings of salvation to the village from whence he came, confident that if they only heard they would assuredly believe and receive it as he had done. The news of his conversion reached the village before him; and without listening to any thing he had to say, they threw the old man on the ground, dragged him by his legs on his back through the village, and thus bade him 'go, and never show his face there again.' There, besides his mother, he had a wife and little son and daughter; but they would not see him nor go with him. He loved his family much, but he loved Christ more; and therefore left all to follow the Lord. Some time after, he was baptized, and lived a meek and holy life. He had the happiness of receiving back all his family after several years' separation. His mother was very old and died soon amidst the most assiduous and affectionate attention of her son, whilst he strove to the utmost, though it is apprehended with little success, to point her to the Lamb of God. His wife was carried off by cholera a few years ago, but not without affording a good hope that she had believed to the saving of her soul. His daughter has, since her mother's death, joined the church, and his son, a fine lad of thirteen or fourteen years of age, is a promising pupil in the boarding school under Mr. John Parsons. Gungajeet, after living a humble and devoted Christian, bearing many oppressions and persecutions for the truth's sake with the most lovely meekness and humility, died last year firm in faith, abounding in peace, and administering comfort to his mourning brethren and sisters in Christ. Almost at the last gasp, he said in broken accents, 'My Saviour is with me; he is my rock.'

"The chapel is opened but once in the Sabbath and once in the week for public worship. The native Christians meet there also on these occasions; but every Monday afternoon they assemble in the English chapel on account of the quiet of the place. The missionaries also attend, and a few other Europeans. An address is given by the missionaries alternately. Hymns are sung, and the native brethren engage in several prayers. The missionaries also alternately take the Thursday afternoon service in the native chapel, but leave the Sabbath services to the native preachers. There are two English services on the Sabbath, and one in the week, besides a prayer-meeting every Saturday evening. The native sisters meet together for prayer and reading the Scriptures in the vestry of the English chapel, every Friday afternoon; and in the evening the European members unite, of their own accord, in a private house for prayer. Thus the missionaries have only two evenings in the week unoccupied with services; and

these they devote to preaching in the streets and neighboring villages. The native and English churches are united, and now consist of about fifty members. Many excellent individuals from amongst the heathen have fallen asleep in Christ since the seed was first sown. The chief native preacher now is Hainsookh. He was a brahmin of high cast. His native place is Jyepore in the western provinces. He first heard the gospel preached by a converted native, whilst on a pilgrimage with his father, mother, and brother, to the celebrated Juggernaut; but filial affection prompted him to accompany his parents, though his own faith in idolatry was shaken. On their return, his father died as many do —a victim to pilgrimage. Hainsookh, becoming fully convinced of the folly and guilt of idolatry, determined to break the dreadful chain of caste and follow Christ. His aged mother opposed with all her might. Maternal affection permitted her not to forsake her son, yet she made his life miserable by her ungoverned temper. He was baptized at Digah by Chamberlain, and was under his instruction and discipline whilst he labored in Monghyr. A few years afterwards, he had the happiness of seeing his mother a changed being,—formerly a bitter enemy, now a lover of the Lord Jesus. She still lives, though her days cannot be long. She has been blind for several years; and if there is one situation in which Hainsookh appears more amiable than another, it is when he is leading his aged and sightless mother to the house of God. It is a sight worth beholding. Had Christianity done nothing more for him than making him so beautiful a pattern of filial duty amongst a people famed for their failures in this respect, it had done enough; but it has accomplished much more. He is meek as a lamb, tender-hearted and forgiving in his disposition, most highly respected by his countrymen, and beloved by his fellow-Christians, both native and European.

"Little attention has been paid to schools in Monghyr, though at one time there were twelve or fourteen day schools for boys. It was discovered, however, that while their heathen masters instructed them in reading the Scriptures, they did all in their power to prejudice their minds against Christianity. They were, therefore, all abolished, and an attempt was made to establish a school with a Christian schoolmaster; but no child was permitted to go. Some time after, a second effort was made, and a school-room built close to the native chapel, where a number (thirty or forty) of boys are taught by a Christian schoolmaster to read the Scriptures, and commit to memory Watts's Catechism, as well as to write and cipher. Another school was commenced shortly after by another native Christian in a different part of the town. Several efforts have been made without success to establish schools for native females. It seems impossible to convince the natives, as yet, of the importance of female education. A boarding school for native orphan children was established about two years ago by the late lamented missionary George Parsons, and is now carried on by his devoted brother John. All available efforts to obtain children from the hill tribes have been used without success.

"Amidst the ignorance of the women of India, there is one pleasing incident worth recording. For the last ten years at least, perhaps more, the wife of a very respectable native goldsmith has been in the habit of secretly attending the native prayer-meetings of both sexes in the English chapel, which, being on the river's brink, she contrives to attend, under the pretence of bathing in the sacred Ganges. She is always accompanied by other women of her acquaintance, sometimes, six or even ten in number. After performing their ablutions in the river, they ascend to the chapel, and hear of Christ. Several times has this woman been detected by her husband and friends, and betrayed by some of her companions, after which she has been so closely watched as to be unable to elude their notice, until their suspicions being lulled to rest, she has once more frequented the favored spot where she can hear of Christ, pray to Christ, and enjoy sweet fellowship with the Christian band. She appears bold and regardless of detection, and says "the sooner my husband finds me out the better;" but she does not yet see it her duty to leave him. She and some of her female companions are accustomed in the privacy of their retirement to

worship the Lord Jesus by singing the Christian hymns and prayer. She declares that she never worships any idol, but God alone; but represents herself as in a great net, knowing not how to escape, but she prays that Jesus would break the net, and deliver her. She is anxious to read, but there is none to teach her, for no Christian can approach her dwelling, nor she theirs; but she manifests great love to the Christians, and when they have been ill, she has more than once contrived to send them some little niceties of her own preparing. Who can tell but this woman may be the little leaven leavening the whole circle of her acquaintances in this unobserved manner? Her ignorance doubtless is great, and many of her views wrong, but she has evidently learnt that she is a great sinner, and that Christ is a great Saviour. We have no reason to doubt the sincerity of her professions, for by becoming a Christian, she must know that she loses all and gains nothing; and yet for ten or twelve years she has kept firm to her purpose, and in spite of detection continues to visit the house of prayer, and that too with companions who are the most likely to betray her. God is at no loss for means; his Spirit and his gospel can reach the most guarded retirement, and work unseen and unaided by mortals."*

The church in this place received no accessions during the year 1839, while five of its number were removed by death. It then contained forty members, half of whom were natives. In 1841, the number was forty-six, twenty-nine natives, and seventeen Europeans. There were two schools containing fifty children, under the superintendence of Mr. and Mrs. Parsons, and a small boarding school. Mr. J. Lawrence and Mr. J. Parsons continue to labor there in the absence of Mr. Leslie who has just (August, 1842) left England on his return, with recruited health.

Patna.—The labors of Mr. Beddy were much interrupted during 1837 by indisposition, and by the unusual severity of the hot season, when for nine months, with a very slight exception, rain was entirely withheld from the earth. Many thousands died of famine, cholera, and various epidemic diseases; notwithstanding which the people continued in a state of utter indifference to the gospel, excepting when occasionally roused to malignant opposition. Both Mr. Beddy and Mr. Lawrence give a similar account of Patna and Digah. The English church, however, in the 31st regiment, afforded Mr. Lawrence much encouragement. It numbered about fifty members. In 1839, Mr. Beddy reports an addition to the church of three members. He was assisted by two native preachers, Kast and Haridas. Mr. Phillips had also gone to join him, with the hope, by a divine blessing, of making some impression on the immense population; but after remaining a few weeks, he proceeded to Agra. In 1840, Roopdas, a native teacher who had been excluded two years before, was restored, and several promising individuals had renounced caste. Hindostanee services were continued in and out of doors. In 1841, four were baptized, and one restored; the number being then twenty. A Sunday school and a Female Orphan Refuge had been commenced.

Benares and Chunar.—For many years Mr. Smith has labored actively here, but with a very small church and congregation. His position, however, affords him great opportunities, which he seizes, of circulating the Scriptures and tracts in various languages. Some apparent good has resulted from the distribution. The church has slowly increased to eighteen. In 1838-9, there were about nine members. Among the few baptized were two Hindoos of the writer caste. One had been removed by death, and six had gone to reside in the Upper Provinces. The church has since increased to fifteen or sixteen. This is but a little leaven, but it is working, and to what a glorious extent ultimately who shall say?

A church was formed in 1827, at the subordinate station of Chunar, and has always been dependent on the services of Mr. Smith. It was severely tried in 1839 by the removal of nine members to other places, and the death of four, leaving only seven.

Allahabad.—Mr. Mackintosh has continued to labor with various success. In 1839, among the three baptized was a rajput, who renounced kindred, caste, and employ under the native government, for the gospel; and he took charge

* Mrs. Leslie's MS.

of a school. He attributed his conversion to some tracts that happened to find him. The present number of members is about sixteen. There is one native teacher, and a boys' school of twenty-two children.

Agra.—In this extensive city Mr. Richard Williams labored for several years, and established a small church, which, with its pastor, was received into connection with the mission in 1838. Six persons had been recently baptized. There is a commodious chapel. In 1839, he received three by baptism, and three by letters of dismission. The church comprised forty-nine members, chiefly Europeans and East Indians, who provided at their own cost for the support of the pastor and Ganpat, a native preacher. In 1840, Mr. Phillips having arrived to his aid, greatly encouraged Mr. Williams, especially as it was at an opportune moment, when, having broken a blood-vessel, it was necessary he should seek a temporary residence at Simlah, on the Himmalayan mountains. Five members were added during the year, and the increase of the congregation rendered an enlargement of the place of worship requisite. In 1841, fourteen were added to the church on profession, and eleven by letter, making the number seventy. It is strictly, as they represent it, a missionary church, for "almost all the members who have it in their power, are doing what they can to promote the cause of God and truth among the perishing heathen."

Delhi.—During three or four years previously to 1839, this station was left to the care of Devigir, the native assistant, in consequence of Mr. Thompson devoting his time at Serampore to the printing a translation of portions of the Scriptures into Hindui. Afterwards, he had thoughts of transferring his services to Ghazipore, whither many of the pious soldiers under the care of Mr. Lawrence had gone; but ultimately he resumed his station at Delhi, where, as in other places, he diligently distributed the word of God in Persian, Arabic, and the native languages. His labors stirred up the jealousy, and stimulated antagonist efforts among the Mahometans, who published tracts at Delhi, Lucknow, and Gya; and one wealthy individual caused the Koran to be lithographed and gratuitously distributed, with an interlineary translation into the Oordoo, besides a copious marginal commentary. The church is small, but additions are making. There is a school in the cantonments, attended by the wives and children of the soldiers.

Jessore.—The exertions of Mr. Parry, assisted by three natives, have been unremitted, through successive years. In 1838, six were baptized, and there were fifty-one communicants. In six of the villages were schools, in which two hundred and fifty-nine children were instructed. In 1839, the church consisted of sixty-four members; twenty-two having been admitted during the year. Nilmani, a native preacher, fell a victim to the cholera. In 1840, Mr. Parry was much occupied in visiting markets, villages and various places throughout a large district, to preach and diffuse the Scriptures and tracts. Caste was renounced by many, and thirty-one natives baptized and received into Christian fellowship. He had at that time five, and in 1841, six native assistants. Several were admitted to the church, which then consisted of a hundred and eight members, a hundred and three of whom were natives. In eight villages connected with Jessore were five day schools, containing two hundred children. Of Scriptures 850 volumes, and of tracts 850 in number, had been distributed.

Burisaul, or Barisal.—Mr. Bareiro has continued to labor under disadvantages, but he has visited many places where he and the Christian natives have proclaimed the gospel, and he entertains the conviction that Hindooism is fast undermining.

Dacca.—After the removal of Mr. Robinson to this immense city, supposed to contain 300,000 inhabitants, the church somewhat increased. The principal efforts are made in preaching in the streets, which is little opposed, though the Mahometans are numerous, and in the distribution of books, which are received with the utmost avidity. The schools under Mr. Leonard languished for want of support, though they had been large, and embraced many children of Christian families, and received European aid. A new chapel was erected in 1840, and the villages diligently visited. One was added to the small church in that year, but none the following; but both Mr. Robinson

and Mr. Leonard speak of a widely-diffused spirit of inquiry; and six thousand volumes of the Scriptures had been distributed, together with twenty thousand tracts.

In his most recent communication, Mr. Robinson relates the circumstances of some itinerant visits by himself and Mr. Leonard. Their discussions with the natives and Mussulmans were similar to those which have been continually maintained; yet there seems to be a certain providential preparation for the increased spread of the gospel. By one specimen we may perceive the nature of those difficulties which still attend the missionary; and may we not say, too, the gracious aid from the guiding Spirit of God, which is not withheld from his servants in the hour of need? "A bold, wicked-looking man now came forward, and said, 'If it is God's will that all men should believe in Jesus Christ, why does he not make them all believe on him? He has power to do so.' This objection required a little calm reasoning, but that is out of the question when contending in a crowd with a noisy emissary of Satan. Some blunt reply promptly given is the best on such occasions; and happily one occurred to me at the moment. 'When you are sick, does the doctor force medicine down your throat, or give it into your hand, and leave you to take it or not, just as you please? So God offers you salvation through Jesus Christ; and you can take it or refuse it, just as you please; but he is not obliged to force you to receive it.' This reply satisfied the people, and silenced the objector."

Dinagepore and Sadamahl.—These small churches were early planted, but have in recent years made little progress. The number of members in 1839, in the former was nine,—in the latter twenty-two. In 1841, Mr. Smylie felt a little encouraged by a few additions, making the number in the two churches thirty-four, all natives. There were also eight inquirers. 1258 volumes of the Scriptures, and 4,187 tracts were distributed.

Chittagong.—Messrs. Johannes and Fink have persevered in their labors in this district, but with no very apparent success. A commodious chapel having been erected, was well attended, and the district extensively visited. One of the most important departments of effort is a school for Roman Catholics and Bengalee children, in which Mr. Johannes teaches the elements of general knowledge and the doctrines of Christianity. Akyab having been relinquished to the American Baptist Mission, Chittagong is the only station on the Burmese coast in connection with the Society.

THE ASIATIC ISLANDS.

Ceylon, including Pettah and Slave Island.—In the spring of 1838, Mr. Joseph Harris of St. Albans was sent out by the Society, to aid Mr. Daniel in his important labors. He arrived at Colombo, with Mrs. Harris and his family, on the second of November, when he found Mr. Daniel persevering in his arduous enterprise with unwearying zeal and increasing success. More than thirty persons had been recently added to the churches. A new station had been formed about five miles distant, and a church consisting of twelve members, over which a native pastor had been appointed; and in addition to the revision of the Cingalese Scriptures, Mr. Daniel had published several tracts which had excited much interest. In the following year, the assistant missionary, Mr. Hendrick Siers, died. The loss of one who had served the mission for many years was severely felt. Two of his children soon after joined the church in Colombo. Mr. Harris had suffered much domestic affliction; but had been greatly encouraged by his own and his colleague's successes in connection with six native preachers. Mr. Daniel had sought out during the year the Veddha and Rodya tribes, dwelling amongst the almost inaccessible forests of the interior, whose condition was extremely low and debased. Through the liberality of the governor, a school was begun amongst the Rodyas.

In the immediate neighborhood of the metropolis, the gospel had been proclaimed in the different languages spoken there,—the Portuguese, Cingalese, and Tamul. It had been carried also in its gladdening tidings to no fewer than one hundred and seven villages. Twenty-nine schools had been formed, containing one thousand and fifty children, and about a hundred and thirty members had been added to the churches.

In the autumn of 1840, a printing press, with the materials for its effective operation, was transmitted from England at the urgent request of the missionaries, under the care of Mr. C. C. Dawson, who combined ministerial talents with a knowledge of the art of printing.

The year was characterized by the still increasing efforts and successes of the missionaries. In addition to Mr. M'Carty, an assistant missionary filling the station at Slave Island, lately occupied by Mr. Siers, five native teachers were ordained to separate pastorates, making the whole number eight. Alootgama had been abandoned, but three new stations were formed at Hendella, Matamagollah, and Katany, making the number seven, independently of Colombo, where four congregations regularly assembled. The church at Hanwella had increased from seven to forty-two members, and twenty-nine were recently baptized at Matelle notwithstanding violent opposition on the part of the buddhist priests. Five of the number were of the Rodya caste.

Impressed with the importance of making Kandy, the ancient capital of the island, a central point of action, Mr. Harris proposed to remove thither with Mr. Dawson and the printing press, and to attempt an institution for instructing the native teachers. In the various churches a hundred and thirty members were admitted during the year.

Of 1841, the following summary account is given in the Society's last report. At Colombo, Mr. Daniel had resumed his stated labors, having left Hanwella on Mr. Harris's removal to Kandy. In no part of the missionary field has a greater amount of good been effected by so small an amount of means. Twenty-seven schools and eight stations are regularly supplied; the gospel preached in upwards of a hundred villages by ten native preachers (six of them ordained to pastoral charges), and twenty-seven school-masters,—all for less than £800 a-year; and toward this sum, the Auxiliary Missionary Society on the spot has contributed £170.

At Columbo itself, Messrs. Daniel and M'Carthy are constantly employed in preaching to the people in English, Portuguese, Cingalese, and the Tamul languages. English service is held every Lord's day morning; during the other parts of the day, the gospel is proclaimed in twelve different parts of the town, and fourteen surrounding villages, in the native languages. During the year, seven have been excluded, one restored, and forty-five added to the Columbo church. At Kalany, Hanwella, Weilgama, Kottighawatte, Hendela, and Toomboville, churches have been formed, and services are regularly held with various success. At Weilgama and Kottighawatte places of worship have been erected; at the former, entirely, and at the latter principally, by the people themselves. Fourteen persons have been added to the Hanwella church, which now consists of thirty-two members; and twelve to the church at Kottighawatte, which numbers fifty-eight. At Byamville forty-three have been baptized; and the total number of members is ninety-four. At Hendela there are thirty-six members, six of whom have been added since the last report; and at Toomboville, where a church of eight members was formed early in the year, three have been baptized, the fruit of the labors of the brethren. The total of these additions, during the year, is a hundred and twenty-four, and the number of members in connection with Columbo is upwards of three hundred. In the twenty-seven schools supported at the above stations and in the villages around them, there are 1185 children; and as a proof of their general efficiency, and of the blessing of God upon them, some of the most useful native teachers were once scholars in these schools. It is painful to have to add that three schools have been given up for want of funds.

The printing press sent out last year is an object of general admiration, and is already beginning to effect much good. Services have been conducted at Kandy, and at several neighboring places, with encouraging results. There are about two hundred members in the churches. Towards the chapel recently erected at Kandy upwards of £100 was contributed on the spot. In this district are fifteen schools, with about two hundred and seventy children.

Java.—Notwithstanding the difficulties of his position,* Mr. Bruckner continued to labor amidst the infirmities of advancing age, for the benefit of the

* See p. 144.

Malayan, Javanese, and Chinese population, by circulating tracts and Scriptures, and by conversation. Not fewer than four thousand of the latter, besides small communities scattered over the country, reside in Samarang. This field, however, filled with the weeds of Mahometan error, is very unproductive; though the tracts and portions of the sacred writings are readily received and often read. "On one occasion," Mr. Bruckner says, "when I came with a packet of tracts into one of their streets, many came to ask for them: I heard one say, 'Inèe surat dari Intchi Yaso.' (*These are the books of the Lord Jesus.*) He inquired of a young Javanese, whether the books were read in his neighborhood, and what people thought of them? He replied, 'Certainly they are read, and when we read them, we can only weep over them.'"

Sumatra.—Mr. N. M. Ward has persevered in his gratuitous services. Versions of the Gospel of John, the Book of Genesis, and a Harmony of the Gospels, have been completed.

CHAPTER II.

THE WEST INDIES.

THE advantages resulting from the great act of complete emancipation, not only in the general condition of the people in Jamaica, but in the facilities which were afforded for the diffusion of education and religion, became immediately apparent. Industry and cheerfulness seemed to spring up like a spontaneous growth in these new made fields of freedom, and many of the gentlemen of the island began to dismiss their gloomy anticipations. A person of high professional rank, and a member of assembly, who had deeply participated in fears for the future, assured Mr. Phillippo, that before THE first of August, he had felt determined to part with his properties, but that the people attached to his estates had conducted themselves so satisfactorily, that he believed the country would be greatly benefited by the change that had occurred; and so convinced was he of the falsehood of the charges preferred against the missionaries by a corrupt press, that he offered a piece of ground, in the midst of a large rural population, to build a chapel and school-house at his own expense, upon condition of its being supplied by a missionary. Nor was this the feeling of an individual only, it was that of most of the respectable resident proprietors. Mr. Clarke, at Brown's Town, on the opposite side of the island, gave a similar testimony. Old and young were learning to read, and the schools as well as the chapels were frequented. The testimony, in fact, from every quarter agreed.

Subsequently, however, representations were made impeaching the conduct of the newly created freemen, accusing them of unwillingness to labor on terms of equitable remuneration; and it was even asserted that some of the missionaries had encouraged them in their injurious course. These futile assertions were again and again disproved by persons not immediately connected with the mission, while the missionaries themselves—whose solemn asseverations, though they were the accused party, surely merited the fullest credence—solemnly denied such statements. We need only quote here the testimony of Sir Lionel Smith, in reply to an address from the ministers of the Baptist Western Union in Jamaica.

"On my assuming the government of this colony, I strongly expressed my reliance on the whole body of missionaries, in their high integrity of purpose, and in their loyal principles. You more than realized all the benefits I expected from your ministry, by raising the negroes from the mental degradations of slavery, to the cheering obligations of Christianity; and they were thus taught that patient endurance of evil which has so materially contributed to the general

tranquillity. Even with the aid of a vicious and well-paid press, both in England and Jamaica, and, it may be presumed, some habitual confidence in Jamaica juries, the enemies of your religion have never dared to go to the proof of their audacious accusations against you.

"Gentlemen, the first year of freedom has passed away. What were the forebodings of its enemies? Where are the vagrants? where the squatters? where the injuries against proprietors, or the persons of white men? Out of the three hundred thousand oppressed slaves let loose in one day to equal rights and liberty, not a human being of that mass has committed himself in any of those dreaded offences.

"The admirable conduct of the peasantry in such a crisis, has constituted a proud triumph to the cause of religion; and those who contributed to enlighten them in their moral duties, through persecutions, insults, and dangers, have deserved the regard and esteem of the good and the just in all Christian countries."

Nor were these the only calumnies put in circulation. The purity of the churches was again assailed, and the arrangements adopted for their inspection and government. Reports detrimental to them and the interests of the Society were especially made, with reiterated vehemence in Scotland, which induced the committee to seek an interview with the detractor; when they found that the statements were either stale repetitions of past-refuted calumnies, or misapprehensions of facts. To take nothing for granted, however, they sent a copy of the alleged evils and delinquencies, which reached the annual association, held at Montego Bay, in January, 1839; which afforded the missionaries an opportunity of transmitting such an account of their churches in detail, as to increase, instead of diminishing, the confidence they had hitherto cherished.

Mr. Knibb's subsequent testimony to the improved condition of the people is at once explicit and unquestionable. "In the Baptist churches, as in the Society of Friends, we support our own poor. We do not merely wish to lift them above starvation point, but make them comfortable. It is to be seen in the diminution of crime. In the community in which I dwell, and which is pre-eminently a community of Baptist agitators, there are 125,000 individuals. At the last assizes only nineteen were tried. Let us dissect them; six of them were white men, three were acquitted of the crimes laid to their charge, and there was not a female delinquent among the whole. In the parish in which I dwell, containing 30,000 individuals, at the last quarter-sessions only one person was tried. And when that inestimable man, Mr. Gurney, visited the jail at Falmouth, he found only one person in it, and that was a white man. When I went to the treadmill, for I have been there, and some have said I deserved to go there every day, I asked permission to go upon it; but the supervisor said, 'Mr. Knibb, it is of no use,—it is rusty. The fact is, that ever since the first of August, 1838, we never have been able to muster hands enough to turn it, and down it must come.' And I say, down let it come. When the treadmill was erected, I stood by the custos of the parish, who said, 'Mr. Knibb, don't you think we shall improve the morals of the people by the mill?' 'No, no,' I replied; 'if you have any old gouty gentlemen, it might improve their legs;' but it did not enter into my theology that the exercise of the treadmill would promote the morality of the people. But are not these delightful facts? Are not these triumphant refutations? Are they not the connecting link between the brute and the man? In the parish of St. Ann's, where my brother Abbott lives, and he is an agitator, and a chief agitator too, to such a pitch of refinement have we got, that the jail has been shut up for six months, and the jailer is pensioned off till he is wanted again. The last time I was here, I informed you that in Westmoreland, a deacon was flogged for praying; and on passing over that scene of cruelty some time ago, it was entirely grown over with thorns; the place is no longer wanted; it is shut up, and the keeper is paid off." *

The return made from the respective churches to the association, evinced that the work of God continued to advance in an encouraging degree. A

* Speech at Exeter Hall.

net increase of 2617 had taken place in the number of members, which then amounted to 21,337. The inquirers were 20,919. A large increase was also reported in the number of pupils receiving instruction in the schools. The day schools contained 5413, the evening schools, 577, and 10,127 were taught on the Sabbath, making a total of 16,117, being 5214 beyond the number previously reported. As a further proof of the rapid growth of those habits and feelings which are the best security for the social welfare of a community, the missionaries had solemnized 1942 marriages during the year.

A brief sketch of the general progress in each church may here suffice.

Montego Bay.—Mr. Burchell pursued his important labors amidst unfounded obloquy and much personal affliction. In 1839, his health was feeble, and his efforts were too severe for his constitution; but they were exceedingly successful. The church was increased by a hundred and ninety-nine members during the year. Mr. Andrews, who had the schools under his care, died, and Mr. Jabez Tunly was sent by the committee to supply his place. In 1840, the number of members of the church, with its various branches, had grown, in seventeen years, from thirteen to upwards of three thousand, with nearly an equal number of inquirers. At two of the out-stations, two chapels were erecting. The health of Mr. Burchell continued to be precarious, from the extent of his labors.

Falmouth.—The ardent celebrations of the great day of freedom in this place were distasteful to some, who renewed their hostility against Mr. Knibb, which found no better vent than to burn him in effigy. This proceeding exceedingly alarmed the negroes, and might have led to serious results, but for his prompt explanations and exertions, aided by E. B. Lyon, Esq., a special magistrate for the district. At Falmouth, two hundred and thirty-five, and at the Refuge, thirty-five were added; making in the two churches 2156 members, besides 1340 inquirers, in 1838. By the aid of friends in England, Mr. Knibb purchased a tract of ground, with a view of furnishing a residence and occupation hereafter for the peasantry, who might thus find their own subsistence, and strengthen the interests of the colony.

In 1839, the churches at Falmouth, Refuge, and Waldensia, received three hundred and eighty-two members, and had ninety-nine inquirers. A noble spirit of Christian benevolence displayed itself in the support afforded with untiring zeal to the ministry and the schools, as well as in the discharge of a heavy debt incurred in building chapels.

The annual association was held at Falmouth in February, 1841, to report upon the state of the churches during the preceding year. Nearly all the missionaries assembled, and the spirit of Christian harmony and affection was predominant. The number of members in communion was reported to be 27,706, being nearly three thousand more than the preceding year; of inquirers, the number was 18,984; marriages, 1256.

In the absence of Mr. Knibb, the churches of Falmouth, Refuge, and Waldensia were regularly supplied. Mr. J. E. Henderson proceeded from England to this favored district, and on Mr. Knibb's return he soon after took charge of the latter station, where more than five hundred members awaited him. He has recently completed the necessary buildings for a normal school at the village of Kettering, in Trelawney, for the training of the native and other schoolmistresses both for Jamaica and Africa. The buildings consist of a general school-room forty feet by forty, a normal girls' school-room for thirty children, and the necessary apartments for the board and lodging of twelve females, the expense of which rests on himself. The general school is under the care of the orphan son of his brother, who was the first schoolmaster sent to Jamaica by the Baptist Missionary Society, and who died seventeen years ago. The female department is under the care of Miss Ann Anstie. There are about one hundred at present in both schools: in the normal department, nine; two of these are redeemed slaves from Africa, two are the orphans of deluded white emigrants, and four are native females; these live entirely at the establishment.

Stewart Town and Rio Bueno.—The congregations enabled Mr. Dexter to discharge the debts on the chapels, but he was necessitated, for the health of

his family, to build a dwelling-house. Two of the schoolmasters connected with the church, Messrs. Gibson and Dillon, assisted in the labors of the pulpit; and a third station was formed, called New Birmingham, by the dismission of fifty-four members from Rio Bueno.

In 1839, notwithstanding the numbers that went to New Birmingham, the attendance at Stewart Town was as good as in the previous year. Several young persons from the Sunday school were baptized, and there were hopeful appearances of others. The number of scholars had nearly doubled, and many of the older members had entered who were before unable to read. Mr. Gibson was compelled to quit his employment as schoolmaster at New Birmingham from ill health. Twenty were added to the little church at the close of the year. Sixty-two were added at Rio Bueno, and one hundred and sixteen at Stewart Town.

In 1840, Mr Dexter found it necessary to associate another missionary with him, on account of the urgent solicitations from the more distant stations for further aid. Mr. P. H. Cornford, accordingly, was appointed on his arrival from England to Rio Bueno. The progress of the stations was gratifying. They had their trials, "but," as Mr. Dexter wrote, "they had done them good." From the beginning of the year, or from their revival meetings in the preceding November, the church at Stewart Town was more vigorous than he had ever known it before, and though the number baptized had not equalled the two previous years, yet the word of God seemed to be more effectual than ever. The cause is daily advancing. The most recent account states, that on the 9th of July, 1842, forty-one persons were baptized by Mr. Dexter at the River Head. The spectators were numerous, and the occasion solemn.

St. Ann's Bay, Ocho Rios, and Coultart's Grove.—As in other places, fresh accommodation was required for the crowds that repaired to the sanctuary. In 1839, two new chapels were opened in St. Ann's Bay and Ocho Rios; and two other places, Staceyville, in Clarendon, and Llandovery, in St. Ann's, were visited with the gospel. The various congregations supplied by Mr. Abbott comprised four thousand persons at least. Two of the stations were thirty-six miles apart. In 1840, showers of blessing continued to descend. Although the chapel at St. Ann's Bay had been enlarged twice within three years, and two branch stations were formed out of the congregation, it was too small, notwithstanding that it held two thousand hearers. Mr. Abbott stated in September, that one hundred and twenty-two were baptized, and joined to the church; including these, two hundred and sixty-nine had been added to the churches under his care within about two months. He speaks of six hundred young people under twenty years of age, many of whom were under pious impressions. Mr. Benjamin Millard, from Stepney College, has been sent out to join him.

Brown's Town.—A new station has been occupied by Mr. John Clark at Bethany, and schools established in St. Ann's and at Mount Zion, in Clarendon, whither young men from the church went as schoolmasters. The two churches contained in 1839 nearly fifteen hundred members. By exertions made on the day of freedom and soon afterwards, a considerable debt on their chapel was removed, but the multiplication of hearers rendered it necessary to enlarge both the places of worship.

The annual association was held here in January, 1840, when the collective amount of members added to the churches appeared to be 24,777, with 21,111 inquirers, showing the additions of the previous year to have been 3440 and 192 respectively. The attendance in the schools had somewhat diminished, owing chiefly to the multiplication of them in other connections.

The chapels in Brown's Town and Bethany, though enlarged, had been found insufficient to accommodate the increasing number of hearers. A subordinate station was therefore formed at Sturge Town, about seven or eight miles distant; and another beyond Bethany. Mr. H. J. Dutton was sent out by the committee to aid Mr. Clark in this important and widening sphere of labor.

In 1840, this district was eminently blessed. Brown's Town, with the subordinate stations of Sturge Town and Buxton were supplied by Mr. Clark; while Clarkson Town, Stepney, Mount

Zion, and Carlisle, enjoyed the ministry of Mr. Dutton. The net increase of these churches during the year was seven hundred and thirty-three; all these were received only after the most rigid and repeated examinations.

Salter's Hill and Bethtephil.—At these places two hundred and twenty-four were baptized in 1838. Mr. Dendy formed a new station at Maldon, where he purchased land to be sold in small lots to the negroes. A small station, also, was begun in St. Elizabeth's, at Prospect. In 1839, it was necessary to enlarge both the chapels. Some painful circumstances, requiring discipline, had occurred; but two hundred and forty-three were united to the churches. Mr. Pickton, assistant minister and superintendent of the day school at Salter's Hill, was ordained as a missionary, and associated with Mr. Dendy. A newly formed station at Bethsalem, in St. Elizabeth's had been recently supplied by Mr. George Webb from Bristol College; but in 1840, when the difficulties incidental to a fresh undertaking were beginning to disappear, he died of consumption. Mr. John May, who went from Saltash, Devon, succeeded him. A church of eighty-seven members was gathered during the year, and a second formed by Mr. May at Middle Quarters, a few miles distant.

Anotta Bay.—This and Buff Bay partook largely of the general prosperity after the day of freedom, and two hundred and thirty-four were added during the year. But in the following, a check seemed to have been given by the illness of Mr. Barlow, and by differences which had arisen between him and the people. These churches were left destitute by his decease on the 11th of January, 1841. To this station Mr. J. Dallewell succeeded.

Port Maria and Oracabessa.—Mr. Day, having removed from Gurney's Mount, became pastor of these churches after a long vacancy. In 1839, one hundred and fourteen were added by baptism to the church. In 1840, the two congregations, brought into union with a third at *Bagnal's Vale*, comprised three thousand persons. At Port Maria a chapel was in the course of erection, and the missionary much encouraged by the readiness of the people to afford aid to the utmost of their power. There were upwards of three hundred additions, one hundred and ninety-nine of whom were baptized in the sea at Oracabessa, on the joyful anniversary of their freedom, at the landing-place of Columbus in 1494.

Manchioneal, or *Belle Castle, and Long Bay.*—Mr. Kingdon found it necessary, from the great enlargement of the congregation, to erect a new and more capacious edifice, including a school-room. The church also prospered. In 1839, the cause continued to extend, and the churches under his care had received a net increase during the year, of fifty-nine. There were one hundred and fifty children in the Sunday school. In 1840, Mr. Kingdon opened a new station at Denmark Hill, thirteen miles from Manchioneal. A wattled chapel was built at Long Bay. Including both stations, thirty-five had been added.

Lucea and Green Island.—These, with Gurney's Mount, were supplied with a pastor, Mr. E. J. Francies, in August, 1839. This very much inspirited the people, and soon enlarged the cause, till the place of worship became too strait for them. In 1840, the chapel advanced but slowly for want of funds. This was felt by Mr. Francies as very disadvantageous; but many were added to the number of the believers. The station at *Gurney's Mount*, at a considerable distance from Lucea, and comparatively inaccessible, was entrusted to Mr. Edward Woolley.

Spanish Town.—Besides this place, with its dependent stations at Passage Fort and Sligoville, where Mr. Phillippo's diligent exertions were crowned with eminent success, new settlements were formed in 1839, by the purchase of land, and its allotment in small divisions to the free peasantry. Three of the new villages were named Sturge Town, Kitson Town, and Clarkson Town, in all of which schools were established, and worship occasionally conducted. No fewer than five thousand persons were connected with the stations under Mr. Phillippo's direction, with still increasing numbers.

Mr. Phillippo has persevered, amidst much pecuniary difficulty, in his exertions for the rising generation. Ten schools were in constant operation in

1840, requiring an outlay of nearly £800 per annum; and no aid had been either received or solicited from government. In these schools, and in twelve others for adults, conducted on as many contiguous estates, there were 2692 pupils; and so generally were the benefits of education appreciated and diffused, that at Sligoville, the principal of those new settlements formed by Mr. Phillippo, but few children of five years of age were unable to read the Scriptures. To render assistance both in the work of education and in the ministry, Mr. William Hume had lately been sent to Spanish Town; and more recently, Mr. Williams, from Bristol College. He was destined to a new and promising station in the parish of Manchester, which Mr. Phillippo had been induced to form by the earnest solicitations of many of the laboring population, seconded by gentlemen of influence in the neighborhood.

Kingston.—After Mr. Oughton's removal to take the pastoral charge in East Queen Street, the chapel was enlarged, with a church of more than three thousand members. Many who had wandered both in doctrine and practice were restored to the fold. In the midst of his labors, however, Mr. Oughton was involved in considerable embarrassment and vexation, in consequence of measures which he, in conjunction with a clergyman in the parish of Hanover, had adopted, before he left that neighborhood, to promote the purity of their people. Legal proceedings were taken, and excessive damages awarded. The whole transaction was characterized by such flagrant injustice, that a subscription was immediately raised in England to defray the costs of the defence. At length, after an imprisonment of several weeks, farther proceedings were arrested, and he was released amidst the strongest demonstrations of public joy.

Mr. George Rouse having several years conducted a school in England on the British system, succeeded Mr. Whitehorne in the institution at East Queen Street, and engaged to assist Mr. Oughton in other labors incident to the station. He is now ordained as a missionary.

Mr. Tinson received fifty-eight into his church at Hanover Street and forty-two at *Yallahs* during the year 1839. The school at the latter place was conducted by Mr. Rae, and was prosperous.

In 1840, notwithstanding the interruptions to active service occasioned by his personal affliction, the churches over which Mr. Tinson presided were more than usually prosperous. Fifty-one were baptized at Hanover Street; and ninety-seven, who had been previously connected with the native Baptists, on their own request, were, after careful examination, admitted into fellowship. Twelve members had been removed by death, three of whom had maintained a consistent and honorable profession for nearly fifty years. At *Yallahs*, the progress of the church had been such that it contained five hundred and forty-nine members, seventy-six of whom had been added in the year. At *Mount Atlas*, a new church was formed in October, when thirty-eight members were dismissed from Hanover Street for the purpose. Its numbers were fifty-one. It was supplied by a deacon of the church in Kingston.

Jericho.—Owing to illness, Mr. Clarke was compelled to take a voyage to America in the early part of 1838, which, though useful, was not sufficiently efficacious to enable him to resume his labors; and he was therefore compelled to revisit his native land. Messrs. Richard and Joseph Merrick occupied his place, and previously to his departure, he enjoyed the pleasure of witnessing their ordination to the Christian ministry. This was the first instance in which Africans by descent were brought into union with the mission in Jamaica. At the association, a hundred and one were reported as added to the church in 1838; and soon after, a hundred and sixty-seven were admitted by Mr. Clarke to baptism. In 1839, five hundred and thirty-nine were added to the church at Jericho and the smaller ones connected with it. A township, also, was begun on ground which had been purchased by Mr. Clarke, to be called "Victoria," to commemorate the boon of emancipation conferred in the reign of her Majesty. In 1840, the state of the churches connected together with Jericho was highly prosperous. Sunday schools had been

formed, including all the members of the church, so that every individual who desired it might be taught to read. Mr. Clarke having in England devoted himself to Africa, their hearts were much engaged in that design. For this object, rigid self-denial was practised in their domestic economy, and a society was formed among the children in the Jericho school, for the purpose of making clothes to send to children in Africa. This district contributed a hundred pounds towards the parent Society, the mothers putting small pieces of silver into the hands of their little infants, to give at the collection. One hundred and sixty-two were admitted by baptism into the churches at Jericho and Mount Hermon, and a considerably greater number were waiting for admission. An enlargement of the chapel at Jericho was in progress, to contain two thousand persons.

Four Paths and Ebony Chapel.—Mr. Reid has been much impeded through want of health; but though he contemplated removing to another part of the island, he was induced to remain, at the earnest request of the people. His chapels were fully attended, and his churches increased by several additions in 1839. He had also commenced visiting a very destitute district in the mountains. Success has not been wanting.

Old Harbor, New Lionel, and Mount Freedom.—In December, 1838, Mr. Taylor reported seventy-eight persons recently admitted to the church, an increased attendance in the congregation, and facilities for extending the cause in the surrounding district. In 1839, though much impeded by illness, his efforts had been greatly prospered; so that two hundred and ninety-six were added to the church. He had commenced a new station in the parish of Vere, and had purchased premises in Clarendon, which were deemed eligible as a site for an Institution that had been proposed for training native candidates for the ministry. A Christian Instruction Society had been recently formed, which promised to be useful. In 1840, Mount Clarendon had an accession of a hundred and sixty-six members, and Old Harbor of a still larger number.

Savanna-la-Mar and Fuller's Field.—Although Mr. Hutchins experienced personal affliction and domestic bereavement, great prosperity attended the churches. Fifty-six members were added. A severe trial, however, was experienced in the destruction of their chapel by a fire which raged extensively in the town. The people had but just made a great effort to discharge a debt on the premises. Much sympathy was excited throughout the island, and among other donations, fifty pounds were presented to them by the governor. In 1840, the ministry had been abundantly successful both at Savanna-la-Mar and Fuller's Field; a hundred and twenty having been received into the former church, and ninety-five into the latter. Mr. Hutchins formed a new station about twenty miles from Fuller's Field, which he called Bunyan's Mount; and more recently a fourth, in that part of St. Elizabeth's which borders upon Westmoreland.

At the last association of the churches, held in Kingston, January, 1842, the ministers unanimously resolved, as an appropriate commemoration at once of the day of freedom and the jubilee of the mission, to detach themselves from the funds of the parent Society after the *first of August ensuing*,—a decision not only honorable to themselves, but highly important as affording the opportunity of sending the gospel to others of the Western Isles, as well as, it is to be hoped, to the remoter regions of the globe. This has been resolved, too, when during the year the churches in Jamaica have contributed about a thousand pounds to the Society, besides supporting, to a great extent, both their own pastors and schools.

At this association, Mr. Knibb was again requested to visit England, for the purpose of giving a full explanation of the state of the churches, as an answer to calumnies that had been circulated respecting their internal condition, as well as to promote the interests of the African mission and the theological seminary then in contemplation.

In tracing the remarkable prosperity, under God, of the churches in Jamaica, one cannot but observe the kind of instrumentality that has been and is constantly employed. Without adverting to the *men*, whose praise for holy zeal and fortitude is in all the churches, the

measures adopted have been evidently conducive to the general and extraordinary progress of the mission. In addition to the preaching of the gospel, the establishment of schools, and the various other assiduities brought into action, it cannot be questioned that extensive good is accomplished by the system of class meetings. By judicious arrangements of this description, the pastors enjoy the effective co-operation of the officers of the churches and members themselves, which, considering their magnitude and wide dispersion, is of the utmost importance. The churches are generally divided into districts according to their localities. These districts meet weekly, or oftener, for prayer and religious conversation. The more intelligent and pious of the members preside, and report the state of their districts from time to time to the pastor. The same plan is adopted in reference to inquirers, and thus a larger number of persons have the benefits of religious training than could possibly receive them by other means.

It is thus evident that pastors, either by their personal visitations, or through their well-known members, come into contact with the religious experience of every one attached to their respective churches. If converts are admitted in great numbers, it is surely cause for abounding gratitude, for they are not admitted without the utmost care, nor do they continue in Christian association without a minute and perpetual superintendence. This is a plan which, were it adopted in England amongst the Congregational Dissenters, as it is amongst the Methodists, must be attended, as in Jamaica, with manifest advantages; for when judiciously and conscientiously managed, it so brings every member into contact with every other, as greatly to tend to maintain the purity and increase the moral power of professing communities. The health of the whole body is promoted by a diligent and perpetual attention to every part, that disease may nowhere work insidiously and dangerously, but be stopped at its earliest indications, and effectually eradicated.

BAHAMAS.

The cause at Nassau, in New Providence, subsequently to the return of Mr. Burton through illness, suffered considerable depression, till another pastor was provided in Mr. Henry Capern, who relinquished his charge of the church in Long Buckby, in Northamptonshire, in order to occupy that station. He went out in the spring of 1840, and arrived on the 11th of June, when he found the mission premises out of repair, and the people much scattered. In the first year of his residence, however, their affairs seemed to be restored, additions were made to the church, and they numbered two hundred and fifty members. Mr. McDonald, a native preacher, was placed at Great Bahama, to proclaim the gospel to his countrymen. The committee also sent Mr. Littlewood to his aid, who had been some time under the instruction of Mr. Clements of Halstead.

Mr. Quant labored with zeal amidst extreme privations and danger, at the extremity of the Bahama group, at the distance of five hundred miles from Nassau. Thirty-five members were added to his church in 1838; but the islands were visited by a furious hurricane, by which their staple commodity, salt, was lost for the season; and the poor people in consequence deprived of the means of their accustomed liberality in supporting the cause of God. In 1839, four were baptized in Heneagua and Salt Cay, and seventeen at Turk's Island, where the congregation had greatly increased after Mr. Littlewood's settlement, and the spirit of hearing displayed itself extremely in the outer islands. In 1840-1, Mr. Quant continued to labor with diligence and success; and twenty-nine had been added to the churches at Grand Cay, Salt Cay, and Heneagua. On three of the islands he had been able to erect places of worship, notwithstanding the poverty of the people.

The missionaries devote a portion of the year to visit the out-islands, and are uniformly received with the greatest attention and kindness. The eagerness of the people for the word of life, while it rejoices, afflicts, on account of the present inability of the missionaries to provide for their spiritual necessities.

In 1841-2, the number one hundred and eight united to the church at Nassau, showed its revived state; and one hundred and four were added at the out-isl-

ands. Infant and Sunday schools had been formed, containing one hundred and forty children.

In Turk's Island, the spirit of hearing continues manifest, and excites grateful joy. Mr. Littlewood gives the following specimen of zeal and devotedness. "Being about to visit the out-islands, I determined to take a mason with me to finish the chapels. After a few hours' sail, we arrived at the first settlement. In the evening I preached to a crowded congregation, and after service told the people that I had brought a mason to repair the chapel, and that I wanted all present to come in the morning to fetch water, sand, &c. In the morning by sun-rise, I was delighted beyond measure. Nearly one hundred persons were in the yard ready to assist me. Such noble exertion did they make, that the work the mason expected to have been a fortnight in completing, was accomplished in a day and a half. We held service every morning at four o'clock, and every evening. The chapel was always filled. I spent the day either in visiting the neighbors or examining the inquirers; and before I left, thirteen were added to the church."

Sixty-five have been added at these different stations, and the total number of members is about three hundred and twenty. There is one infant school at Grand Cay, with sixty children.

HONDURAS—BELIZE.

In 1839, the health of Mr. Henderson suffered much, in consequence of all the labor of the station devolving upon him after the decease of Mr. Philpot; but the sphere of operations gradually enlarged. Additions were continually made to the church, so that in 1841 it consisted of more than one hundred members. A young man of great promise, Mr. William Weatherall, was sent out to his assistance, but perished under the power of fever, on his passage. A second missionary, Mr. C. H. Hosken of Clonmel, was sent in the beginning of that year. A new chapel was erected at Baker's Bank, twenty miles up the river, aided by the liberality of a resident proprietor whose family had received a blessing from the occasional ministry of Mr. Henderson, and nearly all the expense defrayed. Mr. F. Horsfall has been occupied since at this station. Mr. Crowe, who had long assisted the schools at Belize, was appointed in 1841, by the Central American Agricultural Society, as chaplain and schoolmaster to a settlement at the distance of two hundred and fifty miles in the Mosquito country. He now labors at Abbotsville with success. Two others in connection with the church are about to proceed to important spheres; one belonging to the Charib tribe of Indians, the original inhabitants of the country. The governor of the colony has presented the mission with land for a burial ground. Forty-four persons were baptized during the last year; and the gospel is now proclaimed at four important places on the coast, where English and Africans compose the congregations chiefly at some, and at others Spaniards and Indians. Mr. Henderson is aided by seven teachers and native preachers. Fifty-four have been recently added to the church at Belize, making the total number of members one hundred and thirty-two.

CHAPTER III.

AFRICA.

When the chapels were destroyed in Jamaica, Christianity arose in her majesty and might, indignant at the outrage; but she was not satisfied to repair the injury, or even to enlarge and multiply her tabernacles of worship. Looking abroad in the hour of her triumph over the ocean that was red with the blood of Africa, she inspired her new converts in the West with the holy desire of going to proclaim the everlasting gospel which had made them new creatures in Christ, to the inhabitants of their father-land. It was a proof of the expansive charity

of the religion of the cross, an evidence that it has nothing in it of a monopolizing spirit, but that those who are under its influence become at once solicitous of imparting the benefits they receive; in receiving and in bestowing being doubly blessed.

Early after the day of full emancipation, a black of the name of Keith, in connection with Mr. Gardner's church, sold what he possessed, after purchasing a few clothes only, in the spirit of martyrdom left a beloved companion for two years, and worked his passage out to Africa to proclaim—and he did proclaim *on the very spot whence he had been stolen* —the gospel of salvation.

There grew up, in fact, from the first a most anxious concern among the converted negroes for Africa, and they failed not to stimulate their ministers as well as each other to attempt something for its spiritual welfare. On this subject, indeed, they manifested the utmost intensity of feeling; nor were the missionaries slow to respond to and encourage them.

"By a recent decision of her majesty's government," said Mr. Knibb, addressing a British audience in 1840, "the slave-ships which used to be captured and sent to Cuba, where the poor Africans are still made slaves, are now sent to us. In an official communication which I have received from the individual who is appointed by government to parcel them out, he says, "If you or your Society want men from whom you may learn the language, you shall have the pick of every ship that comes in.' I have in my house at the present time a most interesting young man from Gouna, on the borders of Lake Shad. He was selling commodities on the Niger when he was taken. He was brought to Montego Bay. He knows much of the upper part of that mighty river. You might have seen that African, who, six months before, was in the wilds of his native country, taking into his lap the child of a missionary, to learn to say his A B C. He is a Mahometan by birth and by profession; but I am confident they have only taken up with that religion because Christians have not sent them a better. It was but the other day that the son of one of the largest slave-dealers in Africa came to me. He is a most intelligent young man, and a Christian. He was sent by his father to Cuba in a slave vessel which was captured by a British cruiser. He was taken to Bermuda, and finding that his rank was gone, he enlisted into the army. He heard the sound of the gospel from one of your missionaries, he became a decided Christian, and he asks you as he asked me to send him back to Africa with others. I have heard him say, 'I will then tell my father not to sell his countrymen any more.' So convinced was Sir Lionel Smith that he was the son of King Bell of Africa, that he offered him to us, whenever we could send him out. I called together the Africans of the churches of Kingston who felt interested in Africa. Between twenty and thirty assembled, and mentioning the objects I had in view, one of them said, 'I will go as your shoe black if you will take me.' I asked him when he would be ready to go. 'To-morrow,' was his reply. I said to them, 'Perhaps you would be made slaves if you were to go.' What was their answer? 'We have been made slaves for men, we can be made slaves for Christ.'"

From the association held at Montego Bay in January, 1839, a representation was addressed by the missionaries to the committee, on the desirableness of planting a mission in Western Africa, accompanied by assurances of the willingness of their people to render all the pecuniary aid in their power. A proposal was also made to commence a Theological Institution in some convenient part of the island, at which those members of the churches who appear to possess gifts for the Christian ministry might acquire sound biblical information.

When Mr. Knibb visited England in 1840, repeated conferences were held with him on the subject, and the committee, on the 3d of June, came to the following resolution:—"That, in compliance with the representations of our brethren in Jamaica, and following what we apprehend to be the clear indications of Providence, we determine, in reliance on the divine blessing, to commence a mission to Western Africa." This was an act of faith; for at the time, the usual income of the Society was inadequate to its expenditure, a debt of more than three thousand pounds existed, every department of the mission demanded

renewed help, and Jamaica loudly appealed for ten additional missionaries.

After much consideration it was deemed important to send forth two brethren to explore the western coast of Africa near and on the banks of the Niger, in order to ascertain the best method of procedure hereafter, and to make such preliminary arrangements as might facilitate the introduction of the gospel chiefly by native agency, not only into the immediate neighborhood of the sea, but by means of the river into the interior and central regions of that benighted land. A deep sense of British responsibility—a profound recollection of the wrongs which her mercenary traffickers in blood had inflicted there year after year and age after age, upon outraged humanity—a kindling hope that the "glorious gospel of the blessed God" might be introduced into the very countries where every degree of violence and every form of cruelty and crime had been perpetrated—gave to this new project of Christian benevolence an immediate and extraordinary popularity. An eagerness to aid in this good work was everywhere expressed, and appeals on its behalf were everywhere welcomed.

When the measure itself had been determined, the first inquiry of course was to obtain such individuals as might be best qualified to become explorers and pioneers in this new and arduous enterprise. This was a question of the greatest moment, as much was likely to depend, under God, upon those who began the work. It evidently required, in addition to the ordinary attributes of the true missionary, a happy combination of zeal and judgment, a physical as well as mental capacity of enduring hardships, and especially it demanded persons, if such could be found, accustomed to the negro character, and inured to a burning and pestilential climate. These requisites, with the still further advantage of medical competency, were most providentially secured. Mr. John Clarke from Jericho, a missionary in Jamaica of long tried character and experience, and at the very time a visitor in his native land, as if to be prepared for the crisis, occurred to the thoughts of the committee; and upon the communication of their wishes, they had the satisfaction of receiving from him a prompt reply, expressive of his readiness to devote himself to the work. At the time of this application, he was anticipating a return, with recruited health, to his beloved and numerous flock in Jamaica; but discarding every personal consideration, he gave himself to the service in the spirit of a ready self-consecration to God. It then appeared, that he had for several years, thought often and felt deeply on the wrongs of Africa, and had diligently amassed a store of information on the subject, without suspecting the purpose to which it was to be applied, and for which, in the ordering of Providence, he was sent to England.

As it was deemed important, not only that he should be associated with another, but that his companion should possess a knowledge of physic, inquiries were extensively set on foot for the purpose of obtaining, in this respect, a suitable associate; and just at the time when the committee were beginning to feel despair of success, and within a very short period of the time fixed for the sailing of the vessel in which Mr. Clarke was to proceed on his voyage, Dr. G. K. Prince, a medical practitioner of great reputation, who had been eminently successful in Jamaica, and who had made large temporal sacrifices for the gospel, being at liberty, intimated his readiness to accompany his friend to share his perils and his labors.

Application was made for a passage in the government steamers, proceeding on an expedition up the Niger, with a view to accomplish, in unison with an African society for the purpose, the civilization of that continent, by the purchase of lands, and the institution of a commercial intercourse; but this was declined. The *Golden Spring*, however, a vessel belonging to the African Company, was carrying out coals for the expedition; and in the spirit of their divine undertaking, they readily took up their abode in this humble barque, careless of their own accommodation, bent only on the salvation of Africa. Another and unexpected circumstance of an auspicious kind occurred, in the kindness of the late governor of Fernando Po, Lieut. Colonel Nicholls, who not only furnished them with letters of introduction to several of the native chieftains, but supplied them, from the

stores of his own experience, with much valuable information.

Two or three services of a valedictory character were held on the eve of their departure; particularly one of peculiar interest at the author's chapel at Hackney, on Sabbath evening, October the 11th, 1840; when each of the deputation entered into details of Christian experience and the intended plans of operation, and engaged the sympathies and prayers of a numerous assembly. A deeply interested circle of friends (among whom was Mr. Knibb, then about to return to Jamaica) joined with them in the commemorative festival of the Christian church.

They embarked on Tuesday the 13th. On the 16th, they wrote from the Downs, in terms which strongly depicted the *missionary state* of their hearts, as the extract of a few passages will show. "We have proceeded thus far onward towards Fernando Po, to which we look with intense interest, as if the distance lying between were nothing. The good hand of God is upon us. * * Thus, my beloved friend, we go forward in the strength of God,—we lean upon his arm,—we know he leads us on, and directs us by the cloudy and fiery pillar of his providence, and comforts us by his sure word of promise, and cheers us by the communications of his Holy Spirit. Our very trials, though they have yet been few, are pleasant, because we endure them from love to Christ and to souls, and look forward to the recompense of the reward. It is not for us to fear, or to prognosticate whether we shall live to labor and return, or leave our bodies in the African wilderness; all we have to do is to work for God while God grants us strength to labor for him,—to work so that our friends at home will approve—that our own consciences will approve—that God our Father, who knows each motion of the heart that excites to action, will approve: then, while we can labor, we labor for God; when we suffer, we suffer according to the will of God; and when we die, we rest from our labors, and our works do follow us. We throw ourselves at the feet of Jesus, and thank and adore him for employing us, and for crowning our efforts for his glory with success. * * * I do believe the fields are white to the harvest. Two men are already willing to repair to Africa—zealous, devoted men of God; and I do hope that not a few will speedily come from Jamaica, and Bahamas, and other islands of the West, to reap, in their father-land, the great harvest of the Lord. May he prepare and send such laborers into his harvest-field, and make them abundantly successful! Pray for us, dear brother,—let not your church forget to pray for us,—let none of the churches in the land forget to pray for us, and for Afric's salvation."*

After touching at Cape Palmas and Cape Coast Castle, they reached their primary destination, Fernando Po, on the first of January, 1841, and speedily took up their abode in the town of Clarence. On the first Sabbath, Mr. Clarke preached from the appropriate words, "And the angel said unto them, Fear not; for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people." About two hundred and fifty attended, and in the evening he again preached, and had a still larger congregation to hear from his lips the words of eternal life. On the Monday evening, he commenced service in their dwelling, and every evening, when at Clarence, the people assembled in numbers varying from fifty to eighty and a hundred, to listen for an hour to the reading and expounding of the truths of God.

The town of Clarence contains a hundred and seventy houses, and seventeen at Krou town, adjoining; besides seven large houses belonging to the West African Company. There are in Clarence about seven hundred inhabitants, and of Kroumen, at Krou town and hiding in the woods, three hundred. The Adeeyahs, or aboriginal inhabitants, are from five to ten thousand souls. In the course of the first month, they met the people at three of their towns, and had about six hundred of them in all to hear. They are a harmless race of people, not so covetous as most of the Africans, and expressed themselves glad that white men were come to instruct them respecting God, and the way to be happy.

The climate of Fernando Po is probably not worse than other parts of Western Africa. It has this advantage, you can get up to the mountains as

* Letter to the author.

high as is necessary, and obtain a cool and pleasant retreat. The house of Colonel Nicholls is three thousand feet up the mountain, about ten miles from Clarence. On the way, about five miles, are four Adeeyah towns, in which there may be about eight hundred, or perhaps a thousand inhabitants.

The Adeeyahs are vulgarly called "boobies;" their huts are scattered over the island in different directions. Those nearest to each other form a town. They are a timid, inoffensive race, and are usually kind to such as go among them in a friendly way; but among themselves, they sometimes have war, and fight with the long wooden spear and the knife. Their language, Mr. Clarke says, is very poor; it seemed to him soft and gentle; but he had only heard it from a timid female *Adeeyah* teaching four of her countrywomen the truths concerning God and his Son Jesus Christ. "This," says he, "may seem strange to you, but it was thus;—last Sabbath, I attempted to make myself understood, on my return from Krou Town, in a very short conversation with one or two of these poor females. The result was, that five of them, neatly dressed, came to our dwelling on the following day; one of them understood English; and in the simplest way I possibly could, I put words into her mouth to speak to the others, praying God to bless the feeble effort, and to write conviction on each of their hearts."

The captain of a trading vessel at Fernando Po had promised to take our friends across to Bimbia, Cameroons, and Calabar, but was prevented from accomplishing his friendly purpose by the arrival of a letter from his employer in England, expressly forbidding him to afford the missionaries any help whatever. They, however, followed in a little boat going to Cameroons and Bimbia for goats, and had to sleep on the small deck, exposed to the dews by night, and the burning sun by day; but God mercifully preserved their lives. On arriving at Cameroons they were introduced by Capt. Lilly, a resident trader, to the native chief, King Bell, for whom and several other individuals of the same rank, they had been furnished with letters of recommendation by Lieut. Col. Nicholls. King Bell immediately granted them his large hall. Dr. Prince remarks that the favor of divine Providence was manifest in this respect, that though obviously in the power of a people and of a chief whose hearts are wholly given to the idolatry of covetousness, and with whom the life of a man is of less value than a printed cotton handkerchief, yet their persons and property were respected in an unwonted degree. King Bell, however, was not insensible to the charms of some hats they had purchased at Cape Coast, nor wanting in cunning in proposing an exchange for trifles.

"The morning," says Dr. Prince, "that we met Agua's people for the first time, we took care to introduce, in our opening addresses to the blacks, a very distinct disavowal of participation in and interference with trade or traders; declared that we came empty-handed, making no presents, only parting with goods or money in return for services rendered, or the necessaries of life demanded. The simplicity of our design they appeared to comprehend, and satisfaction was evidently expressed in the proceedings. Before several captains, supercargoes, and surgeons, we have had an opportunity of showing our designs in so simple and forcible a light that one general friendly reception has been given us. We have conversed with the various gentlemen interested in the trade, on the sin of desecrating the Sabbath by a pursuit of their calling, and have obtained a ready declaration from all, without an exception, that they will at once discontinue and discountenance it. We felt that this sin, perpetrated and upheld by Englishmen, would be a great barrier to missionary success, and we trust that this reproof and exhortation will be as a prophet's reward to those who have shown a friendly part to us.

"Capt. Wild propitiated Agua by a small present, and in the same way has made a douceur to the Hiccory people. He saw several of his head people in the forenoon, and about 5 P. M., I had the gratification of meeting the most numerous and interesting assemblage we have yet addressed. I wish a draftsman had been present to sketch the scene. The king, habited in a rich scarlet silk around his loins, which formed a striking

contrast to his glossy, jet black skin, was seated before his door. On his left was a large group of his chief men, and numerous sons. Those in the front squatted, flanked and supported in the rear by others on their feet. At a little distance on his right were some of his fifty wives, gracefully ornamented with large beads of various colors dispersed round their heads and about their persons. Then, on every eminence, and forming a large circle around me, were parties of anxious expectants of my address,—youths, Zaccheus-like, mounting the trees. We were on a considerable height, looking down upon a majestic stream, that presented upon her bosom many of England's boasted traders. The sun was rapidly declining behind the opposite shore, and ere I concluded, after they had with one accord shouted their welcome to the promised missionary and teacher of their offspring, I turned to the beauteous moon, then rising full in the sight of all, and told them that the God who made that orb for their accommodation by night, had heard their vow, and would record it. There were no fewer than five hundred in this company, which had been collected by the sound of their country drum in thirty or forty minutes. Many understood English, and these were so desirous of my continuing to speak without interruption, that they would scarcely allow the use of the interpreter, promising to make amends to the less instructed by their own repetition. The Christian public who wished us farewell and God speed to this land, would have been startled into admiring gratitude at the instant that this large company rose as one man, and carried by acclamation that penetrated far through the circumambient air, the proposition to send them a minister to reside amongst or near them. They called it 'good palaver,' said they would protect him who came, thanked us most cordially, declared they would build a house and school, and never desert the white man."

In returning from that district, they visited Bimbia, on the coast, where they had an opportunity of addressing three hundred people, who were very attentive.

The deputation have devoted their attention chiefly to Fernando Po. The situation of the island, in relation to the mouths of the Niger, and other rivers, the intercourse maintained with England, the readiness of the natives to listen to instruction, the facilities it affords for the acquisition of African languages, and the comparative salubrity of its climate, have recommended it as the spot where a station should first be formed.

A tract of land, fifty acres at least, situated close to Clarence, was purchased of one of the aboriginal inhabitants. A Boubie, called Cut-throat, or Gloriobolobo, disposed of it, and received a bonus beyond his demand; the total cost was under three pounds sterling; the *specie* given in liquidation of Glorio's demand was a musket, two pounds and a half of powder, six pounds of tobacco, and an I O U for an ewe-goat.

On the 27th of April, they proceeded through the woods to Bassipoo, or Bassipou, a Boubie village, where the king gave them a kind welcome. They requested him to call his people in the morning, that they might hear about the great God who made them. This he did; and in the morning they talked to the people at some length, but were badly suited with an interpreter; but being afterwards better supplied with one who was to assist them in the purchase of land, they went with due authority and attendants from the king an hour's walk up the mountain. Having reached a delightful spot from two to three thousand feet above the level of the sea (for Bassipoo itself stands high, and overlooks Clarence and the sea), they were told to make their choice. In the town they chose a spot for a school-house, and returned to the king. He sat down by the side of a road, with twelve of his counsellors of state; themselves, the interpreter, and his two Adeeyah attendants, made the company eighteen. All who approached were directed over a fence to pass by at a distance, and the conversation was long and interesting; when they were directed to wait at the house of the king until a farther palaver was held over a dinner prepared for him by one of his head men. When they intimated their desire to go, the king soon came, and said, all they wished for they should have, and he should make no charge; but that they might give him what they

thought proper. On mentioning what Glorio had got for land at Clarence, he said with a similar acknowledgement he would be quite satisfied. "But," added he, "we should like you to build house in town first, then we send our children, and we look upon you and see how you do; for we do not wish to have our children beaten or ill-used in any way; but if you live beside us, we will get acquainted with you, and then none will be afraid to send their children to learn to read book." The natives seemed to have formed a favorable opinion of their white visitors, "for," says Dr. Prince, "they have said of us, 'that we are not like other white men, they like us, we be friend to them, because when we talk to them, they *see our teeth*,' which being construed, means, we look pleasantly and smile upon them. We are now generally known, and our errand also, to the Boubies living within a day's journey of Clarence; the consequences are, they seldom take to flight when we are approaching their towns, and numbers visiting this, come to call on us."

On the 5th of June, Dr. Prince went to Bimbia; on the 6th, he called upon King William, who rejected his message, and refused him accommodation in his house. In consequence, he was compelled to sleep in the small schooner, and the weather being rainy, and the coast unhealthy, he became ill. Before his sickness, he tried another town, and was listened to by about three hundred people. Providentially, the vessel sailed the day after his sickness commenced. She was to have remained a full month, but there being no trade in palm oil, it was deemed useless by the captain and supercargo to remain longer in the place. His case was of a more serious description than it had been in any previous attack; but the agreeable change from a confined vessel and indifferent attendance, to a comfortable bed, with judicious medical treatment and tender sympathy, were blessed by God to his perfect restoration.

The efforts of the deputation seemed by this time to be crowned with some success; and they entertained a good hope that several had been changed in heart. More than sixty attended the Sabbath school, some of whom were able to read the word of God. Among those who were making steady progress was a man from Cameroons, who frequently came half an hour before a prayer-meeting or lecture, and stayed long after for conversation. From him Mr. Clarke obtained most of his Cameroon vocabulary, and his attendance upon the preaching of the word was encouraging. Dr. Prince began to teach him with some others; but this man made the greatest progress. On his way to Krou Town, Mr. Clarke passed a house where several Cameroons were dancing and making a great noise. As soon as they saw him the dancing ceased; and the chief man came out to apologize for their conduct. He was told that he was doing very wrong, that he knew it was God's day, and that such things ought not to be done. There was no more dancing in that house for the day. At Krou Town the people were very indifferent, but twenty-five persons assembled to listen to the word of life.

In July, they state that thirty-two persons from different nations had joined the Wednesday evening classes. The Sabbath and week-night meetings were well attended. Twenty-four couples had been united in marriage; five couples more had the banns proclaimed; and several more were preparing for a similar union. All these were before living irregularly. Night brawls and drummings had ceased, except an occasional noise at Krou Town, or among the Dewallas from Cameroons. They speak of the change produced in Clarence as great, and the number of those disposed to forsake their old, long-tried, and miserable course of open sin as gradually increasing. Some, indeed, fell back into their former course of quarrelling, fornication, and drunkenness; but many stood firm in the strength of God, and among those who had fallen, a few were restored to repentance; none had entirely gone away. Most of those who became united in matrimonial bonds afterwards gave their names as catechumens, and attended diligently on public and private instruction.

In a letter to the author, dated July 13th, Mr. Clarke furnishes specimens of African languages which have come under his notice, referring also to the districts in which they are spoken. As suitable illustrations of the similarity of

some, and the great dissimilarity of others, and of the labor which will be necessary to be performed by translators before Africa can be enabled to read the Scriptures of truth, he gives the words, "fire" and "water," as being common in all lands, in ninety-seven different languages. He adds, "We are now in the midst of the rainy season, and are much shut up in consequence of it. We cannot venture into the bush to visit the native villages; but by November the rains will cease, and if spared until then, and no opportunity presents for entering the interior of Africa, we mean to employ much time in visiting every part of this interesting island."

In another letter to the author from Dr. Prince, dated the 29th of August, occurs the following interesting narrative;—"We are accustomed to meet our classes on the evenings of Wednesday, at half-past seven, and as our house can hardly accommodate the two at the same time, the numbers being twenty-four and twenty-three, I repair to the house of John William Christian, and there meet him and the remaining twenty-two. Last Wednesday, the 25th, I was about to quit at the termination of the meeting, when he requested me to be seated, as he had something to say for himself and fellow-members. He began by saying how greatly they all rejoiced in the coming of the missionaries, and as we had read to them from the magazines, &c., lately received, accounts of what their countrymen and fellow-Christians were doing for their good in Africa, they also desired and considered it their duty to do something for the mission to help to support us, and to erect a place of worship. Thereupon he handed me a list of names with sums annexed, of parties belonging to my class, who had engaged to contribute quarterly the amount specified; and he and the members, after our prayer-meeting last night (Saturday), paid over three guineas sterling, and unanimously expressed the satisfaction they experienced by so doing; indeed their countenances told that fact; any one looking on, but not hearing their remarks, would have conjectured that they were the receivers, rather than the payers, unless as I conceive, with a tutored eye, the observer would detect an expression of superior delight to that which a receiver of coveted gold betrays; for this was the joy of those who were more blessed in giving than they could be by receiving. * * * What pleased me the more is that their act has anticipated the purpose which brother Clarke and I had formed a few days previously, of calling their attention to the performance of the duty; and that very night, at one time of the meeting, it occurred to me to do this, but I was secretly overruled for the better manifestation of His grace by whom the hearts of this people are affected."

In a second letter two days afterwards, he furnishes an account of a visit of Christian to two of the Boubie towns on the eastern side. When Christian went away, diffidence concealed his principal motive for going, and he spoke of it as a trading excursion. On the 28th of August, he left Clarence in a canoe, accompanied by three boys, and arrived at Bani (a Boubie town) about six P. M.; there met negroes from Clarence, and summoned them to prayer. About six the following morning, he departed for Bassaka-two, and arrived in four hours; assembled his boys and some Clarence people to prayer: three Boubies also joined the company. At mid-day, he walked three miles along the coast to see the chief, and unexpectedly met three Krous, who, he says, resort to the woods, become freebooters upon the Boubies, and commit all manner of licentiousness and depredation. The king Wiarrirupwe, came, inquired if Christian wanted to trade; being answered in the negative, and told of the disinterested errand on which his visitor had come, he could not apprehend that motive, was very suspicious, and rather fearful of Christian as a Juju-man who harbored some sinister intention that would be injurious to him; but at last he was induced to give him credit, as Christian continued to decline all trade, assuring him that he came purposely to apprize him of *two white God-men* having come to Clarence, all the way from their own country, just to teach the Boubies, *God palaver*, and their children *white man's book*. He therefore had to propose to the king, that he should order a house to be prepared for the missionaries, because they are not

used to sun and rain. The proposition was instantly acquiesced in, and the option of a spot granted. Christian selected one which happened to comprise a portion upon which some sacred grass was growing. The king demurred a little to the surrender of this, but relinquished it with good-will when assured that there was no god there, and that the white men would tell him better. After listening to a pious exhortation and a prayer offered by Christian, the king went away much pleased, promising to return the next day to construct the hut. He was as good as his word, and made an early appearance with a large concourse of his people, who began to clear away the herbage, Christian setting the example upon the sacred grass. When the chosen spot had been cleared, Christian again addressed the crowd and prayed. All behaved well, and were unanimous in a declaration of their purpose to follow the example and counsel of their chief whenever he might sanction the removal of their children to Clarence for book instruction, or adopt any reformation in their own locality. On Sunday the king returned with many of his 'gentlemen,' and other subjects, bearing presents of fowls, which Christian would not receive on that day, and explained his reasons; they were afterwards offered and accepted. There was one miserably diseased man full of sores, the features of his face destroyed; his own people kept aloof from him, and he was an outcast amongst his brethren. Christian took especial notice of this man,—gave him tobacco, invited him to sit near to him, drank of some palm wine from the same gourd, an act which not one of his countrymen would do. The man felt this kindness very sensibly, and brought, as a token of gratitude, one egg, alleging that he had nothing better to present. He was told that nothing was required, but that the egg would be received with pleasure, and that Christian regarded him as his friend. This manifestation of good principle excited great astonishment in the chief and his company, and they reasoned—'what sort of man is this, he does not come here for any thing, and lets that sick man come near him, and drinks topee with him!'

"At Bakaka, Christian met a native who had dwelt some time at Clarence; he exhorted her to communicate to her townspeople what she had seen and heard, as calculated to make them desire the like advantages. Not fewer than five hundred assembled to hear him, taking their seats upon a rising slope. When Christian took leave, the posts of the hut to be prepared for a missionary were planted, and the material for completing it was upon the spot. Bowie, the chief, said that if Christian would return, he would afterwards send one of his own sons to learn book, but he was disposed to be incredulous of the promised return, and explained his doubts by the repeated want of good faith in those who have before visited to trade; who get their oil, yams, &c. upon trust, and afterwards falsify their assurances to return and pay. Christian came away without taking any part of the debt due to him by the chief, and departed with many tokens of goodwill." * * *

"It is now our pleasing duty," says Dr. Prince, "to inform you that the forementioned worthy candidate, together with Phœbe Christian, (*i. e.* Christian's wife), Joseph Wilson, Peter Nicolls, and Mary Ann Duroo, were baptized yesterday morning, and so initiated into the visible church, and that we afterwards had the spiritual feast in commemoration of our Redeemer's sacrifice for our sins,—the first occasion to brother Clarke and me since we had that fellowship with you. One accepted female was too ill to be baptized. The scene was beautiful to the tastes both of the renewed and unrenewed nature. Our tent gave accommodation to brother Clarke, and others were appointed for the men and women. The day had been anticipated with great interest by all our hearers. A great many of them passed the night in the tent, singing and praying; others did the like in their own houses. Many more than the number baptized applied, but we acted very scrupulously in our examinations."

Mr. Clarke and Dr. Prince left Fernando Po in the beginning of February, with the hope of arriving in London in time for the annual meetings of the Society in May, to give an account of their mission; but they were called to pass through unexpected and painful vicissitudes, which will doubtless be found, in

the end, to have been providentially overruled for important purposes. A communication from Mr. Clarke on the subject, though long, demands insertion, on account of its many valuable details:

"After spending fourteen months in Africa, and finding a sufficient number of places for forming missionary stations, and seeing no prospect of effecting a passage up any of the rivers into the interior, further than we had already done, Dr. Prince and I thought we could best hasten the speedy introduction of the gospel into many benighted lands of sin and wretchedness, by repairing to England, to lay before the committee and the churches, the result of the deputation on which we have been sent; and plead for Africa, to the utmost extent of the power imparted to us by our God. I confess I could not have left Africa without deep regret, if I had not first devoted my life to her welfare,—if I had not resolved to return to her (D. V.), with all proper speed, to labor and suffer for her sons, while my days of labor and of suffering are permitted to continue. But the term suffering may be changed for that of pleasure, and labor for that of delight, when I labor in the work of God, and suffer in the cause of my Redeemer; for I have enjoyed, and still hope to enjoy, true delight in God, when cold, and drenched with the pouring rain; when fatigued, and far distant from the poorest shelter; as well as when threatened by the raging sea, or by the unfeeling menace of an offended savage. I left Africa, fully hoping to aid her much by reaching England for the annual meeting, by having the summer to represent her state to the churches; and then to hasten back, with my devoted wife and a reinforcement of pious souls, to reveal Jesus and his great salvation to thousands sunk in ignorance, idolatry, and woe. We sailed in the *Mary*, of Liverpool, on the third of February, and on the 11th, were struck by lightning, to the east of the Island of Princes. A Krouman was struck dead in the cabin, while waiting upon us at our breakfast table; most of our ship's company felt the shock severely; and our mizen-top-mast was split in two, and the mizen greatly shattered. The poor Krou was buried in the mighty deep, our shattered sails were repaired, and we slowly proceeded on our way. On the 21st of March, a piratical-looking vessel, with the Sardinian flag, ran across our stern, and all expected a sudden attack; all hands were placed so as to attempt, if she fired upon us, to run her down. She, however, got our longitude, and passed quietly on. It was the look of the craft, the number of her hands, and a sail thrown over what seemed to us a great gun upon the stern, that led us to suspect danger. On the 25th of March, between eleven and twelve o'clock P. M., our mainmast came by the board, bringing with it the fore-top, and mizen-top-mast, and yards, so that we lay a complete wreck for two days, about two thousand miles from the nearest land. On the 29th, we saw two vessels, and sent letters by both, to inform our friends of our disasters. On the 5th of April, our cook, an American black, died suddenly, and a second time we had to commit a fellow-creature to the deep. On the 8th, a Spanish vessel came up to us, and manifested a more threatening appearance than did our former friend, the Sardinian. She wished us to heave to; and when we paid no regard to the mandate, she lay for some time without making sail, as if meditating an attack upon us in our helpless state. She was the perfect model of a good sea-boat; and the crew with their dark beards and mustachios, gave us no bad idea of a band of daring pirates. We were, however, near the land, and sailing before the wind, with a good breeze; and in a quarter of an hour or so, the Spaniard again made sail, and proceeded on her course towards Cuba. On the 9th, we saw land on the coast of Guiana, and anchored for the night off Berbice. On the 10th, we ran along to Demerara lightship; and on the 11th, landed safely at George Town, where we soon found friends who did all in their power to render our stay profitable and agreeable. The London missionaries, and Mr. Ketley, an independent minister, vied with each other in kind attentions to us. We were encouraged to make a collection for the African branch of the Baptist mission in Smith's chapel, and also in Mr. Ketley's; and Mr. Rattray, another of the London Society's missionaries, was so affected for Africa, that he, of his own accord,

made a collection for our Society, after we had left his delightful station at 'Pleasure and Rest.' The collections and subscriptions in all, at three places, amounted to £31. 14*s*. 2*d*.; and to this, above two hundred of Mr. Ketley's dear Sabbath school children gave their 'bits,' to send, as they said, teachers to the poor children in Africa. Fifteen dollars were thus raised in bits and half-bits from the scholars (a bit is fourpence sterling); forty dollars were raised at the public week-night meeting; twenty dollars on the Sabbath; and ten more at a morning prayer-meeting, on the morning previous to that of our departure—£17. 14*s*. 2*d*. from his dear people and children, in all.

"I had there a most delightful afternoon, on the Sabbath afternoon, with native Africans. I first ranged the Foulahs and Mandingoes before me, and told them that God had sent missionaries to some parts of their land, that good men had learned the Mandingo tongue, and that the word of God was printed in their own language, and some of their countrymen were being taught to read of the Saviour of lost sinners; I showed them the great work yet to be done, and pressed upon them their duty to pray and assist in the glorious service. I went to the Bulloms, the Sherbros, Susoos, and Mendis, telling them what was doing in their land; then to the Bassas, Krous, Grebos, Plaboes, and natives of the Grain Coast. I found none from the Ivory Coast, but some from Lahon, Ashanti, Koromanti, Jantee, and Equo; and to these I spoke of the labors at Cape Coast Castle, Anamaboe, Acera, and Coomassee. I was going on to Poppoe, Eboe, Aku, and Houssa; but time would not allow me to proceed. It was a joyous season, and the smoking flax of love to Africa was blown up into a flame. * * * I was deeply interested in seeing several of the Arawaak Indians, and glad to find they are not altogether overlooked by missionaries. Little, however, has been done, comparatively, for them; and their numbers are said to be rapidly growing less. The number of those who compose the Carabisce, Accaway, Arawaak, Warrow, Macusi, Paramuni, Atharaya, and Attamaka nations, is given at from 15,000 to 20,000. These inhabit the interior, from the river Rippanoony in Brazil, to the Oronoque, and move from one place to another in Surinam, Cayenne, Guiana, and the borders of Colombia and Brazil; but about 5000 of these were formerly attached to the British, and were employed, in the dark days of bondage, to hunt and bring in fugitive slaves. These were chiefly of the Arawaak nation; and are now, since slavery has ceased, very little regarded by their former interested friends. * * *

"The Arawaak Indians call the Supreme Being, Aluheri, and the god of their nation, Kururumauny; to whom they give two wives—Woorecaddo (a worker in darkness), and Emehsewaddo (the large red ant). The Caribisce have a tradition that they came from the islands. They call God, Maconaima, meaning a worker in the dark; and their legend of the creation is, that coeval with Maconaima was a large tree, which he mounted, and cut from it chips of wood with a stone hatchet, and throwing these into a river, they became animate beings, according to the will of Maconaima. Among this interesting people Mr. Ketley has several stations, near to the river Essequibo; one is at Supenaam, another at Caria Caria, and a third at Tiger Creek. The church missionaries have also a station at Bartica Point, where the Cayoony and Masaroony rivers enter the noble Essequibo."*

After a residence of eighteen days in the town of Charlotte Amalie, they left the picturesque harbor of St. Thomas, and on the 27th of May arrived at Falmouth, where they were affectionately welcomed; and immediately occupied themselves in public addresses and pleadings from day to day for Africa. "I pray," says Mr. Clarke, "for a devoted heart, and feel—in the midst of the warmest gratulations, the lovely scenery, the comfortable homes, the good roads, and the easy modes of travelling in Jamaica—a burning desire to climb on foot the rugged mountains of Formosa; to rest in the lowly huts of the Fernandians; to look upon the tall surrounding reeds, and the waving palm trees; and see the simple natives repairing to the 'bala' (*play-ground*), hear from their lips the friendly 'oipodi' (*good*

* Letter to the author, dated "On board the brig *Colonist*, off St. Croix, May 3, 1842."

morning), and behold them listening with wonder and surprise to the strange 'boìrupè' (*men of God*), who have visited their 'bissì' (*town*), to speak of 'Alahandu' (*the great God*), who is the true 'Dupe' (*God*), whose 'intshobo' (*dwelling*) is 'obòò (*up above us*)."

It was soon resolved that the churches in Jamaica should supply means to enable them to procure a sloop with proper boats, to go to the mouths of the rivers, and ascend the streams to the numerous towns on their banks.

During the ensuing months they have been constantly travelling to visit the principal stations. In his most recent communication to the secretary Mr. Clarke writes:—"I have not been able to describe the scene in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, on my going there. The poor people are, notwithstanding their love to me and the family of the Merricks, willing to give us all up; and many of them are themselves willing to accompany us to Africa. They say, 'You shall cost the Society nothing while here, and we must pay your passage to England.' 'We have from £300 to £400 collected for the offering at the Jubilee; and hope it will be £600 sterling before we have all done with bringing in our offerings.' But I cannot hear of the leaving of the Merricks until a supply for these churches is obtained. They require three ministers; and Jericho alone can now support three; but until mission-houses are built, the others cannot support each its own. Jericho people will cheerfully help the other stations, if a right-minded man be sent to Jericho. If not, all my fine peaceful stations will be thrown back, and a separation will arise where none has before existed. The people at Jericho were first helped by the committee; now they cheerfully help Smyrna and Springfield; and in this way all the four churches will soon be provided with mission premises, and ministers at each of these stations; but I fear to think of giving up Jericho to a stranger, and think I must reach home to choose a suitable person to succeed the Merricks, before they are called upon to proceed to the African field. The whole family are willing to go. Let the whole family go. They will be, I trust, the most valuable family that ever went to Africa to seek its good."

Our beloved friends and Christian adventurers are expected in England before the time appointed for the celebration of the Jubilee in London at the beginning of October; and ten thousand beating hearts are awaiting their return, while the prayers of the church are ascending to Him, that the winds and the waves, held in the hollow of his hand, may be commissioned to waft them in safety.

In the mean time, Mr. Sturgeon having been sent by the committee to occupy the station at Fernando Po in the absence of Dr. Prince and Mr. Clarke, having reached that spot in the spring, sent, under date of April the 19th, a letter to the secretary from Clarence, in which he says that "the number of inquirers is now about one hundred. On Lord's day, the 3d instant, I baptized three persons in Water Fall brook. The humility, piety, and prayerfulness of these three persons now united to the small church at Clarence, compel me to conclude that they are 'trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he may be glorified.' There is such a general inquiry here for salvation, such a thirst for the word of life, such a spirit of prayer, and desire for the means of grace, as seems to portend a speedy outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The song of the drunkard is changed for the songs of Zion; strife, revelling, and profligacy are superseded by peace and love. One of the persons I have baptized was a ringleader of drunkenness, dancing, and public sports, previous to the arrival of Mr. Clarke and Dr. Prince; now he is at least a comparative pattern of holiness and activity. One of the most pleasing evidences of the prosperity of our cause is the increased efforts of the people to bring sinners to the Saviour. Our friends are going in all directions, reading, talking, and praying with the people."

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND.

The labors and anxieties of the committee at home have been by no means insignificant, during the past few years of stirring incident and increasing exertion in the different departments of the missionary field abroad. Theirs it has ever been to live in a continual state of excitement and effort—to bear the burdens, or participate the joys of all—to counsel their agents in perplexity, and defend them under reproach—to inform and correct the misguided in seasons of mistake and misunderstanding—to uphold the desponding in weakness and embarrassment—and to supply each applicant and station with men and money. And while a general superintendence and sympathy have devolved on them in a sense the care of all the missionary churches, they have been employed in incessant and often difficult deliberations, and in laborious journeys to obtain resources for the work.

For several years it was the growing conviction that Mr. Dyer, the secretary, needed more help, and that if possible, it should be efficiently provided, not so much by an increase of subordinate machinery, as by the union of another individual with him in the secretarial department, by which the whole system of management might fall, substantially, into the two most natural divisions of domestic and foreign. Long habituated to labor alone as the chief officer of the Society, he was somewhat averse, at first, to such a measure; by no means aware, probably, of the necessary inadequacy of an individual to fulfil the ever-increasing demands of the Society. At length, however, he concurred in the appointment of a co-sectary; and after a brief experience, expressed his personal satisfaction in his colleague, the Rev. Joseph Angus, A. M., who was, at the time of his election, pastor of the church in New Park Street, Borough. This very desirable provision was announced at the annual meeting at Exeter Hall on the 30th of April, 1840.

Mr. Knibb arrived at Liverpool on the 10th of May, and after holding the public meeting at Exeter Hall, where he delivered a speech of great interest, from which some extracts have been before given, he commenced a plan of extensive travelling for the mission. In the course of six months he attended 154 public services, travelled about 6000 miles, and addressed, on a probable computation, 200,000 individuals. Having succeeded in obtaining pecuniary aid for commencing the African mission, and for adding ten new laborers to the missionary band in Jamaica, his closing efforts were directed towards the removal of the debt of upwards of £3000 owing by the Society, which were vigorously seconded by the liberalities of individuals and of the churches. For this object he engaged to raise £500 among the churches of Jamaica. Previously to his departure he attended a succession of public meetings at different chapels in London and its neighborhood, which were closed by a valedictory service at Finsbury Chapel, when that spacious building was crowded in every part by the friends of the mission. On this occasion solemn prayer was offered by Mr. Pritchard and Mr. Aldis; the audience was briefly addressed by the missionary brethren Woolley, May, and Cornford, as well as by Mr. Knibb; and the whole was closed by a farewell address, in the name of the committee, by the author of this work. A collection was made, which amounted to £127. 1*s.* 3*d.*

Of those who accompanied Mr. Knibb, there were three missionaries, and two schoolmasters, with their wives, and five female teachers, who went to reside at different missionary stations, in connection with the missionary families there. This new branch of agency includes a normal school for the training of native female teachers, under the personal management of Mr. Knibb, and not included in the accounts of the Society.

Of the three missionaries, Mr. Edward Woolley was educated at Stepney college; Mr. John May had for

some time been pastor of the church at Saltash in Cornwall; and Mr. P. H Cornford had studied at the Newport Pagnel Evangelical Institution, under the direction of the Rev. T. Bull. Mr. Charles Armstrong and Mr. Henry Bloomfield, having been trained with that view, went out as missionary schoolmasters; the former to be in connection with Mr. Clarke, of Brown's Town; the latter to take charge of one of the schools under Mr. Knibb's direction.

Mr. William Hume and Mrs Hume embarked on board the *Maraboo*, for Kingston, on the 9th of November, to join Mr. Phillippo at Spanish Town, and co-operate with him, by superintending one of the schools.

On the 22d of July, 1841, a dark cloud overshadowed the Society, in the sudden and calamitous death of Mr. Dyer, the senior secretary. The details of this mournful event it were needless to perpetuate by repetition here. Suffice it to say, that after having for a fortnight given unequivocal symptoms of mental aberration, he left his room in the night, and was found in a small cistern of water in the morning, cold and lifeless. Mr. Steane, in a funeral discourse, after referring to the Calvinism of his theological sentiments, the harmony of his intellectual powers, his remarkably methodical and business-like habits, and the intimacy of his acquaintance with the Scriptures, very accurately observes, "But the qualities which distinguished him above all others were those of a moral and spiritual kind. To his superiority as a Christian, his superiority in almost every other respect in which he excelled must be attributed. Others might surpass him in originality of thought, in profoundness of conception, in compass of mind, who would never have reached the excellence and dignity of character to which he attained. And to what shall this be attributed, but to the grace of God which shone so conspicuously in him, to the strength and light which he derived from his perpetual and child-like access to the Fountain of purity and wisdom? He was a man addicted to habits of devotion. With David he might have said, 'I give myself unto prayer.' * * * In his anxiety to discountenance sin, he would unnecessarily frown on the innocent gayeties of youth, and administer reproof in a tone of severity disproportioned to the fault. A sedateness and solemnity of manner sometimes characterized his conversation, which probably has kept at a distance from him some who might otherwise have profited by his discourse; though when the subjects nearest his heart were touched upon, or any scheme of benevolence was presented to his mind, he could speak with great fluency, pertinence, and effect. Naturally of a sensitive disposition, his feelings were nevertheless so much under the command of his judgment, that it was an unusual thing to see him offended; and though sometimes a hasty remark might possibly escape him, he never, designedly expressed himself in a manner to give offence. A man of peace he shunned contention, and was singularly free from a captious, wrangling, and censorious spirit. From constitutional temperament rather disposed to pensiveness than hilarity, his mind was apt to impart a sombre hue to surrounding objects. Occurrences which others regarded with no dismay and little apprehension, would depress his spirit with forebodings of evil. Of ardent benevolence, and at times taking large views of the prospects and omnipotent capabilities of truth, his heart would yet misgive him when undertakings were proposed of more than ordinary extent or boldness. Such was his sacred regard for truth, that he never indulged in exaggeration, or even in loose statement; while ambiguity of speech was avoided, and deceit was abhorrent to his mind. His self-knowledge made him candid in forming, and his self-control guarded in expressing his judgment of others; but it was a part of the unbending integrity of his mind never to manifest complacency in an individual whom he did not sincerely respect. His affections were deep and faithful."

The author may be permitted to subjoin a remark or two of his own, delivered at the time of the interment, at the chapel in Little Wild Street:—"The temporary aberration of reason is not its extinction, nor is it the extinction of principle and piety; and the form in which affliction and death shall overtake the good man is in the hand of God. The mode of his departure from the present state cannot affect the great

question of his destiny; for that depends not on the outward modification of circumstances, but on the decision of the mind, preparation of character, the working and moulding of great principles. The safety and blessedness of the soul of a believer rests on the foundation which God has laid in Zion. The question is not whether he leaves the world in a calm or in a tempest,—in the clear sunshine of circumstance, or amidst clouds and mysteries,—on the quiet bed, by the stroke of accident, or in the whirlwind of delusion; the temporary must be separated from the permanent, the unreal dreams of a moment from the realities of truth, the essentials of character, and the power of grace. The question which belongs to the everlasting condition of a man respects his faith in Christ, his love to God, his conformity to truth. 'Is it well?' asks the anxious survivor. And if the report can be—he was a penitent, a believer, a servant of God—the answer is, in defiance of death's worst terrors, Satan's worst temptations, and life's worst forms of mischief—'It is well.' From the depths of hades, the distant regions of an invisible world, the soft and solacing echo is, 'It is well.' * *

"As secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, Mr. Dyer was indeed an official man, but any thing but the *mere* official. He worthily succeeded the distinguished individuals that went before; and with business habits far greater, he had a love of missionary labor, and a love of perishing heathen, not less than theirs. His name is thus associated in the annals of the church with Fuller, Ryland, and Hinton, and will be had in everlasting remembrance. Prompt, indefatigable, persevering, he was, in a sense, a martyr to the cause. It was his life. It was the great self-denying purpose of his existence, the element of his thought, and the spring of his activity. In counsel, he was discriminating; in judgment, sound; in point of information, always correct and copious. He had much of the vivid and intuitive perception of the bearings of a question, and his opinion was always valuable, and often adopted. In pleading for the mission, he was ready with information, fluent, copious, occasionally impassioned, and never failed to leave an impression of the integrity of his mind, and the warmth of his benevolent heart. * * *

"Here, then, we leave the ashes, or shall we say, the wreck of the mortal frame! It is, indeed, a wreck; but see how the vessel stranded, and with what result! It is as if a tempest-tossed ship on the ocean should have lost her reckoning, and struck in the dark night upon the shore; but behold, when the morning comes, it appears the shore is the very land, and the place the very port to which she sailed; the vessel wrecked, but the life within untouched, and amidst ten thousand welcomings, all safe, and well, and happy, for ever!

"Surviving friendship is often consoled by the details of a dying testimony; but we have more—a living one! The Christian church at large, the missionary band in particular, in near and distant lands, will feel that a brother and friend is gone. His life is his monument, and it will outlast the sculptured stone!"

One of the first objects of the committee, after passing a resolution commemorative of the virtues and abilities of their departed associate, was to enter upon the question of a suitable successor to the vacant office. This was attended with more difficulty than was imagined; and although repeated meetings have been since held, not only of the central, but of the general committee, and applications have been made to individuals thought to possess the requisite qualifications, no successor has at present been appointed. Temporary assistance, however, has been obtained in the out-door work at home, as it may be termed; and increased financial and other aid is afforded in the office of the Society.

The fiftieth year from the formation of the Society having arrived, measures were adopted, which are still in progress, to stamp it with the character of a denominational Jubilee celebration. The object has been to make it, not only productive in pecuniary contributions, but instrumental in promoting a spirit of prayer, as well as a spirit of thankfulness. With these views, a jubilee sub-committee was formed, whose labors commenced in making arrangements to hold a general meeting of the Society at KETTERING, a town pre-eminently distinguished as the birth place of the mission, and the residence of Andrew Fuller.

This great assembly met on the 31st of May and the 1st and 2nd of June, 1842. The pencil that could adequately depict the scene must be dipped in the brightest colors of description; but a faint sketch may suffice. From every quarter multitudes poured in, to blend their sympathies with the joys of Zion; the roads, the fields, the streets, were full of life; gladness, holy gladness, beamed from every eye; for who could be indifferent while gathering to a spot consecrated by the past meetings and doings of men who originated a scheme that holds so eminent a place in the annals of Christianity, and given so powerful an impulse to the energies of the church?

A spacious lawn attached to the house where the Society had its origin, was tastefully prepared for the occasion; being entirely covered with an awning of such dimensions as to enclose the flowers, shrubs, and trees which adorned the scene with their beauty, and filled the ample space with their fragrance. In a little back parlor in the house itself, was seen the place where Fuller and his associates met to arrange the plan of the mission, and there was the very table around which they sat to deliberate and determine upon an enterprise they began so tremblingly, and the results of which their successors had now assembled, after the labors of fifty years, to celebrate so rejoicingly.

The first service was conducted in the Baptist meeting-house, when on the Tuesday evening May the 31st, Mr. Godwin, of Oxford, preached from the words, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad (Psalm 126: 3). Another discourse was delivered at the same time by Mr. Leslie, from Monghyr, from Acts 14: 27. On Wednesday morning, an early prayer-meeting was held, when Mr. Stovel gave an address. At the appointed time, in the tent, Mr. Steane preached from the words, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength" (Isaiah 40: 31); and at the same time, Mr. Brock, of Norwich, at the independent place of worship, from 1 Cor. 3: 21—23. As the day advanced, the interest seemed to deepen, and the multitude to increase, up to the very moment of the public meeting in the evening, when every avenue leading to the tent was crowded. It was calculated that five or six thousand persons were present. The treasurer occupied the chair, and near him sat the Rev. Reynold Hogg, bending beneath the weight of ninety years, the last relic of the noble band of originators of the Society. The speakers were Dr. Cox, Messrs. Tritton, Fuller, Mursell, Tinson, Brock, Knibb, Russell, and Angus. The overflowings of the meeting were accommodated in the several places of worship, where addresses were delivered by Messrs. Knibb, Hinton, Eustace Carey, Dr. Hoby, and others.

On the ensuing morning, there was a public breakfast at the British school rooms, to which the addition of the yard was necessary, where several tables were spread in the open air. Thence an adjournment took place to the tent, where T. Gotch, Esq., took the chair, several speeches in harmony with the object were made, and prayer offered. At the conclusion of this meeting, most of the assembly departed to their respective homes, carrying with them impressions of the noblest order, and imperishable as existence itself.

The *second of October* will occur on the Sabbath, when it has been recommended to every church in the kingdom to make a collection, and cherish a special remembrance of the mission. May the Holy Spirit on that day send down showers of blessing upon the churches, and on all the missionary field!

*** At the moment when this sheet was finishing at press, the Jamaica packet arrived with the brethren Clarke, Prince, and Joseph Merrick, on their way to Africa. After attending some jubilee meetings, they will re-embark to meet their fellows of kindred soul and purpose about to proceed from Jamaica to Fernando Po. We joyfully welcome, but—the cause of Christ demanding it—we shall willingly dismiss them again to the field of their labor, though never from our affections and prayers!

O Africa, the morning beam is on thy dark shores; thy rivers shall be bordered with the tree of life, and thy deserts bloom with the rose of Sharon! "ARISE, SHINE, FOR THY LIGHT IS COME, AND THE GLORY OF THE LORD IS RISEN UPON THEE!"

SELECTIONS FROM

THE JUBILEE OF THE WORLD:

AN ESSAY ON CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO THE HEATHEN.

BY REV. JOHN MACFARLANE, MINISTER OF COLLESSIE, FIFESHIRE.

NOTE,

BY THE EDITORS OF THE MISSIONARY ECLECTIC.

About five years since, some of the friends of the missionary enterprise in the west of Scotland offered two premiums—the one, two hundred, and the other, fifty guineas—for the two best essays on the duty, privilege, and encouragement of Christians to send the gospel to the heathen. The adjudicators, appointed to decide on the comparative merit of the essays, were selected from the several denominations of Christians who have engaged in the missionary enterprise, and were as follows:—the Rev. David Walsh, D. D., Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh; the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D. D., of Glasgow; the Rev. Henry Melvill, B. D., late Fellow and Tutor of St. Peter's College, Cambridge; the Rev. Jabez Bunting, D. D., President of the Wesleyan Conference; and the Rev. Thomas Crisp, President of the Baptist College, Bristol.

Forty-two essays were received, differing, as might be expected, very widely in character and merit. The first prize was awarded to the Rev. John Harris, D. D., of Cheshunt College. The second, to the Rev. Richard Winter Hamilton, of Leeds. Among the competitors was the Rev. John Macfarlane. In the opinion of one of the adjudicators, his essay deserves the first place; and all were so impressed with its high merit, that they resolved to offer a distinct premium to its author, and to recommend its publication. It was accordingly published at Glasgow during the past year, and has attracted the notice, and called forth the praises of reviewers on the other side of the Atlantic.

The work consists of three Parts. First, "Objects and Resources of the Missionary Work." Second, "The Duty of Christians toward the Heathen, and the manner of its performance." Third, "Motives and Encouragements to promote the Diffusion of the Gospel."

The editors, after examining this work, have concluded that careful and judicious selections from it will better meet the wants of the American public, and better comport with the plan of the Eclectic, than would its entire republication. In these selections, care has been taken to preserve the unity and connection of the several chapters from which they are made. They are topically arranged under their several heads, as in the original work, and no alterations have been made in the language. In the closing appeal, particularly, the considerations are eminently important, and are expressed with great force and beauty.

THE OBJECT OF MISSIONS TO THE HEATHEN ESSENTIALLY SPIRITUAL.

"Let us never forget the main elements of our business;.....the very marrow and substance of our undertaking; the great aim of which is, to preach Christ to sinners, and to rear human souls to a beauteous and never-fading immortality."—CHALMERS.

WHAT is the object, is it asked, in regard to the heathen, which Christian benevolence would desire to accomplish? Nothing less, we reply, than the object which Infinite Love has purposed and promised ultimately to effect,—the spiritual renovation of a lost world. Humility in the personal character of the Christian is combined with elevated views and lofty expectations, as to the prospective achievements of Almighty Grace. For himself he longs and hopes for nothing short of moral perfection; and he is scarcely less solicitous, that the souls of others may be arrayed in the same vesture of righteousness, adorned with the same purity, blessed with the same peace, and crowned with the same glory, that he desires for his own.

Although the schemes of the mere philanthropist were less visionary than they have generally been, his highest aims, bounded as they are by the horizon of the present state, are meagre and contracted in the extreme, when compared with the expansive views of Christian benevolence. Even when the philanthropist would propose to make Christianity an instrument to ameliorate and improve the condition of man, there is little sympathy between his intentions and the true spirit of missionary enterprise.

The religion of Christ, it is true, has exerted an extensive and salutary influence upon the habits and the intercourse of men. It has done for the world what had never been accomplished by the discoveries of science, and by the progress of the arts. The system of truth it reveals is so sublime,—it affords such a view of the true dignity of man as an immortal creature, and of the value of the soul in the ransom that has been paid for it,—it exhibits excellence so unrivalled as the pattern, and motives so forcible and tender as the excitement to obedience, that its indirect influence has been felt, and its beneficial tendency admitted, even when it has not been fully embraced. By enlarging the views and increasing the sensibilities of the mind—by refining the habits and awakening the charities of men, it has produced a sensible, although sometimes an unacknowledged effect, even upon those who dislike its peculiar truths, and who shall be excluded from its ultimate blessings.

But powerful as that religion has proved itself to be, to soften the harder features of the human character, to restrain the unbridled and ferocious passions of the human breast, to elevate the tone of moral feeling in the community where in any measure of its native purity it is professed; these are but its subordinate and transient effects,—the leaves and the blossoms which are scattered around the stem of that tree of good knowledge whose fruit is only ripened in the renewed heart, and reaped in eternity.

If there be men who look to these subordinate effects alone, and who, from an amiable regard to the present welfare of our race, choose to lend their aid and to exert their influence in propagating the gospel, their contributions may be placed, and that, too, with gratitude, upon the altar that sanctifies the gift. But never let the church of Christ, into whose hands the missionary cause is peculiarly committed by her exalted Head, compromise the spirituality of the office assigned her, nor be seduced from the simple, but sublime endeavor, to *convert* the heathen lands, that out of

the rude and refractory elements of a fallen world, there may be raised a living temple to the Redeemer's praise.

Every page in the book of man's history confirms this account of the disorder and ruin of his moral nature. Did it not suggest itself as suitable to the subject upon which we are now engaged, it were not necessary to recur to other ages, or to travel to other lands in quest of sad evidence, that unenlightened man lives "without God in the world." Whatever splendid exceptions may be alleged from Pagan antiquity or modern times, against the judgment pronounced by Infinite Purity and Truth, "that they are altogether become filthy—that there is none that doeth good, no, not one"—such exceptions, like imposing objects in general, show best at a distance. They will not bear a close and narrow scrutiny.

Of all the bright names of philosophers, legislators, patriots, and heroes, pointed to as having shone like stars during the long and remote night of heathenism, it may be said, without offence even to their most extravagant admirers, that "God was not in all their thoughts." To have had a reference, indeed, to him—a regard for his glory, whom the highest ranks of intelligent creatures delight to acknowledge and revere,—to have bowed to a supremacy above themselves, would have eclipsed the proud splendor, and detracted from the high renown of their virtues. Had these boasted models of human excellence inculcated in their lessons, or embodied in their lives, the piety and the purity of the gospel which the missionary proclaims, they had been less celebrated by those who are now so profuse in the language of adulation. Upon a minute and candid survey, it will appear that their flagrant inconsistencies, or their gigantic crimes, in most cases more than counterbalance the nobler qualities which they displayed. Although their enactments were often favorable to social order and advancement, and their deeds of patriotism and prowess contributed to national aggrandizement, and gratified national ambition,—where shall the disciple of Christ look, among the shades of pagan greatness which flit before his vision in the dim twilight of past generations, for one vestige of the spirit of his Divine Master, to whom it is the highest exaltation of man to be conformed? Where shall he look for those qualities which shall outlive the distinctions of country and of time itself, and stamp upon the soul its character for ever? Does he not every where behold an intellect enfeebled, and moral powers debased by superstition; earthly glory their highest aim, and self the divinity they worshipped? Does he not feel, that there is a striking incongruity between the most admired and venerated of heathen sages, and the meek but heavenly graces that constitute and adorn the subjects and the heirs of the kingdom of heaven? Looking, as he has been taught to do, beyond the glare of outward appearance, into the interior of the soul, he sees a heart dark and cold, upon the altar of which the flame of love to God has expired.

Modern heathenism furnishes, if possible, still more indubitable proof, that our moral nature has suffered a complete and universal overthrow. Here the evidence at least becomes more impressive, because more potent to our observation. Our travellers and scientific inquirers, as well as our missionaries, our countrymen, our relatives and friends, have gone to visit and to settle in heathen lands; and the combined testimony of all of them who are qualified to estimate moral distinctions,—to estimate them, I mean, upon the principles of the New Testament, is, that heathenism, in every form, and in whatever clime, is equally the empire of spiritual death.

Inadequate impressions of the moral character of a Pagan and Mahometan population may readily be taken up, even by a learned Christian bishop, who travels in official state and with an imposing retinue over the impracticable diocese of British India; receiving in his progress the eager respect paid to the *Padre Sahib*, or, venerated and feared, by the natives transferring to him their ideas of a Mollah from the holy temple of Mecca, or of a Brahmin from the sacred city of Calpee. But let the Christian missionary come into close contact with the objects of his solicitude and of his prayers. Let him tell them, so that they may understand—of the Christian's God—of his purity, his justice, his omniscience and his

power, and what is the uniform reception he finds? Alas! he sees but too plainly in every case, and hears too, when a language unused to such a theme can supply expression from its scanty vocabulary, or from its more copious forms of speech, to give utterance to the inward workings of the soul, that the subject is deeply distasteful. "Your God will not do for us. We do not like a God so strict—who always sees us—who knows what we think; his continual presence would disturb our happiness and rebuke our lives."

There is a sadly unbroken harmony in views like these. While the diversity in the widely scattered portions of the human family, in feature, complexion and form, has given rise to the question whether all its children belong to one common parentage, there can be no controversy here. Among all the varieties that exist, this is one feature of family likeness that runs through the whole. All bear the image of the earthly Adam. There is an identity of moral condition. In so far as the mighty province of darkness has been penetrated and explored, it has been found to hold equally true of all the descendants of a fallen progenitor in either hemisphere, that the "carnal," that is the natural, "mind is enmity against God."

That Jehovah may be restored to the sovereignty of the heart,—that man may become "a new creature," that the pure and exalted springs of happiness may be opened to the world, and its refreshing stream flow into every human breast, arising from the consciousness of reconciling love, and a progressive advancement in personal holiness, is the sublime object of the missionary work.

This was the single and spiritual aim of the most enlightened, devoted and successful laborer who ever entered the field of missionary enterprise—the great apostle of the Gentiles. The varying phases of human society, successively appearing to his acute and comprehensive eye, as he trode the wide circle of his arduous benevolence, never once prevented him from prosecuting his heart's desire for all men, that they might be saved. He did not think it enough to see human beings surrounded with the means of gratification, which the refinement of national manners, and the cultivation of the arts of life supplied. In Corinth, celebrated for its magnificent decorations, its commercial greatness, luxury, and wealth;—in the midst of Athens, where he beheld whatever was fitted to attract the senses and please the imagination; where philosophy propounded her deepest mysteries in academic bowers; where eloquence poured forth her noblest and most touching strains; where genius shed her richest splendors, and art adorned her favorite residence with those exquisite productions of her hand, whose decayed and mutilated remains are still beheld with unmingled admiration;—in Rome herself, the arbitress of nations, the mistress of the world, as well as among the remote and barbarous tribes, to whom the apostle felt himself to be laid under a solemn obligation to preach the gospel; he found equally a darkness which philosophy could not enlighten—a poverty which wealth could not enrich—a want which luxury could not supply—and equally did he labor and pray in behalf of all, that they might be transformed by the renewing of their minds.

When this transforming light has been shed upon heathen lands, the grand and absorbing object of the missionary has alone been attained; and as it rises on the soul, every form of ignorance and error disappears. The axe is then laid at the root of the tree. Old things have passed away, and the grounds of confidence, the principles of action, the objects of desire, and the sources of enjoyment, have all become new. Acceptance with a sin-pardoning God, through the atoning efficacy of the Redeemer's blood, banishes the alarms of guilt, and breaks the chains of superstition. A sense of the claim which Infinite Grace has established to a grateful and devoted service, subverts every form of will-worship, and gives life and elasticity to obedience. An estimate of the relative magnitude of time, and of eternity, places the soul on an eminence unreached before, whence it can regard all the pursuits and interests of this life as of importance, principally from their connection with the life to come. Captivated with a view of the attributes of the Godhead, as they stand revealed in the plan of grace, the soul seeks its highest happiness in holy followship with a reconciled Father, and its supreme good in the light of his countenance. Pre-

occupied by a heavenly guest, the door of the heart is shut against the calls of those gratifications which, whether the grosser or more refined, an evil world, or a debasing and licentious ritual invites its votaries to pursue. Then the accents of tenderest sympathy may give place to the voice of most cordial congratulation; and the language may be addressed, in its utmost latitude of meaning, to those whose condition now awakens unmingled compassion: "Ye were sometimes in darkness, but now ye are light IN THE LORD."

THE CROSS OF CHRIST THE GREAT INSTRUMENT OF MISSIONARY SUCCESS.

"It is the sacrifice that removes the guilt of sin; it is the motive that removes the love of sin; it mortifies sin and expiates it. It atones for disobedience; it excites to obedience."—MAC LAURIN.

How are the magnificent results of the missionary enterprise to be attained? In order to vindicate the anticipations of its friends from the charge of extravagance and folly, on the one hand, and to sustain them amid the difficulties and discouragements which beset their path and darken their prospects, upon the other, we must be able to point, with an unhesitating conviction, to the existence of an instrumentality and of a power, adequate to the accomplishment of their designs. To form mighty plans and large expectations, with no means, or with slender means of realizing them, gives evidence of an exuberant imagination, combined with a weak understanding. But when the facilities and resources are known to be ample for accomplishing the loftiest purposes, to shrink from the formation of those purposes, or to abandon them when formed, evinces a little mind or an unreasonable despondency. With a knowledge of the ascertained qualities of human nature, to hope for the spiritual subjugation of the world, without a weapon of ethereal temper, and an arm of almighty power, were to be chargeable with enthusiasm; to know that there is such a weapon, and such an arm, and to despair of the spiritual subjugation of the world, were to incur the imputation of moral cowardice.

It is readily admitted that the present condition of the heathen world presents a dismal contrast to the wishes of those who desire and labor that it may be enlightened and reclaimed. But there is a threefold consideration, which not only vindicates and sanctions, but should support and guide the hopes and efforts of the church; namely: that the cross of Christ has lost none of its efficacy;—that the sovereignty of Christ has suffered no diminution in its energy and extent;—and that the Spirit of Christ retains all his power. The first of these topics here offers itself to our attention.

In the expression, the cross of Christ, is meant to be included, whatever is peculiar to the salvation of men, by the righteousness and atonement of the Son of God. The inspired writer who in the first instance employed it, happily seizes upon the leading feature in the plan of mercy, as descriptive of the whole; and it has been generally adopted as a laconic but most appropriate phrase to express the *essence* of the gospel. It brings before the mind, by the allusion it makes to the death of Christ, the guilt of sin, that required such an expiation; the purity of God that demanded it; the everlasting love of the Father who appointed, of the Son who offered, and of the Spirit who applies it. The expression is associated with the doctrine that may justly be described as the pillar and ground of the truth, giving, as it does, stability and beauty to the whole of the sacred edifice. The atonement made by Christ upon the cross was rendered infinitely meritorious by his supreme divinity, and gives significancy to the otherwise inexplicable fact, and mode of his death. The belief of the truth is the bond of union, by which the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross is connected with the pardon and purification of the offender, since faith both justifies and makes holy. It is an expression that gives, as with the touch of a skilful pencil, a concise but graphic delineation of

the true religion, as distinguished from every system of error and delusion, which had a previous, or has a present existence in the world. It is a phrase, which has been fitly adopted by the friends of gospel truth, to express their views of pure Christianity, as opposed to the cold and comfortless, the vague and unmeaning representations of those who would divest it of every attribute which renders it a religion suitable and precious to perishing sinners;—representations which borrow so much of the semblance of truth as to present the form and outline of a stately fabric to the eye of a distant beholder, but the uncovered walls of which afford no shelter from the piercing blast, to the weather-beaten traveller who seeks their protection. To those who have estimated aright the doctrine of the cross, as thus possessing a moral influence to transform the soul, to awaken spiritual sensibility, inspire love to God, and quicken to the pursuit of universal holiness, it cannot seem wonderful that it has produced the results which history records. The wonder rather is, that it should heve been so little efficacious where it has been known. Yet it has done what no instrument of human device has ever effected; and the highest hopes that can be entertained in reference to its future conquests, are fully justified by its past achievements.

Among the first messengers appointed and sent forth, under the immediate authority of the great Head of the church, Paul, at the earliest period after having received his high commission, seems to have acquired the most clear and consistent views of the nature and genius of the gospel. With an acute and comprehensive mind, enlightened and expanded by divine teaching, he caught the true spirit, and saw the fine adaptations of the dispensation that had just been introduced. Fearless, yet prudent, —simple, yet energetic,—disclaiming all secular views and alliances by which the purity and spirituality of his doctrine might be infringed, he went forth against the consolidated empire of Satan.

He found that empire shrouded in deepest gloom amid the darkness of centuries; its battlements reared in proud defiance against every assailant; its walls and bulwarks hitherto unscaled by the power of truth; its wide interior untrodden by the feet of them that bring good tidings; its fastnesses and towers frowning in unconquered majesty, and guarded with the stern array of political authority, popular prejudice, interested priestcraft, and universal licentiousness and depravity. Yet he went forward. He knew by whom he was sent. He knew his weapons. He was not arrested by the cold calculations of human probabilities and chances of defeat. He went forward; and what did he do? He and his coadjutors in the great work of subverting the ancient reign of darkness and delusion, brought the gospel of the grace of God, in its native majesty, simplicity and power, to bear upon the unbroken front of the enemy. Who does not know the rest? The instrument was made available to the purpose for which it was appointed. A breach was made; truth took possession of the citadel. The mighty and complicated systems of delusion tumbled and fell. The idol temples were deserted, and crumbled into ruins; the victims ceased to bleed, and the fires were extinguished upon the altars. And the word *pagan*, which we employ to characterize the condition of the heathen, implies, that the idolatries that had reigned triumphant, fled from the crowded capitol and the resorts of men, and sought refuge from the conquering power of the cross, in remote villages and among barbarous tribes.

In a condition of society altogether different, Luther arose. He successfully used the same weapon in a way, if not so striking and effective, at least so as to prove, that when freed from the incrustation which had hid but not impaired its ethereal temper, it had lost none of its essential qualities by the revolution of time. That a variety of causes concurred, under a presiding Providence, to favor the progress of the Reformation, is no doubt true. But the awakening energies of the human mind, after the slumber of centuries—the relative political situation of neighboring powers—the revival of learning—the discoveries of science—the facilities that were then first acquired for the rapid circulation of knowledge, and whatever other influence may be alleged as most favorable, could not have accomplished that great moral result. It was the doctrine of

the cross, the peculiar and essential feature of the gospel, simply and faithfully exhibited, that subverted the gross idolatries and superstitions by which Christianity herself had become almost paganized.

The leading article of the Christian faith, the test of a standing or falling church, took a tenacious hold of the mind of the Saxon reformer. It became the turning point of the Reformation. He attacked, not in detail, which had previously been done without any considerable success, the errors and delusions of the popish church—her invocations, monasticism, masses, pilgrimages and penances. He, and a bright galaxy of contemporary promoters of the same great cause, whose views are embodied in the creeds and confessions of the reformed churches, held forth the chief doctrines of the gospel. They exhibited the truth as it is in Jesus, in its simple but glorious attire. The doctrines of an all-sufficient Saviour—of a finished salvation—of acceptance in "the Beloved," finding entrance into the heart, made all the rites of a dark and degrading superstition fall, like the image of Dagon before the ark of the living God. Whatever influence had been attributed to the outward pomp of religious services—to the sanctity of self-inflicted tortures—to the interference of other mediators, henceforth disappeared. The source of delusion was dried up, and the stream ceased to flow. The mutterings of private masses, wherever the doctrine of the cross was embraced, were no more heard; worshippers were no longer found before the images of the saints; and the cloisters were deserted by their former occupants. The rites of an idolatrous worship were not only seen to be frivolous, but felt to be sinful, when the truth was known and believed that "Christ is all in all."

It has not been incidentally, but by solemn intention, and by specific means perseveringly employed, that the religion of Christ has ever been introduced, or established in our world. In casting our eye over the surface of the globe, we cannot point to a spot, where Christianity sheds its light, or where indications of its existence are to be seen, either in its kindling flame, or in its dying embers, to which it has not been carried, and in which it has not been cherished, by the activity and zeal of its disciples. From the time, that they who, scattered abroad during the first persecution at Jerusalem, "went every where preaching the word," up to the present day, it has pleased God, by the *preaching* of Christ crucified, to diffuse the fragrance of the Redeemer's name. The Great Source and Dispenser of all holy influence has instructed his people by the tenor of his past dispensations, and he suspends the extension of his spiritual kingdom upon the previous disposition he bestows on them, to obey his parting command, to "PREACH THE GOSPEL TO EVERY CREATURE."

Such then being the moral instrument with which Christ has furnished his church, for bringing the nations of the earth under his beneficent and rightful control; an instrument, in its own nature divinely fitted to accomplish so desirable a result;—an instrument the potency of which has been evinced, in actually producing effects unexampled in the moral history of the world;—an instrument, which has lost none of its power by the lapse of centuries;—an instrument which, when employed according to the prescribed conditions, still justifies the confidence of believers;—but an instrument which is ordained to be used by a vigorous human agency, in order to insure its successful application; is a single sentence necessary to be added, to vindicate the highest expectation Christians can entertain, or the most strenuous efforts they can make, in reference to the ultimate subjugation of our rebellious race?

If from any quarter they should be assailed with the charge of extravagance in their hopes, or enthusiasm or folly in their purposes, they have reason to regret only this,—that such imputations, in the sense in which they are entitled to understand them, are not more true. They may justly feel rebuked by language, which, thus characterizing their schemes, cannot fail to convict them of languor in their zeal, and feebleness in their endeavors, to hasten a consummation which shall assuredly arrive. Instead of being solicitous to repudiate the disparaging titles which the world may unscrupulously apply, they may rather be humbled by the consciousness that they have given

to a "crooked and perverse generation," so little evidence of their unshrinking reliance upon the wisdom and grace of their Saviour and Lord; and of their unmoved determination to obey his appointment. They must feel, that the defence, which it were the most difficult to offer in their behalf, was a defence of their lukewarmness and inactivity in such a cause;—that they have done so little, that the invitation should be proclaimed in every tongue, and echoed through every region, and along every shore, from the meridian to either pole, "Look unto me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth; for I am God, and there is none else."

THE UNIVERSAL DOMINION OF CHRIST INSURES THE STABILITY AND PROGRESS OF HIS KINGDOM.

"Though the heathen rage,—the Lord Jesus, who controls all events, is my friend,—my master,—my God,—my all." On this Rock of Ages, on which I feel my feet to rest, my head is lifted up above all mine enemies round about me, and I sing, yea I will sing praises unto the Lord."—HENRY MARTYN.

In sending forth his disciples to evangelize all nations, their heavenly Master connects his command with this impressive and encouraging declaration, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." By this assertion of his sovereign and unlimited authority, he at once exhibits the ground of their obedience, and anticipates the objections to which the apparent hopelessness of their undertaking might give rise. As if it had been said to them,—not only are you entrusted with a commision to proclaim the gospel throughout the world, by one fully authorized to issue it, but you need have no misgivings of mind, as to the final accomplishment of the purpose he has in view. How seemingly weak and unlikely soever your instrumentality may be; however formidable the opposition your message may encounter; however strong the confederacy of evil principles and earthly potentates, and the powers of darkness that may be formed against you; however protracted and severe the conflict, and grievous and perplexing the interruptions to which you may be exposed, there can nothing interfere with the certainty of the result. All events, in their causes and consequences immediate and remote, are under the control of him whose commission you are appointed to execute. Seated on the throne of universal empire, he regulates every movement in the great system of things. He has the hearts of all men in his hands, and all human purposes and passions are made subservient to his will. He presides over the invisible world. Having the keys of hell and of death, he opens, and no man shuts, he shuts, and no man opens. No power can resist, no contingency can frustrate, no influence whatever can retard, without his permission, the progress and the triumph of his kingdom.

It was upon the shoulder of Immanuel, then, that the government rested, from the beginning. Ere that name by which human nature is so highly exalted, was properly descriptive of our Lord and King, he had assumed in behalf of his church the sovereignty of the universe. Himself the august personage, to prepare for whose appearing all the previous parts of the divine administration were adjusted; himself the great object to whom the typical ritual of the Old Testament church pointed, and whom the language of ancient prophecy described and foretold; he directed and controlled the progress of events, instituted the types, and inspired the prophets.

But it was more especially at his ascension to heaven, when the everlasting gates were lifted up that the King of glory might enter in, that he had full and formal possession of his mediatorial throne. Previous to this, he had reigned indeed, but it was with a rule preparatory to the introduction of the kingdom then established. Then was properly the commencement of the gospel age. It was when he made his triumphal entrance into the holy place not made with hands, that he was solemnly installed in his high office. Then was the period of his investiture with the robes of his mediatorial glory. Then

was the time of his public coronation. Then was he hailed as universal Lord, by the loud acclamations of the heavenly hosts. And from that period he stands forth conspicuous and confessed, in the view of the universe, with a name written upon his vesture and his thigh, King of kings and Lord of lords.

It is to this open recognition of Christ, as swaying in his mediatorial character the sceptre of universal dominion, that so frequent allusion is made in the New Testament scriptures. God is there often, and in varied and striking terms, represented as having exalted his eternal Son to this absolute sovereignty. "He sat him at his own right hand in the heavenly places; far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come, and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church." "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

No language can express more fully than this, the idea of supreme and uncontrolled authority. And yet, it is no less clearly indicated by these, and similar forms of expression, that he maintains this sovereignty, not in the exercise of his essential and underived prerogative as God, but in his assumed and subordinate character as mediator. Two truths, equally encouraging to those who long, and labor, and pray for the coming of Christ's kingdom, are taught in such passages with equal evidence.

The first of these is that he, who reigns over all things, in subserviency to the interests of the church,—is God. For although he is spoken of as being *raised* to this high pre-eminence, it is a place, the occupancy of which implies the possession of Divine qualities. Does not the promise of Christ to be with his people always,—a promise which must be understood to include every place, as well as to extend to all time,—does not his ability to remove, or to overcome whatever obstacle would interfere with the execution of his purposes,—does not the worship commanded to be given him by all ranks of intelligent existence,—does not that intimate acquaintance with the varying circumstances, motives, affections, and actions of his creatures throughout his universal empire, which fits him to be the final Judge, all imply, that he possesses the incommunicable attributes of the Godhead,—that he is entitled to the homage due to the divinity alone, that his are those perfections of omnipresence, omnipotence and infinite knowledge, which prove him to be "God over all, and blessed for ever?"

The other truth, no less clearly established by the authority of Scripture is, that it is the "man Christ Jesus" who thus reigns. The exaltation of Christ to the dignity assigned him is expressly attributed to the Father. "God hath highly exalted him." Since then, in his essential character as the original proprietor of all things, nothing could be given him, and no additional title could be conferred, to assume and exercise a right which was ever and inherently his own, the inference is plain, that it was in the relation in which he voluntarily placed himself towards his church, and in the official inferiority to the Father, to which he submitted, in accomplishing the purposes of his grace, that he is advanced to regal state, and clothed with honor and majesty."

The legitimate effect of this doctrine of Christ's supreme and universal authority, however, will not be to supersede the devotedness and zeal of his subjects, but rather to induce a course of active service, conformable to the constitution of things he has established. The apparent discrepancy between a devout recognition of the divine supremacy on the one hand, and unabated human effort on the other, disappears when we reflect, that the great plan of Providence is conducted, not by direct and miraculous interference, but by suitable intermediate agencies, employed in their appointed spheres, and according to their respective natures.

The waters that float the missionary ship, the compass that points its course, the wind that wafts it to a foreign shore, here, as in every other case, act in uniform obedience to the laws assigned them by the Creator. There is no suspension either, in behalf of those

engaged in the noblest enterprise, of the usual effects of climate or other influences, upon the corporeal frame. Nor does Christ recompense his servants, by giving them exemption from the casualties to which others are liable, or from the personal inconveniences, perils and persecutions peculiar to the nature of the work in which they are engaged. He has other storehouses, whence he draws the peculiar treasures with which he distinguishes and enriches his own. Even during the first age of the gospel, the supernatural powers afforded to the apostles themselves, were not available for their own protection and safety. It is not, therefore, an evidence of distrust, but an act of duty, to make every preparation, and to adopt every precaution which experience recommends.

So it is too, as to moral qualification and effort. The heralds of the cross have no reason, from the course of the divine procedure, to conclude that they may abate, in consequence of the sacredness of their work, aught of their energy, assiduity, prudence and enlightened zeal in prosecuting it. As the ship that conveys them to their destination must be built, equipped, and steered, in conformity to the known principles of navigation, in order that the voyage may be safely and comfortably accomplished; so when they reach the scene of their labors, the personal qualifications, which as intelligent and moral agents they possess and exercise, are those upon which the success of their undertaking is suspended. Just, as the safety of the voyage greatly depends upon the knowledge and skill of the pilot, the issue of the mission greatly depends upon the devotedness and wisdom of the missionary. The vessel may indeed be wrecked from no defect in the mariner, and the mission may fail from no want of qualification in the missionary; but who would allege, that such an occurence can justify ignorance or incapacity in either of the cases supposed. The whole economy of Providence instructs us, that obedience to the Divine institutions, both in the natural, and the moral worlds, is the usual, and only ascertained condition of safety and success.

The principal superiority in this aspect of the case, possessed by him who devoutly recognizes the doctrine we are now considering, is, that while others must shape their course, and adopt their measures, in conformity to a constitution of things which they find established, and which they cannot alter; he yields to an arrangement, which, maintained as it is by an intelligent and benignant Power, he is assured is the wisest and the best. Others know the order of nature and of events as a matter of fact; he submits himself to that order as a matter of appointment. The course, therefore, which to others is the dictate of prudence, or the mandate of necessity, is to him so many manifestations of piety, and acts of obedience.

He lifts up his eyes to heaven, and there beholds the "Great King," whom he delights to reverence and obey, conducting upon general principles, which his servants can in some measure appreciate, the affairs of his unlimited empire. It is clearly, therefore, the will of his sovereign, that he should give an intelligent obedience to his appointment so distinctly made known. He has the satisfaction of knowing, that the circle in which he is required to move has been formed by the hand of his ascended Lord; that he has definitely fixed the orbit assigned him. And as he "fulfils his course," and moves with all willingness and alacrity in his appointed sphere, he leaves it to the great presiding Power to order the attracting, repelling and disturbing forces which Omnipotence alone can control, so to counteract and balance each other, as that there may arise a complete and universal harmony.

What can never fail to bring satisfaction and joy to the mind, amid all that might otherwise depress and darken it, is, that Christ's absolute supremacy insures the ultimate establishment of his kingdom. Apart from the express prophecies upon the subject which will afterwards come to be considered, we have only to realize the truth, that Christ wills the universal prevalence of the gospel, and that he is powerful to do all that he wills should be done, in order to come to the conclusion, that the gospel shall universally prevail. To those who would urge the wideness and the pre-occupation of the field, the fewness of the laborers,—the physical barriers that oppose,—the political and moral influences that impede his triumphs, as a

ground of discouragement and despair in reference to the missionary work, our reply is,—"Ye do err, not knowing . . . . THE POWER OF GOD."

In vain will the encircling wall, and the brazen gate of China,—the jealous vigilance of a patriarchal despotism, and the apparently hopeless imbecility of a secluded and degraded people, present a hindrance to the penetrating and enlarging influence of sacred truth. In vain will political influence and power, exerted upon the maxims of a narrow and unchristian selfishness, attempt to perpetuate the delusions and miseries of Paganism. In vain will the inveterate grasp of ancient usages, the fetters of caste, the lacerating cords of a barbarous superstition, entwined and tied by the hands of a cruel priesthood, till the wretched victim has ceased to feel the pulse of one warm and generous emotion, seek to retain their hold, when Christ shall issue the mandate to bless the nations with the "liberty with which he maketh his people free."

He will break the iron bands "as a thread of tow is broken when it toucheth the fire." No barrier is invincible to Omnipotence. When he shall gird his sword upon his thigh, he shall in his majesty ride forth prosperously against every opposing power. He can dislodge Satan from his proud and protracted usurpation. He can break the arm of the oppressor. He can so influence the hearts of men as at once to disarm their opposition to the progress of his kingdom, lead them along as the submissive trophies of his grace, or employ them as the active instruments of his will. He can array against each other by his providence the contending elements of political strife, so as by their very collision to purify the moral atmosphere, for the transmission of the cheering and benign light he diffuses from on high. He can employ the internal regulations of states,—the changes of dynasties,—the advancement of general knowledge,—the extension of commerce, as the means for removing whatever obstacles may prevent the introduction and establishment of his authority among men. He can make use of the arm of some ruthless conqueror to smite as with a rod of iron, and dash in pieces as a potter's vessel, the most formidable and best fortified among the powers that oppose his dominion. Or, by planting the seeds of decay, can cause ancient institutions, by which the reign of darkness has been upheld, to fall "without hands," or like the waning crescent of the moon, gradually and totally to disappear.

Instruments, too, in the day when "he shall take to him his great power and reign," shall not be wanting to accomplish his gracious purposes. With all the natural, intellectual and moral powers of his creatures at his command, he can raise up and qualify suitable and successful agents to proclaim his gospel. All the treasures of human learning and the devotedness of subdued hearts, as well as the offerings of Tarshish and the gold of Sheba, shall be laid at his feet. Every kindred, and nation and people, and tongue shall hear, from the lips of those who shall be selected and sent forth from their native tribes, the wonderful works of God. Under his high administration the truth must spread and advance with an accelerative progress, bearing forward, with its accumulating force, every barrier which would obstruct its diffusion, till it "cover earth as the waters cover the channel of the sea." The adoring song of the heavenly hosts already falls like soft and distant music upon the ear of faith,—"The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever."

ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE MISSIONARY WORK FROM THE EARLY SUCCESS OF CHRISTIANITY.

"That Christianity did make this progress without the presence of miraculous attestations, furnishes an experimental proof, that the means of its propagation are attainable at all times, under ordinary providence; that the same causes which in the second and third centuries carried *righteousness unto victory*, would, if fairly brought into operation, produce the like effects in any other age: and that if the progress of the gospel has been and is still obstructed, it must be owing to the church itself presenting a different aspect to the heathen, from that which it exhibited in the days of its power."—DR. HARDY'S SERMON, 1793.

The men who were originally appointed to propagate the Christian faith had none of those qualifications which would naturally be supposed, in the usual course of affairs, to fit them for establishing it in the world. They were destitute of the influence which numbers, or wealth, or station, or political ascendency bestows. They proceeded to execute their commission without the aids of human learning, and without the support of human authority. They resorted to no questionable means of establishing the religion of which they were the humble disciples. They disowned every kind of artifice which might impose upon the credulity of the simple, and abjured every species of violence which might constrain the acquiescence of the timid. Most suitable instruments they were, upon the supposition of Christianity being divine, but altogether incompetent and imbecile to force a false religion upon public acceptance.

Yet, although Christianity was thus sent forth in apparent helplessness, to engage in an unequal conflict with a hostile world, no historical event is more fully authenticated, than the fact of its rapid and remarkable triumph. Active and united as was the opposition it encountered,—deep and bitter as was the scorn with which it was treated,—universal as was the detestation for its humbling doctrines, and its pure and self-denying precepts,—numerous and powerful as were the parties interested in strangling [illegible] very infancy a creed which was [illegible]ive equally of their false opinions and of their unholy gains, nothing could prevent its growth and advancement. The priests of superstition could not restrain its encroachments. The offended spirit of Judaism could not suppress it by tumult: the public functionaries of Pagan states could not extirpate it by law. In spite of edicts and persecutions, and calumnies, and every form of opposition which human ingenuity and power, instigated and emboldened by Satanic agency, could employ, Christianity quickly spread over the civilized world. In the space of about thirty years after it began to be preached, there were Christian churches and numerous converts, not only in Judea and Samaria, but in Asia, in the islands of the Mediterranean, in Greece, Italy, and Africa. Such was the rapidity of its progress, the number of its disciples, and the amount of the influence it had acquired, that it was publicly recognized and adopted as the religion of the Roman empire, in the beginning of the fourth century after its original promulgation. And let it be observed, that no corruptions of the Christian faith that were afterwards introduced or developed;—no unjustifiable methods that were subsequently resorted to, whether by crusades, inquisitions, or jesuitism, to propagate or maintain a spurious Christianity, can invalidate the argument, whatever be its weight, in favor of the religion of the New Testament which arises from the circumstances of its early history.

To account for this remarkable success, viewed in connection with all the circumstances of the case, except upon the ground to which Scripture itself

refers it, has been one of the most arduous tasks with which the ingenuity of the infidel has been exercised. One of the most able and insidious champions of infidelity who has most fully entered into this subject, in his 'History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' has approached it with a caution, and treated it with a disingenuousness which cannot fail to impress every candid and observant mind with the embarrassment it occasioned. Nor, after all the shuffling and sophistry to which he resorts, does he fall much short of an admission of the truth.

The only case in the history of the world which presents any one point of resemblance to the early and extensive establishment of the Christian faith, is the success of Mahometanism; and here there is just a single point of similarity in the rapid diffusion of both. In other respects there is a complete contrast.

Christianity was introduced in the most enlightened, inquiring and philosophic age of the world, and in the places most celebrated for knowledge and refinement; Mahometanism took its rise amid the corruptions and decay of the Christian faith, during a dark period, among a remote people, and with the additional and singular circumstance of there being at that time no established religion at Mecca. Mahomet had the advantage in propagating his religion, which rose from honorable descent, and ample fortune acquired by marriage; the author of the Christian faith claimed no earthly pedigree, had no family influence to support his pretensions, held out no worldly prospects to his followers, had not a place to lay his head. Proselytes were wooed to the adoption of Islamism, by the artful license it granted to sensual indulgence in the form best adapted to the passions of the Eastern nations; no descent is made in the code of Christian morals from the severe and stern rule of chastity in heart, speech and behaviour. An exceedingly partial success attended the endeavors of Mahomet to establish his religion, while he confined himself to persuasion and argument. "Three years were silently employed in the conversion of fourteen proselytes. For ten years the religion advanced with a slow and painful progress within the walls of Mecca." It was not until Mahomet became a conqueror,—till the alternative was forced upon idolatrous nations, of death or conversion, and till the option proposed to professing Christians was the Koran, the tribute, or the sword, that Islamism began to triumph. Christianity, on the other hand, was propagated by the force of moral conviction alone, maintained its footing, and obtained its conquests in the face of violence and death. The prophet of Medina sought to secure the attachment, and to stimulate the bravery of his followers, by representing the sword as the key of heaven,—by holding out the hopes of a voluptuous paradise, especially for those who fell fighting under the banner of the Moslem. The pure and peaceful Jesus employed no such means of establishing a false and injurious ascendency over the minds of his followers; he forbade an appeal to the sword; required them to love their enemies, and directed their hopes to a pure and spiritual state beyond the grave, where they should neither marry nor be given in marriage, but be as the angels of God in heaven.

But, even on the supposition that the divine authority of our holy faith should not be admitted, there is no room for characterizing Christian expectation and effort in this matter as vain or visionary. The historical fact at least remains unquestioned, that the word of the Lord grew and multiplied in the primitive age, and that it did so, to the subversion of systems of idolatry as powerful and pervasive as any with which it has now to contend. Modern idolatries are not more fascinating than were those of ancient Greece and Rome. Modern priests are not more devoted to their superstitions or to their interests, than were the priests of Jupiter at Lystra, or the craftsmen of Diana at Ephesus. Modern persecutors are not more virulent and powerful than were Nero and Domitian. And when, in its infant state, and with its small number of adherents, and with its scanty and outward means and resources, it spread, and prevailed and triumphed, how, even from the calculations made upon a past experience can it be alleged, that in circumstances in many respects more favorable for its diffusion, there is any thing unreasonable in the hope of its universal establishment?

BRIEF APPEAL

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER IN BEHALF OF THE HEATHEN.

"What object ever undertaken by man can compare with this same design of evangelizing the world? Patriotism itself fades away before it, and acknowledges the supremacy of an enterprise which seizes with so strong a grasp upon both the temporal and eternal destinies of the whole family of man."—WAYLAND.

I SHALL not suppose, in addressing you, that you are altogether indifferent to the great work of evangelizing the world. Such a supposition would amount to a contradiction in terms. A *Christian* who takes no interest in the establishment and extension of CHRIST's kingdom, implies no less of incongruity than does the idea of an obedient child who disregards his father's will,—of a faithful servant who wastes his master's property,—of a loyal subject who is leagued in treason against his rightful sovereign.

But, while the duty of lending your aid to this great cause may not be overlooked, much less gainsayed or disavowed, it may not hitherto have received that place in your regards which it is entitled to occupy. Allow me, therefore, for the purpose of elevating it to its right position,—allow me to bring within a narrower compass, and to present to your closer scrutiny some of those points which have already been more generally and largely brought under your review.

Reflect then, UPON THE MAGNIFICENCE OF THE ENTERPRISE IN WHICH YOU ARE CALLED TO ENGAGE. It has for its object the renovation of the soul, —it embraces the circumference of the globe,—it is commensurate with the duration of eternity. Its design is to sweep away every remnant of pollution and misery that has marred the face of God's fair creation,—to transform the world into a terrestrial paradise,—to make earth a nursery for heaven. Its aim is the accomplishment of the same high purpose for which the eternal Son of God left his Father's bosom, and lived and died in our sinful world; for which he administers the affairs of the universe; and for which the Holy Ghost is sent down from heaven. No more convincing evidence of its greatness can exist than the means provided for carrying it forward. The power of the cross of Christ, his kingly authority, and the energy of his Spirit, all concur in its accomplishment. It is a work, the progress of which awakens the interest of angels, and whose completion will exert an influence on the highest orders of intelligent existence. We cannot calculate the extent and variety of its relations, nor grasp in our minds the immensity of its results. Imagination itself becomes bewildered by the amplitude of the field it opens to our view. We are not so well qualified besides as we hope yet to be, to perceive its grandeur, or to estimate its bearing on the purposes and plans of the Almighty. It is only in the course of being unfolded. Like the condition of things in the earlier stages of the creation, the elements are only beginning to arrange and adjust themselves, and have not yet assumed the form and order by which they are fully to reflect the wisdom and beneficence of the Creator. We are part, too, rather than spectators of the scene. And, like a few individuals in a long procession, which has only began to issue from the vaulted recesses of some venerable pile, we are neither at the time, nor in the place, in which we can take an enlarged and comprehensive survey of the whole. But is it not enough to satisfy your mind as to the magnificence of the undertaking, that it is the same which occupied the councils

of Eternal Wisdom, and the accomplishment of which became the work of the incarnate God.

Consider, also, THE DISTINCT AND SOLEMN OBLIGATION UNDER WHICH YOU LIE TO LEND YOUR SUPPORT TO THIS ENTERPRISE OF LOVE. It is not a matter of taste or of opinion, but a positive duty enjoined upon you by supreme authority. It is well indeed that your tastes and opinions have been made to accord in some measure with the Divine will. But the reason of your compliance in this case, is not merely or principally, because you are disposed to assist in the work,—but because God has commanded it. That command is to regulate your inclinations, and to raise them to its own high standard. The wavering mind, or the fainting spirit, which may cause you to hesitate or to languish in the enterprise, subjects you to the charge and to the guilt of disobedience. By devout reflection you may perhaps discover that you owe to the cause your personal consecration; at all events, you owe to it your best efforts and highest influence in your particular sphere of life. You owe it your pecuniary contributions and your prayers, and that too, in the very spirit of the Christian missionary himself, who leaves his country and his home. You fail in this important department of duty, if you fail in maintaining a fellowship of spirit and of aim with him who from love to Christ has gone forth to preach his gospel to heathen lands; and if you do not therefore perform your part of the service, willingly, amply, heartily and to the end. Your compliance in this case, is one of the most decided tests of your personal religion. If you fail here, it will be impossible for you to avoid the suspicion, that you have forfeited your entire claim to the character of a believer.

Think, too, ON THE HIGH HONOR WHICH A PARTICIPATION IN THIS WORK CONFERS. It has been transmitted to you from the hands of the most illustrious men who ever adorned our nature, or blessed our world. They pursued it with indefatigable zeal, up to the last hour of their continuance on earth, and with their dying breath commended it to the care of posterity. They have placed it in your hands, entrusted it to your care. And, is it a small privilege to enter into the labors of the hoary and venerated sires of past generations? to tread in the path of patriarchs, apostles, confessors and martyrs? Above all, is it an inconsiderable distinction to be fellow-workers with God? In what other enterprise in which your time, talents or personal influence can be employed, will you act in concert with such coadjutors as prosecute along with you this godlike scheme? How humble soever the place you occupy, and how little conspicuous soever the department of service assigned you in the work, your condition is exalted, and every effort you make is dignified by the fact, that you are prosecuting, in your appointed place, a design which awakens the sympathies and engages the co-operation of all that is great and good in the universe of God.

Call to your remembrance, also, THE FORCE AND TENDERNESS OF THE MOTIVES by which you are invited to engage in this service. It is Christ that asks you, and that, too, from the regard and love you owe to HIMSELF, to take pity upon them that are perishing for lack of knowledge. It is himself that knocks at the door, and seeks admission to the sympathies of your hearts. And will you allow him to knock in vain? He comes to you in the persons of the numerous and destitute tribes that know him not, but that need his salvation. He puts it in your power to express the love you bear him, by acts of purest and highest kindness to those whom he commends to your compassion. You cannot bring to himself your offerings of gold, and frankincense and myrrh; you cannot express your penitence by washing his feet with your tears. You cannot evince your respect and veneration, by opening your alabaster box of very precious ointment and pouring it upon his head;—but you can still give those expressions of an ingenuous and grateful spirit which he has enjoined. The desolate and destitute heathen are Christ's own demand upon you for relief. By the descent he made from heaven to earth, to seek and to save you,—by the agonies of the garden, by the suffering of the cross; by the benignant look which beamed upon you from on high, when first you were melted into contrition, attracted by his love and

united to him by a bond which shall never be dissolved, he says to you—"inasmuch as ye do it unto these—ye do it unto ME."

Behold, too, THE OBJECTS OF PITY THEMSELVES, THAT DIVINE TENDERNESS COMMENDS TO YOUR REGARD. The view is sufficient to awaken your deepest commiseration. Their numbers are so vast, and their misery so intense and complicated, that the mind is overwhelmed by the contemplation, and seeks relief by turning away from the dark and mysterious scene. But the horrors of that scene have been made to pass under your eye, that you may seek to mitigate and relieve it. The victims of a cruel superstition whose minds are darkened and enthralled, whose affections are quenched or vitiated, whose comfort is abridged or embittered, and upon whose land the shadows of spiritual night have rested for many generations, are capable of all the feelings of humanity, and all the elevation of a Christian state. So vividly alive to the sentiment of devotion many of them are, that they cannot live without a god;—will not you furnish them with knowledge of the true object of supreme veneration and love? So heavily does the burden of guilt press upon their consciences, that they subject themselves to the most cruel tortures that it may be expiated and forgiven; will you not make known to them the true source of pardoning mercy, and bring them to the only fountain whose waters can heal and purify the soul? Liable as they are to bereavement, suffering and sorrow without a comforter, and to death without the hope of immortality,—will you not provide for them the only true solace for all their woes, and send to them the light that can alone relieve the darkness and solitude of the grave?

Finally, Christian reader, THE TIME IS SHORT. Souls are fast peopling eternity. Your day of opportunity is passing away. It may be in your case its morning has only dawned, but at best it is an uncertain day; you know not how soon its sun may set. Or, peradventure, the shadows of the evening may have begun to lengthen, and the night may be certainly at hand, when no man can work. Seize, then, the passing hour. Promote by your activity and zeal in this undertaking, one of the great ends of your existence. The season is incalculably precious. There are services you can render to Christ on earth, which you will not be able to render him in heaven. As the exercise of the passive graces of patience, meekness and forbearance, implies a condition of suffering and of exposure to injury and reproach which exists not in the celestial country, so, the conflict with the powers of darkness, that retain the heathen under their cruel tyranny, implies a condition of things which will no longer continue when you have entered the land of purity and peace. This is probably the only season in the whole range of your existence, in which you may have it in your power to glorify Christ by striving for the establishment and extension of his kingdom. And this, too, is the season, when according to that which a man soweth, so shall he also reap. As the triumph shall correspond with the vigor of the conflict, this is the time when you may add some new and verdant branches to your palm of victory,—some radiant gems to the immortal crown, which you shall delight to cast at the feet of him by whose grace you have maintained the warfare, and by whose strength you have prevailed.

Whatever is sublime in purpose; whatever is authoritative in express command; whatever is ennobling in co-operation with uncreated as well as created beneficence; whatever is pure and tender in love to Christ, and in compassion to the helpless and the perishing; whatever is cheering in present success, animating in hope, and urgent in the precious and precarious season of our opportunity,—all unite with an earnest and admonitory voice, calling upon us to prosecute to the utmost this heavenly undertaking, and to commend it to the care of the coming generation. Would that we might be disposed to listen with an obedient ear, that it may be carried forward until the time, when the way of Jehovah shall be known upon earth, and his saving health among all nations, till the joyful sound, having echoed from shore to shore, proclaiming deliverance to the captive, shall have ushered in—

THE JUBILEE OF THE WORLD.